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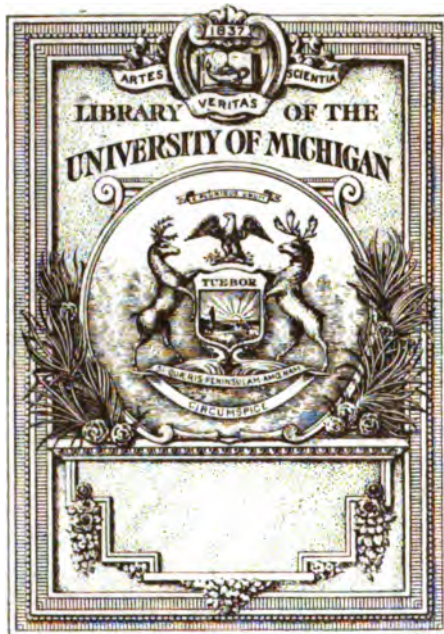
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# PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND PARTISAN POLITICS

## The Annals

VOLUME LXIV

MARCH, 1916

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THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE  
38TH AND WOODLAND AVENUE  
PHILADELPHIA  
1916



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#### EUROPEAN AGENTS

ENGLAND: P. S. King & Son, Ltd., 2 Great Smith St., Westminster, London, S. W.  
FRANCE: L. Larose, Rue Soufflot, 22, Paris.  
GERMANY: Mayer & Müller, 2 Prinz Louis Ferdinandstrasse, Berlin, N. W.  
ITALY: Giornale Degli Economisti, via Monte Savello, Palazzo Orsini, Rome.  
SPAIN: E. Dossat, 9 Plaza de Santa Ana, Madrid.

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**The Annals of**  
**THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL**  
**AND SOCIAL SCIENCE**

*Vol. LXIV*

*MARCH, 1916*

*Whole No. 153*

*Public Administration*  
*and*  
*Partisan Politics*

*Issued 14-Monthly by the American Academy of Political and Social Science at Concord, New Hampshire,  
Editorial Office, Woodland Avenue and 25th Street, Philadelphia, Pa.*

*Entered as second class matter May 4, 1911, at the post office at Concord, New Hampshire, under the Act of  
August 24, 1912.*

# Twentieth Annual Meeting

Friday and Saturday, April 28th and 29th

## IMPORTANT NOTICE TO MEMBERS

The dates of the Twentieth Annual Meeting of the Academy have been finally fixed for Friday and Saturday, April 28th and 29th. The topic of the six sessions will be

**"What Shall the United States Stand For in International Relations?"**

As at present arranged the subjects of the individual sessions will be as follows:

### ARRANGEMENT OF SESSIONS

#### FRIDAY, APRIL 28TH

- 10 a. m.—"The Basis of a Durable Peace and the Safeguards against Future International Conflicts." (Place of meeting to be announced later.)  
2.30 p. m.—"What Program Shall the United States Stand For in International Relations?" Witherspoon Hall, Walnut and Jasper Streets.  
8.15 p. m.—"The Significance of Preparedness." Witherspoon Hall.

#### SATURDAY, APRIL 29TH

- 10 a. m.—"The Implications of Preparedness." (Place of meeting to be announced later.)  
2.30 p. m.—"How Can the United States Best Maintain the Rights of Her Citizens?" Horticultural Hall, Broad and Locust Streets.  
8.15 p. m.—"The Effect of a Policy of Naval and Military Preparedness on America's Influence as a World Power." Horticultural Hall.

It is the earnest hope of the officers of the Academy to secure a large representation of members from all sections of the United States. Members are, therefore, strongly urged so to arrange their engagements as to be in Philadelphia at the time of the Annual Meeting. It is earnestly requested that those who are able to attend inform the Academy in order that further information with reference to the meeting may be sent to them.

**Membership.** The subscription price of *THE ANNALS* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science is \$6.00 per year. Single copies are sold at \$1.00 each. *THE ANNALS* are sent to all members of the Academy, \$4.00 (or more) of the annual membership fee of \$5.00 being for a subscription to the publication. Membership in the Academy may be secured by applying to the Secretary, 36th Street and Woodland Avenue, Philadelphia. The membership fee is \$5.00; life membership fee, \$100. Members not only receive all the regular publications of the Academy, but are also invited to attend and take part in the scientific meetings, and have the privilege of applying to the Editorial Council for information upon current political and social questions.

(Signed) L. S. ROWE,

President.

## FOREWORD

Now that the evils of Invisible Government have been so clearly set forth (page x), the time has come to talk of many things connected with politics and government. Legal checks and balances have given way before extra-legal political control (page 1). Direct election, as a cure for "invisible government," has insured neither popular control nor efficiency of state administration (page 11). Politics as a barrier to adequate national defense has become a matter of no ordinary importance (page 31). The "pork barrel" may have lost its smell in our rivers and harbors, but the odor still exudes from pensions and public works (page 43). The tariff has so often come up as a *local issue* that we may call it a hard name, "recurrent phenomenon," and plan non-partisan tariff commissions (page 56).

Whatever the costs of partisan politics in the work of government, we who make up "the long suffering American public" will pay them—with increasing reluctance.

To Aristotle "politics" may have signified the science of government, and to more recent political scientists the term may have to do with "the expression of the will of the state"; most of us think of the product made in America. Thus we are mindful of public officers who consider their personal advantage and pocket the graft, or put corporate privilege above community welfare; we remember that Poseyville got a new post-office but that a national measure was defeated. We see political parties exalted at the expense of the public weal. We wonder if parties can exist without patronage, and if the method of financing them can be changed (page 66); we do not dissociate parties and "politics." We are depressed; what is worse, we are confused.

Throughout the movements to free government from "politics," one increasing purpose runs: to segregate and clarify issues, and to bring about a more conspicuous responsibility. Administration is to be separated out from legislation, and the necessary steps taken to make legislators responsible for their proper work (page 172). Likewise the judiciary, if our doctrine of the separation of powers can mean anything, must not appoint administrative

officers, and so far as possible must leave to a *responsible* legislature the making of laws; judges can be given a conspicuous responsibility of their own (page 184). Three air-tight departments are of course not possible or desirable, but not even the interworking of direct legislation and administration should complicate issues and responsibility. Advocates of the initiative and referendum hold that these measures will make clearer the lines of responsibility and control in both legislation and administration (page 122). The short ballot is essential to an *effective democracy* (page 168), and the executive budget is a common sense part of any clear cut plan for local, state, or national good-housekeeping (page 146). It is proposed to extend the civil service to postmasters of all classes (page 147), but not content with "shutting the rascals out" by qualifying examinations, supporters of the *merit system* plan to increase responsibility and efficiency in administration by applying sound principles of employment management (page 153).

What with the process of ridding public health and welfare administration of "politics" (page 134), the efforts to put public works and engineering services on a public service basis (page 103), and the discovery that efficiency methods have actually been successful in public business (page 89), we may be hopeful that the old order changeth. But if no other ground were afforded for a rational optimism, we could rely on the very pressure of increasing government work to make for a more effective and economical administration (page 77).

A practical guide to responsible government is offered in the principles of municipal reorganization (page 227), and a movement toward a better sort of county government is clearly discernible (page 116). Everywhere the close formations of old-time politics are being ruled out and open field play provided, so that those of us who want to be at least spectators can know what is going on. Unobscured issues and conspicuous responsibility mean the end of Invisible Government.

But even if visible, popular government were absolutely assured, our problems of "policy" would not be ended. It has been charged that we have set up "a materialistic state mechanism without a soul"; whether we have more than a penny-in-the-slot-government depends largely upon some method of training for citizenship in our schools (page 197), and upon Americanizing the

new homes in this land of opportunity (page 204). As thoughtful Americans, we cannot disregard the lesson from war-torn Europe that in our state the ideas of liberty and efficiency must be combined; we must have capable, trained officials in our government, but it must be *our* government (page 215). And finally, if we keep "in character," we shall ask where the almighty dollars are coming from to carry on the work of this government of ours (page 210).

C. H. CRENNAN,  
*Editor in Charge of Volume.*

## THE INVISIBLE GOVERNMENT

EXTRACTS FROM THE ADDRESS BY  
HON. ELIHU ROOT,

In the New York Constitutional Convention, August 30, 1915.

We talk about the government of the constitution. We have spent many days in discussing the powers of this and that and the other officer. What is the government of this state? What has it been during the forty years of my acquaintance with it? The government of the constitution? Oh, no; not half the time, or half way. When I ask what do the people find wrong in our state government, my mind goes back to those periodic fits of public rage in which the people rouse up and tear down the political leader, first of one party and then of the other party. It goes on to the public feeling of resentment against the control of party organizations, of both parties and of all parties.

Now, I treat this subject in my own mind not as a personal question to any man. I am talking about the system. From the days of Fenton, and Conkling, and Arthur and Cornell, and Platt, from the days of David B. Hill, down to the present time the government of the state has presented two different lines of activity, one of the constitutional and statutory officers of the state, and the other of the party leaders—they call them party bosses. They call the system—I don't coin the phrase, I adopt it because it carries its own meaning—the system they call "invisible government." For I don't remember how many years, Mr. Conkling was the supreme ruler in this state; the governor did not count, the legislatures did not count; comptrollers and secretaries of state and what not, did not count. It was what Mr. Conkling said, and in a great outburst of public rage he was pulled down.

Then Mr. Platt ruled the state; for nigh upon twenty years he ruled it. It was not the governor; it was not the legislature; it was not any elected officers; it was Mr. Platt. And the capitol was not here; it was at 49 Broadway; Mr. Platt and his lieutenants. It makes no difference what name you give, whether you call it Fenton or Conkling or Cornell or Arthur or Platt, or by the names of men now living. The ruler of the state during the greater part of the

forty years of my acquaintance with the state government has not been any man authorized by the constitution or by the law; and, sir, there is throughout the length and breadth of this state a deep and sullen and long-continued resentment at being governed thus by men not of the people's choosing. The party leader is elected by no one, accountable to no one, bound by no oath of office, removable by no one. Ah! My friends here have talked about this bill's creating an autocracy. The word points with admirable facility the very opposite reason for the bill. It is to destroy autocracy and restore power so far as may be to the men elected by the people, accountable to the people, removable by the people. I don't criticize the men of the invisible government. How can I? I have known them all, and among them have been some of my dearest friends. I can never forget the deep sense of indignation that I felt in the abuse that was heaped upon Chester A. Arthur, whom I honored and loved, when he was attacked because he held the position of political leader. But it is all wrong. It is all wrong that a government not authorized by the people should be continued superior to the government that is authorized by the people.

How is it accomplished? How is it done? Mr. Chairman, it is done by the use of patronage, and the patronage that my friends on the other side of this question have been arguing and pleading for in this Convention is the power to continue that invisible government against that authorized by the people.

What does the boss have to do? He has to urge the appointment of a man whose appointment will consolidate his power and preserve the organization. The invisible government proceeds to build up and maintain its power by a reversal of the fundamental principle of good government, which is that men should be selected to perform the duties of the office; and to substitute the idea that men should be appointed to office for the preservation and enhancement of power of the political leader. The one, the true one, looks upon appointment to office with a view to the service that can be given to the public. The other, the false one, looks upon appointment to office with a view to what can be gotten out of it. Gentlemen of the Convention, I appeal to your knowledge of facts. Every one of you knows that what I say about the use of patronage under the system of invisible government is true. Louis Marshall told us the other day about the appointment of wardens in the Adiron-

dacks, hotel keepers and people living there, to render no service whatever. They were appointed not for the service that they were to render to the state; they were appointed for the service they were to render to promote the power of a political organization. Mr. Chairman, we all know that the halls of this capitol swarm with men during the session of the legislature on pay day. A great number, seldom here, rendering no service, are put on the payrolls as a matter of patronage, not of service, but of party patronage. Both parties are alike; all parties are alike. The system extends through all. Ah, Mr. Chairman, that system finds its opportunity in the division of powers, in a six-headed executive, in which, by the natural workings of human nature there shall be opposition and discord and the playing of one force against the other, and so, when we refuse to make one governor elected by the people the real chief executive, we make inevitable the setting up of a chief executive not selected by the people, not acting for the people's interest, but for the selfish interest of the few who control the party, whichever party it may be. Think for a moment of what this patronage system means. How many of you are there who would be willing to do to your private client, or customer, or any private trust, or to a friend or neighbor, what you see being done to the state of New York every year of your lives in the taking of money out of her treasury without service? We can, when we are in a private station, pass on without much attention to inveterate abuses. We can say to ourselves, I know it is wrong, I wish it could be set right; it cannot be set right, I will do nothing. But here, here, we face the duty, we cannot escape it, we are bound to do our work, face to face, in clear recognition of the truth, unpalatable, deplorable as it may be, and the truth is that what the unerring instinct of the democracy of our state has seen in this government is that a different standard of morality is applied to the conduct of affairs of state than that which is applied in private affairs. I have been told forty times since this Convention met that you cannot change it. We can try, can't we? I deny that we cannot change it. I repel that cynical assumption which is born of the lethargy that comes from poisoned air during all these years. I assert that this perversion of democracy, this robbing democracy of its virility, can be changed as truly as the system under which Walpole governed the commons of England, by bribery, as truly as the atmosphere which made the *credit mobilier* scandal possible



in the Congress of the United States has been blown away by the force of public opinion. We cannot change it in a moment, but we can do our share. We can take this one step toward, not robbing the people of their part in government, but toward robbing an irresponsible autocracy of its indefensible and unjust and undemocratic control of government, and restoring it to the people to be exercised by the men of their choice and their control.

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## THE CHECK AND BALANCE SYSTEM AND ITS REVERSION

BY JACOB TANGER, PH.D.,  
Millersville State Normal School.

The reactionary movement which developed into the French Revolution presents from among the flood of literature of the day setting forth both the economic and political evils of the old régime, a theory of government which, because of its acceptance in the United States and later in France, and also in the South American Republics, has become a fixed element in the political thinking of our day. The desire to limit the sovereign was the distinguishing feature of the pamphlets and letters of Frenchmen of the period touching upon the condition of their country. With most convincing argument Montesquieu in 1748 presented his view that the security that undivided sovereignty should not become a despotism lay in the performance of the executive, legislative, and judicial functions by special bodies. His observation of the British people led him to conclude that their enjoyment of political liberty was due to the particular merits of their constitution, by which the king's ministers, the legislature, and the law courts performed functions with a greater degree of independence than was the case in any other nation. He did not hope, however, to have this ideal type of government established in France, but rather to have a restoration of "privileges which though discontinued were not lost to memory," and of "those opposed and conflicting interests which interpose a salutary check on all precipitate resolutions, so organized as to limit arbitrary power of the government."

Montesquieu died in 1755, but his theory of government survived in the minds of men more radical than he, who, after the lapse of forty years from the time of its statement, encouraged to some extent no doubt by the acceptance of the doctrine by Blackstone in England as the principle underlying the British government and its application in the American state and federal constitutions, applied it with uncritical faith in the French constitution of 1791.

A more minute analogy between Montesquieu's theory and

the British government was drawn by Blackstone in his *Commentaries* published in 1765. It was this work on English law which has served as the foundation for much of our legal training even in the present day, that presented to the framers of the state constitutions and later of the United States Constitution, the system of checks and balances as applied in actual government of the time. The great jurist's recognition of the principle in the British government is clearly apparent when he refers to the Crown, the Lords, and Commons, and says:

Like three distinct powers in mechanics, they jointly impel the machine of government in a direction different from what either, acting by itself would have gone, but at the same time in a direction partaking of each and formed out of all; a direction which constitutes the true line of liberty and happiness of the country.

But neither Blackstone nor Montesquieu maintained that a complete separation of powers was possible. There would be of necessity some processes of osmosis between them—a water-tight compartment for each branch of the government was not contemplated.

It was in the government of the American colonies, however, that a stricter application of the system than was possible in the home government presented itself. (The presence of effective checks and balances in a government in which the executive and judicial departments were creatures of the home government, while the legislature was of local origin, is strikingly apparent. When the friction created by this maladjustment of governmental function developed into an open conflict and independence was declared, the states in many cases found themselves with only one of the three departments remaining, namely, the legislature. But a gradual evolution of executive and judicial departments was to follow. At first a weak and carefully circumscribed executive and judiciary existed as a result of newly framed constitutions and legislative enactments. Governmental machinery similar to the customary British pattern was eventually established in every state except Rhode Island and Connecticut. The check and balance theory of government dominated the thought of the framers of these new state constitutions as it did later the framers of the federal constitution. The difficulty encountered in providing for the two branches of government hitherto appointed by the Crown, gave rise to variety

both in the method of choosing the officials and in the extent of their power. The period was an experimental one in the establishment of governments. The political idea that was uppermost was that of Montesquieu. Quite naturally the locally organized legislative branch of the colonial government which survived, was granted supremacy. Fear lest they should reestablish a condition that would lead to executive encroachment as they had experienced it, undoubtedly drove the framers to neutralize that department even with its new local origin to an unwarranted degree. The Articles of Confederation reflect the operation of the same precaution against the establishment of monarchical power in the massing in a Congress alone of the few powers the states were willing to concede. The incompetency of government provided in these Articles, as well as that of the state, eventually brought both financial and commercial distress sufficiently pressing to necessitate distinct provision for well defined executive and judicial powers. How these were to be incorporated with the assurance that they would function with sufficient vigor to assure stability of government, and yet with not so much vigor as to endanger the activity of the legislative branch, was a problem of no small importance when the Federal Convention assembled in 1787 to revise the Articles of Confederation.

The creation of a strong executive and judicial department was accepted as a necessary requirement. State rivalry and the common fear of a strong federal government among the state legislatures prevented the establishment of a system of government that could in any respect become aggressive. The results of the work of the convention show the most deliberate application of the theory of checks and balances yet produced. The creation of a strong executive and judicial department was accepted as a necessary requirement of the new government soon after the delegates entered upon their task. That they should exist and still not become the oppressive agents they had proven to be in colonial government, taxed their ingenuity.

As a result of the application of Montesquieu's theory to these conditions, the constitution presented a form of government in which the legislature was divided into two branches, that they might serve as checks on each other, and strong executive and judicial departments endowed with the powers of appointment,

veto, and annulment, that they might not only preserve themselves but also limit the power of the legislature as well. The selection of the lower branch of Congress was given to the people, while the upper was to be chosen by the state legislatures; an arrangement whereby the will of the people and the will of the states would be expressed in legislation acceptable to both. An indirect method of choosing the chief executive was provided, that neither the state nor the people would have undue advantage in controlling this all-important and hitherto dangerous official. The appointment of the judiciary by the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate, represents still further the ingenuity of the framers in their effort to prevent a continuous line of influence finding expression in the several departments. The legislature which had hitherto enjoyed great freedom of activity was now not only restricted by the executive and judiciary departments, but also by limitation on the character of its legislation.

It is of interest to note the jealousy with which each department has guarded itself against the encroachments of the other from time to time during the history of our present constitution. In 1796, during Washington's administration, the House of Representatives called on the President for instructions given to the United States Minister preliminary to Jay's Treaty, which had been already ratified, "except such as any existing negotiations may render improper to be disclosed." On the 30th of March of the same year Washington, in a message to the House, responded in part as follows:

As it is essential to the due administration of the government that the boundaries fixed by the Constitution between the different departments should be preserved, a just regard for the Constitution and to the duty of my office, under all circumstances of this case, forbids a compliance with your request.

When the Senate called upon President Jackson on December 11, 1833, to communicate to the Senate "a copy of the paper which had been published" over his signature, and which bore directly on the subject of the removal of deposits from the United States bank, he replied in his message of refusal that the executive was "a coördinate and independent branch of the government equally with the Senate." He continued with the following declaration:

Knowing the Constitutional rights of the Senate, I shall be the last man under any circumstances to interfere with them. Knowing those of the Executive, I

shall at all times endeavor to maintain them agreeably to the provisions of the Constitution and to the solemn oath I have taken to support and defend it.

After refusing on several occasions to concede to the Senate the right to make requests of this kind, he expressed himself in a message of February 10, 1835, in regard to a request of an earlier date, in the following manner:

This is another of those calls for information made upon me by the Senate which have, in my judgment, either related to the subjects exclusively belonging to the Executive Department or otherwise encroached on the Constitutional power of the Executive. Without conceding the right of the Senate to make either of these requests, I have yet, for the various reasons heretofore assigned in my several replies, deemed it expedient to comply with several of them. It is now, however, my solemn conviction that I ought no longer, from any motive nor in any degree to yield to these unconstitutional demands. Their continued repetition imposes on me, as the representative and trustee of the American people, the painful but imperious duty of resisting to the utmost any further encroachment on the rights of the Executive.

President Tyler, in answer to a request by the House addressed to the President and heads of the several departments, said to comply would not be "consistent with the rights and duties of the Executive Department," and further:

It becomes me, in defence of the Constitution and laws of the United States, to protect the Executive Department from all encroachments on its powers, rights, and duties.

Presidents Polk and Fillmore refused to comply with similar requests. President Cleveland, in his message of March 1, 1886, in referring to the numerous demands of the Senate upon the different departments of the government for information and documents, said:

My oath to support and defend the Constitution, my duty to the people who have chosen me to execute the powers of this great office and not to relinquish them, and my duty to the Chief Magistracy, which I must preserve unimpaired in all its dignity and vigor, compel me to refuse compliance with these demands.

The judiciary has asserted its independence and maintained it to an even greater degree. Washington in his first administration asked the Supreme Court for advice concerning the rights and duties of the United States under certain treaties and international law. The court refused to grant his request, and asserted that it would only render an opinion on the point involved when a case was brought before it. More than a century of precedents now sustains this

position of our courts. President Jefferson's refusal to appear before the Supreme Court at the request of Chief Justice Marshall seems to have left no doubts as to the inability of the courts to control the executive. The legislative department has found itself hedged in from the beginning by the express denial to it of certain powers by the Constitution, the veto of the President, and the nullification of its acts by the Supreme Court. It has, however, at times asserted itself in a hostile manner towards one or the other of its departments, but with no permanent results, as in 1801 when it attempted to abolish the federal courts, and in 1868 when it disciplined a President and incidentally determined the character of the Supreme Court.

Such in brief is an outline of the attempt to apply and preserve Montesquieu's systems of checks and balances in our federal government. An observation of its application and survival elsewhere will not be out of place at this point. As already stated, the French constitution of 1791 was drafted in strict accord with Montesquieu's doctrine. The constitution of 1799, under which Napoleon secured for himself the office of first consul, stipulated that the first step in the enactment of laws shall be their initiation by the administration. The adoption of that constitution indicates the disappearance of the doctrine from federal forms of government. The establishment of the French Republic presents additional evidence of the rejection of the doctrine by the French people in the provisions of their Constitution of 1875, whereby the executive and legislative powers are definitely connected and express power is given to the President to initiate laws.

A brief inspection of the British government, the "mirror" in which Montesquieu saw his theory most nearly realized, indicates no reversion to the royal veto abandoned in the beginning of the eighteenth century, but rather the development of a much closer relation between the executive and the legislative departments through the ministry, with the gradual reduction of the opposition presented by the House of Lords. Nor has there been any tendency to apply the principle which Montesquieu saw so nearly perfected in the home government, in the establishment of governments in outlying dominions. The governments of Canada, Australia, and South Africa are all characterized as responsible governments. A close relation between the executive and legislative is



expressly provided in their systems of government. In Canada all executive acts are done on the advice of the cabinet, the members of which hold office only so long as they retain the confidence of the people as expressed by their representatives in parliament. In Australia the executive power, vested in the King, is exercisable by the Governor General, who is assisted by an Executive Council of responsible Ministers of State. These ministers are, or must become within three months, members of the Federal Parliament. The government of South Africa is of practically the same character as that of Canada and Australia. The Governor General holds office during the King's pleasure. He is advised by an Executive Council, whose members he nominates. Every minister of state thus appointed may sit and speak in either house, but can vote only in the house of which he is a member; but ministers cannot hold office for a longer period than three months unless they are or become members of either House of Parliament by regular election. In fact the writers on the British Government now scarcely recognize the theory. Hallam in his famous work, *Constitutional History of England*, published in 1827, did not refer to a check and balance system as even existing, but treated the English Constitution as being based on the connection of powers. Bagehot in a later work, *The English Constitution*, devotes a chapter to "Its Supposed Checks and Balances." Lack of support of the doctrine both as a theory and in practice, is clearly indicated by constitutional developments of the 19th century in France and the British Empire. An inspection of the governments of South America, which were patterned to a large degree on that of the United States, reveals in several instances an unmistakable tendency, as a result of revolutions and consequent constitutional revisions, to adopt the present French system.

In considering the check and balance system in the government of the United States, at an earlier point reference was made to the almost ever present friction and at times violent clashes between the several departments. More effective, however, in changing the character of our government has been the pressure brought to bear indirectly upon the three departments, which has tended to mold them in its subtle manner into a purposeful and harmoniously functioning government. Gradually in the actual working of the government, the separation of departments as a principle has been

discounted in favor of the fulfillment of the wish of the people. Efforts to amend the Constitution so as to have it contain a definite statement of the doctrine of the separation of powers, in accordance with which the three departments were established, ended with the first Congress. The first check to disappear without amending the Constitution was the choosing of the President by electors, and we may safely say that it is but the forerunner of the direct primary. The conflict over the slavery question ended with the overthrow of the logical structure built on the Constitution by Calhoun and the rise of the national idea worked out opportunely and presented by Webster, which in its later acceptance and application by Lincoln dealt a fatal blow to the chaotic possibilities of "State Rights" and secession. Another factor, and one that has had a tendency to reduce the barriers separating the different departments, in a more consistent and continuous manner than any other, is the political party. With the party eventually came organization and leadership and a definite governmental program. The logical leader of the party in office is the President. To him we now look for the carrying out of the preëlection promises of the party. Gradually, although in some cases reluctantly, he has been advancing to a position where he actually dominates the legislative activities of Congress. President Lincoln, in his earnest advocacy of compensated emancipation, presented, for the first time by a chief executive, a draft of a bill in connection with a message in recommending a solution of the slavery problem. Drafts of bills and joint resolutions were presented with messages to Congress by Johnson, Grant, Hayes, Arthur, Cleveland and Harrison. President Taft adopted the plan of informing Congress in his special messages that, at his request, the head of one of the departments had prepared a bill providing for the special thing to which he referred in his message, and that such bill was at the disposal of the appropriate committee of Congress, if they choose to avail themselves of it. The committees in these instances promptly asked for the bill and discussed it. President Wilson has openly assisted in preparing a legislative program with the party leaders in the Senate and House, and has insisted that certain measures be passed.

A more radical reaction against the check and balance system is seen in the recent adoption of the commission form of government for our cities. The lack of responsiveness and definite responsi-

bility in the old system, together with its inefficient administration of the people's affairs, caused it to give way under the pressure of definite problems to a system of responsible government. Evidences of similar changes in the state governments are not so apparent. A strong executive has in several instances, however, succeeded in having the wish of the people carried out by overcoming the inaction of the legislature.

When we come to inquire why the check and balance system is losing its grip on our government, our only answer seems to come after an observation of the change in conditions economic and social during the past century. In a new country with room for expansion, a government guaranteeing security to the property of the individual and at the same time sufficiently well adjusted as to run without constant watching, was quite satisfactory to the majority of the people. Appeals to the people and popular programs were not wanting, however. Advocates of democracy as a principle have been present throughout the period and have done much to promote the cause of the people in the name of democracy, but it was only when industrialism and big business attempted to securely entrench themselves behind the guarantees to minorities that the less favored majority began to turn to their government for assistance. The indirect method of electing senators was attacked with resistless vigor, and means were devised for popular selection prior to the amendment of the constitution to that effect, in order that the people might make their influence more directly felt in Congress. The executive as more nearly representing all the people than any other department, was looked to as the leader of the majority. President Roosevelt assumed this leadership with vigor. President Taft, on the other hand, due no doubt to his deep respect for judicial precedents, reluctantly took up the task, and only after he found that Congress had done practically nothing toward redeeming party pledges by legislative enactments. President Wilson upon his inauguration openly and confidently assumed the responsibilities of the leader of his party, and set about his task, to the general satisfaction of the people, by calling a special session and casting precedent aside in appearing in person before the assembled houses to read his message.

Frequent proposals have been made both in and out of Congress to the effect that heads of our executive departments be ad-

mitted to either House of Congress, whenever measures relating to their own department are under consideration. The obvious intent of those advocating this change in the relation of the departments of the government is to make possible a more harmonious administrative policy. A greater departure from the present system of separate executive and legislative authority is that contained in the proposals permitting members of either house to occupy cabinet positions. While members of the cabinet could without doubt be permitted to sit in Congress and take part in debates without amending the Constitution, a member of either house could not occupy a cabinet position because of constitutional limitations. A closer alliance between the cabinet and Congress would undoubtedly secure greater harmony in the conduct of public business by making possible a definite party plan of action. A proposed amendment to the Constitution made by Senator Bristow of Kansas on December 4, 1912, if adopted would have extended the President's power over legislation to a marked degree, by providing that he might submit to the electors at a regular Congressional election measures recommended by him which Congress had failed to enact within six months. In case such measure should receive a majority vote in a majority of the Congressional districts and also in a majority of the States, it should become a law. This referendum if adopted would no doubt rarely be used, but would secure the end sought by keeping Congress awake to the call of public opinion as developed under the leadership of a strong executive.

Opposition to this increase of power on the part of the President is not wanting. There are those who rise in one or the other houses of Congress and denounce it as only becoming to a czar, and as directly opposing the principle of checks and balances in accordance with which our government was framed. Arguments of this kind in recent years are not taken seriously in either body. That there are far reaching advantages in the modification of the system to the extent already observed, seems to be generally accepted. It means a prompter and more efficient expression of public opinion as well as a better placing of responsibility. It will without doubt mean more sincere party platforms. As to the danger in increasing the President's power, the real increase of power accrues to the people, for by its exercise they are able to render far more effective their support of desirable measures.

## THE INVISIBLE GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATIVE EFFICIENCY<sup>1</sup>

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During the first few weeks after each gubernatorial election in New York State such remarks as the following are frequently heard: "We are expecting a good deal from the new governor. He has made a faithful and efficient officer heretofore; and we believe he will set things to rights at Albany if any man can do it." Such statements are made by those who believe that it is possible for the governor of New York State to perform the duty which the constitution imposes upon him and "take care that the laws are faithfully executed." They believe that the success of the administration in which he serves does in a large measure depend upon his willingness to do his duty and upon his ability as an administrative officer. The purpose of this paper is to show, as fully as the narrow limits assigned to it make possible, that this belief is wholly erroneous, and that the governor is chief executive only in the imagination of those who are not familiar with the tangled mass of civic relations which has its centre at Albany.

The mistaken notion of the position of the governor is based in some measure on a comparison of his functions and powers with those of the President of the United States. But the President is the only one, among the thousands of members of the federal administration, who is elective. He is in theory at least, and not seldom in fact, really master of the executive departments during

<sup>1</sup> Most of the detailed information on which are based the general statements in this paper is to be found fully and officially set forth in two volumes on *The Constitution and Government of the State of New York*, prepared by the Bureau of Municipal Research of New York City for the constitutional convention held in New York State in 1915. The attention of the reader is particularly directed to one of these volumes, *An Appraisal*, from which, with the kind permission of the authors and publishers, are taken the charts numbered I, II, III, IV with their accompanying keys, appended to this paper. If this paper serves to bring that volume to the attention of a larger public than it has yet reached, a useful purpose will have been accomplished.

the four years for which he is elected. He appoints the ten secretaries or heads of departments which constitute his cabinet. These ten heads of departments, with his consent, appoint their immediate aids, or assistant secretaries. Within the ten departments over which these ten secretaries preside, are coördinated and organized all the executive activities of the entire federal system. Each department is divided into bureaus and divisions, each with its bureau chief or division chief. Any extravagance or mismanagement may be traced directly from the humblest clerk directly through the bureau chiefs and the department heads to the President himself. The President has the power to discipline or remove the offending or negligent official, and he is therefore responsible for all aspects of his administration. Moreover, the President is elected for a term which is long enough to make it possible for him to obtain some grasp of the problems of government before his term approaches its end.

In every one of these respects the position of the governor differs from that of the President, and in each item of difference lies an explanation of the fact that the state government is inefficient and extravagant, and the further fact that the governor cannot be justly held responsible for such inefficiency and extravagance. The governor is elected for a term of two years, the first of which is expended by most men in becoming familiar with the duties of the office. In the second the governor is approaching the end of his term and he must consider the fact that what he begins he may have to relinquish unfinished to his successor. He does not appoint any heads of departments or secretaries whose duty it is to advise him; he has no cabinet of aids. He is only one of a group of public officials elected to high political office at the same time. There is no organization of the work of the state into great departments. The work is distributed through a multitude of unorganized disjuncta of administration over which no one presides. The state administration may be compared to a corporation which spends more than forty millions of dollars on current expenses and employs fifteen thousand servants, but which has no head, no manager, no directing will *legally constituted* to preside over it. It *appears* to be a drifting, amorphous mass, as helpless as a field of seaweed in the ocean. It is desirable that emphasis be placed in the foregoing sentences on the words "legally constituted" and "appears"; for,

as a matter of fact, there is a strong directing will, though not legally constituted, which prevents the conduct of the affairs of the commonwealth from being altogether a matter of directionless drift. This extra-legal will is that of the Invisible Government to which Mr. Root (page x) so eloquently referred in his now famous address before the state constitutional convention last summer.

In order to make the following discussion at all profitable it is necessary that as concrete a description as is possible be given of the sort of organization under which the affairs of New York State are neglected. But to describe it is as difficult as to describe a mob. It may be possible to give the number of persons concerned, and the duties expected of them; but an orderly description cannot be made of that in which no order exists.

The extent of the state's service may be indicated by the fact that it employs, more or less permanently, fifteen thousand persons who are listed by the civil service commission. These represent almost every possible occupation and are engaged in nearly every sort of task that modern civilization imposes. They are scientists, mechanics, laborers, educators, farmers, sweepers, accountants, road builders, architects. The relation of the governor to their activities may be suggested by the fact that they are distributed through more than 150 separate units of administration, which units are not grouped for administrative purposes. The number is not more definitely stated because different writers of authority estimate the number at various figures ranging up to as many as 170. The entire federal service is organized under ten departments, each department being internally organized into bureaus and divisions; the state service is not. The negative condition scarcely needs further emphasis.

With the governor are elected, generally from his party, a secretary of state, a comptroller, attorney-general, treasurer, and state engineer and surveyor. But these men are not heads of departments in the sense in which the federal secretaries are heads, for there are no departments in that sense. They are not aids to the governor for they are frequently out of sympathy with him even when they adhere to the party to which he belongs. Once, at least, not many years ago, the governor did not dare trust the attorney-general to undertake prosecutions which were necessary because he felt sure that the attorney-general would use the opportunity

for partisan purposes. The condition of a governor and a comptroller working at cross purposes is not exceptional. A governor opposed by his official legal adviser and by the principal financial agent of the state is helpless enough to impress the mind of the most casual observer. The governor is merely one of a number of miscellaneous state officers with the advantage of participation in a very limited way in legislation, and the disadvantage that he is not the head of any department. Several other state officers receive a higher salary than his; and many of those not in the permanent civil service hold office for a longer term than he does.<sup>2</sup>

It is true that the governor has in theory a large power of appointment.<sup>3</sup> To be more accurate, a large number of state officials are appointed by the governor with or without the coöperation of the senate. This power of appointment would seem to place at least initial control in his hands and thus make him in some degree responsible for the conduct of the work done by these appointees. But many if not most of such officers enjoy a term longer, some of them several times as long, as that of the governor. They are therefore in office when he comes on the scene and, remaining through his term, live after he has departed. Moreover, their removal is hedged about with so many difficulties<sup>4</sup> that it is practically impossible for anyone to control them except the power which can control the legislative<sup>5</sup> as well as the executive force. Such a power can abolish offices; such a power resides in the Invisible Government.

All this results in a chaos which it is difficult to comprehend, almost difficult to believe exists in a state inhabited by some of the ablest minds and strongest wills in this country, famous for its

<sup>2</sup> See appended Chart V.

<sup>3</sup> See appended Chart I. As is graphically shown by this chart, "there are at least sixteen different ways of appointing the heads of state departments, bureaus and offices, and members of commissions." For a list of these sixteen, see *An Appraisal*, pp. 36-37. See also Charts III and IV.

<sup>4</sup> See appended Chart II. "No argument is necessary to show that the system of removal from office has as much influence upon the efficiency of the personnel as the system of appointment." See also Charts III and IV.

<sup>5</sup> Professor H. J. Ford in his brilliant essay on *The Cause of Our Political Corruption* has shown that our wide separation of the legislative from the executive powers, based wholly in theory and not at all in experience, has resulted in giving to the Invisible Government an enormous power over both of these departments.



practical business sense. Some much more detailed illustration is necessary to establish even the credibility of such statements as have been made.

The public works of the state supply one of many possible illuminating illustrations. Affairs in this field which would logically fall into one department are managed, in so far as they are managed at all, by the following separate organs:

- Two legislative commissions;
- A department of buildings;
- A department of highways;
- A department of public works;
- A state engineer, who is elected;
- A state architect;
- Various trustees of public buildings;
- Various commissions on parks;
- And other organs.

At the head of "the department of public works" is a superintendent who is appointed by the governor and senate. The work of the department, in spite of its name, is limited to duties related to the canals; and even in this field some of the duties are assigned to the state engineer by statute. The duties of the state engineer are pretty definitely fixed and limited; he is not, as one might suppose from his title, the representative of the chief power in the state in matters of engineering. The state architect, who is appointed for a term which exceeds that of the governor, relieves the state engineer and surveyor, who is elective, of the duty of preparing drawings and specifications for all public buildings, except (note the indisposition to grant too general powers) for armories, school buildings and buildings under the jurisdiction of the trustees of public buildings. There is something esoteric and sacred about the building of armories which forbids that they be entrusted to a mere state architect. It is scarcely necessary to follow the devious trail through the assignment of public works and find out who has the privilege of supervising the building of a garage for the trustees of a public building, and whether the official is elected or appointed, and if the latter whether appointed by the governor or by the legislature. It would doubtless appear that a separate statute creates a commission whose duty it is to recommend to the governor the appointment of an official for six years; and that this official be removable by the governor on the address of both houses of the legislature. It is

manifest that, in this department at least, the tyranny which might result from centralized authority is carefully avoided.

When it is realized that in 1914 the state expended many millions of dollars in public works, the quotation of the following paragraph may seem justified even in this brief paper:

With 15 boards, commissioners, officers and departments engaged in handling various parts of the public works problem of the state and with certain of these executives responsible to the governor, others elected by the people, others appointed by special boards, others ex-officio, etc., it is impossible to formulate any sort of a constructive public works program which will coördinate all of the engineering and general public service activities of the state. Whatever may be adopted as a principle of control, whether executive or legislative, the present organization is chaotic, and the various parts are misfits. Engineering problems cannot be solved quickly, and can never be solved effectively without careful preliminary planning. The only coördinating factor now to be found in the state organization is in the state engineer as an individual, due to the fact that he, as an individual, has been placed on most of the boards and commissions having to do with special problems. Since the abolition of the highways commission, however, there is no organic provision for coöperation of any nature between the highways department and the general engineering department of the state. There is no organic provision for coöperation between the department of architecture and the state engineer's department, although such coöperation would unquestionably increase the efficiency of the engineering service of the state architect's department. There is no organic provision for coöperative working relation between the state engineer's department and the department of public buildings, or the trustees of public buildings, and quite inadequate provision for coördination of effort between the hydrographic and general surveying corps of the state engineer's department and the work of the conservation commission, particularly as this latter is concerned with the conservation of water power. It cannot be expected that either economical or efficient administration of the public works affairs will result where the heart of the public works organization of the state is wholly independent of every other organization engaged in related work. Best results can never be obtained until the services of the engineers of the state engineer's department are made available for use in every other department of the state government requiring engineering service. That such a coördination is not possible at the present time is an indictment of both the constitution and statute law of the state.<sup>6</sup>

To care for the public health,<sup>7</sup> which function would naturally be thought of as falling within the duties of one department, the

<sup>6</sup> *An Appraisal*, pp. 135-136. On the second of these pages will be found a list of highway commissioners, showing a clear change of policy nine times in sixteen years. Yet modern road building is not a matter of days and weeks.

<sup>7</sup> For a full account of the chaotic condition of the performance of this function see *An Appraisal*, pp. 158-167.

state also provides in devious ways. True there is a department of health, but in addition to this the department of agriculture is charged with protecting the public health through its chemists and inspectors of butter, and other foods; the department of labor is charged with safeguarding the state against diseases growing out of unhygienic factories or home conditions in which work is done; the state board of charities and other departments all share the work which should fall within the field of one well organized department of health. The governor, of course, has no relation to this important function, for the commissioner of health is appointed for a term of six years<sup>8</sup>—three times that of the governor. To remove an indifferent commissioner is under existing circumstances practically out of the question.<sup>9</sup>

These slightly detailed references to the disorganization of the means for the performance of two functions of the state have been given as illustrations. As has been stated above, it is impossible to describe chaos. In a system made up of 150 departments, boards, bureaus, institutions, commissions, and offices, which has originated through the legislature's adding one item after another every time it has been necessary to reward some faithful party worker, or remove some unpopular incumbent, it is manifest that duplications and inconsistencies must abound to such a degree that nothing short of the infinite could grasp and comprehend the details that result. By way of further illustration of overlapping authority, six commissions, forty boards, and four other departments exercise supervision over state institutions for defectives and other dependents. The names and titles, as has been shown, give no indication of the functions of departments or officers. The superintendent of public buildings is "the janitor of the state capitol"; other public buildings being under the supervision of other officials. There are two separate schools of forestry conducted without coördination. There are nine schools of agriculture under no common control. There are two schools of veterinary education competing against each other for appropriations and development.

It is manifest that the governor does not govern, that he cannot govern, however serious his intention to do so may be; that the

<sup>8</sup> See appended Chart V.

<sup>9</sup> See appended Charts II, III, IV.

constitution and statutes were drawn with the clear intent that he should not govern. Since the affairs are not under his control, who is responsible for them? The Invisible Government has twice been referred to above. What is meant by the Invisible Government? Unless something more definite may be said about it than that it is invisible, the reader may justly be skeptical about its existence, and may attribute responsibility for the anarchy which prevails in the government of New York to nothing more serious than the mismanagement which in some minds is always associated with self-government.

In contrast then to the condition of the official and legal side of the state government, let us turn our attention to the extra-legal and unofficial side of it. In doing so we are brought up sharply before a system in direct contrast to all that we have found in the legal organization. Here is leadership, here is a directing will, here is organization in such perfection that it is commonly spoken of as "the organization," "the machine," and these terms are descriptive. It is not elective, it takes no oath of office, it is unknown to the law or the constitution; yet its works are manifest in all parts of the government, its hand guides every public act. To the private citizen, it seems to stand silent, inscrutable, dominating, beside the monster it has created, directing each movement of its life.

But one must be concrete. In the state there are two highly developed political parties. In these parties there are no loose ends, no irresponsible agents, no scattered bureaus and commissions. From the head downward, authority is clearly defined, obedience is punctiliously exacted; the hierarchy is closely interlinked, complete, effective.

The purpose of each organization is to control the affairs of the state. At the head of each of these parties there has generally been a man of great intellectual power and imperious will. Picture an army as compact and obedient as a Prussian army corps; think of it determining to dominate 150 small bodies of amateur troops. Such is the relation between the public administration of the State of New York and the parties which alternately control the administration. The minor officials know where the seat of power is. They know perfectly well who placed them in office and who will keep them there. They observe the directions taken by the wires which lead to the real master. It is easy to picture the President

of the United States becoming the leader of his party and taking away the control of public affairs from the unofficial chieftains, since all public officials must look to him for their success, their very tenure of office. But the governor has no power over the 150 state departments. He is but a temporary visitor. The party leader is permanent, masterful, ready and able to reward or punish on the instant. Of course only the most superficial observer will suppose that many of the seemingly elective officials are really elected. The careful observer knows that the citizen who goes through the form of electing minor officials does not know, a week after the election, the name of the persons for whom he has voted; does not know even the functions of the offices filled by them. He will vote for a particular candidate for attorney-general just as readily as he will vote for him for comptroller, and no more so. If the names on the ballot were shifted about just before election, the average citizen would place his marks on the ballot just as if no shifting had occurred. The party selects all minor candidates who are, in theory, elected. This is no longer a matter of opinion; it has been proven to be a fact over and over again. Furthermore, only the superficial will claim that the governor appoints many of the minor officials. In theory, he does; in fact, the "Organization" selects them. In the first place it would be manifestly impossible for the governor to assess all these petty offices and candidates; in the second, he is himself generally nominated and placed in office by a party with which he is in harmony, and with which, it is reasonable to assume, he is going to "coöperate." He is but a member of a party at the head of which stands a powerful and willful leader who really determines the policies and practices of the administration for which the governor is too often in the public mind held accountable.

The question is frequently put, "If the governor is but a party man, and is willing to do so nearly what the boss wishes, what advantage can result from giving to him the power of appointment and removal? The party leader will control in the end in any event." The answer to this question lies in the fact that any man is a better servant when placed in a position of responsibility than when acting not as governor but as a private leader of a party. The administration of the public affairs of a state would be more efficient if the party leader were elected governor, than as it is when he is permitted to wield the power while another and weaker

man bears the responsibility. Reform must do one of two things: either it must arrange to give the man who has the power also the responsibility by making him governor and permitting him to appoint his subordinates; or it must give the man elected governor power to control public affairs through appointment and removal in order that the real responsibility may rest on his shoulders. The object of this paper is not to show that governors are good men handicapped by disorganization and that party leaders are bad men. Such is not the fact. The party leader is frequently as good a man as the governor in most elements that make for manhood. The purpose is to plead that responsibility and power be joined together and that the man holding both be set up at the head of our public administration and be given an opportunity to make good.

Such reorganization would start with reducing the 15,000 civil servants in the 150 departments to order by a systematic classification of functions, a grouping together of those which belong together, and placing each group under a department head. It would continue by placing this department head under the direction of the governor as his political aid, in order that the citizen may say to the governor, "such and such an abuse exists in this bureau of this department. We hold you responsible for its correction or for the removal of the department head who permits it." Even the permanent civil servants would then assume a different attitude toward efficiency.<sup>10</sup> Instead of looking to a party organization, the chief object of which is party success, for encouragement and support, they would look to a governor, whose future career depends upon securing efficient service, whose self-respect and whose every other higher instinct must prompt a demand for better work.

As a possible basis for organizing the government of New York

<sup>10</sup> The writer expressly disclaims any reflection against the honesty or industry of public servants. After many years of observation he is convinced that they are as efficient as are private persons or the servants of corporations in similar circumstances of confusion, disorganization, absence of responsibility, and general neglect. The average public servant works far more intelligently and faithfully than the average citizen votes. The citizen who is loudest in denunciation of public inefficiency is generally the most ignorant of his own public duties and the most neglectful of those with which he happens to have some slight acquaintance.

State the following list of ten administrative departments has been proposed <sup>11</sup>:

Department of State;  
Department of Justice;  
Department of Finance;  
Department of Education;  
Department of Commerce and Labor;  
Department of Corporate Control;  
Department of Agriculture;  
Department of Public Works <sup>12</sup>;  
Department of Charities and Corrections <sup>13</sup>;  
Department of Public Safety.

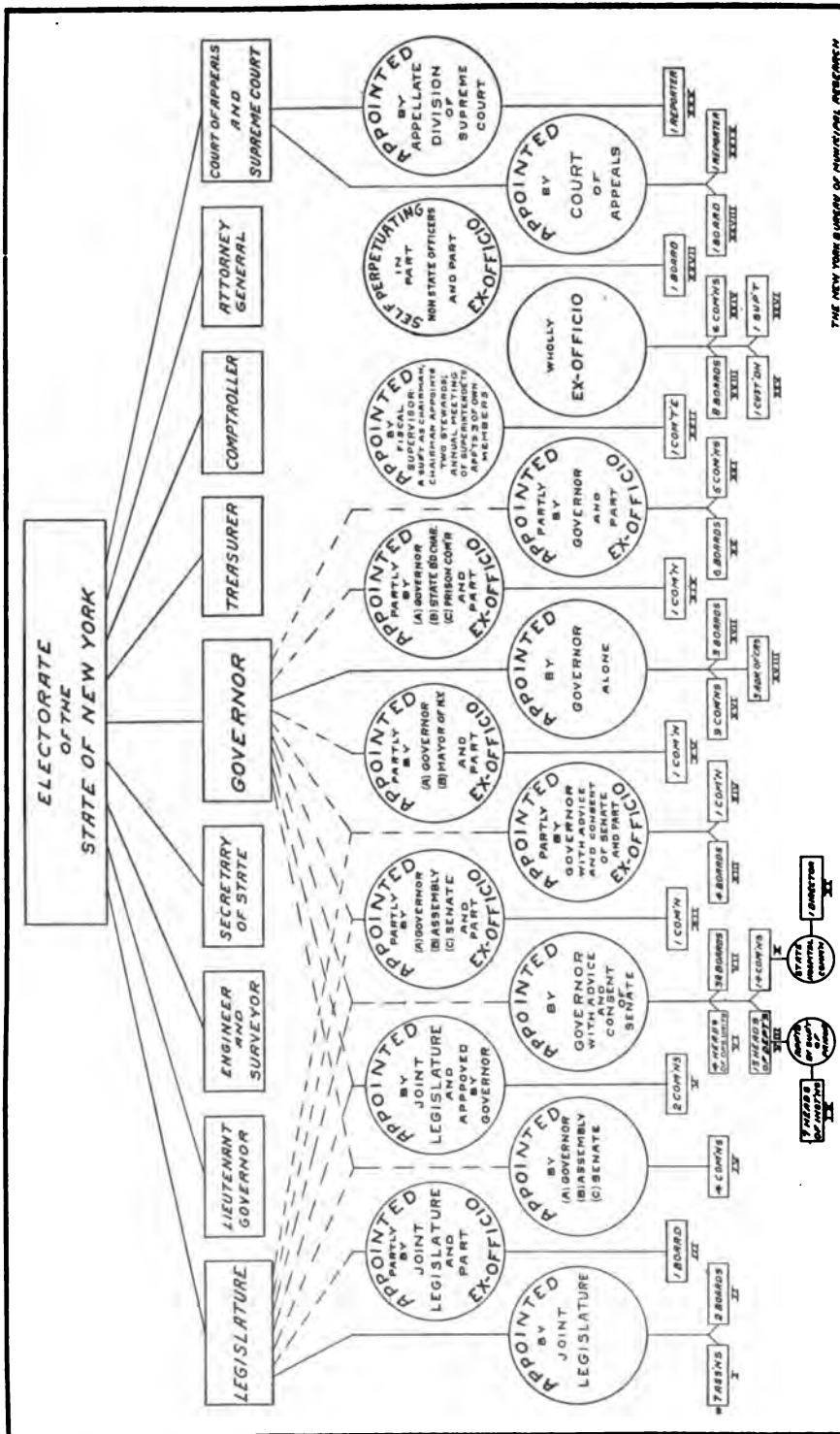
Whether the list contain ten or twelve departments is not vital. Whether precisely this classification be followed is not essential. What is important is that the many phases of the work of the state be organized into bureaus and divisions under a small enough number of departments to make them comprehensible; that these departments be placed under the direction of responsible heads; that these heads in order that they may be responsible be made appointive and removable by the governor without the interference of a log-rolling senate; and that the governor be given a term long enough to make it possible for him to formulate and execute policies in the public interest. Then would power and responsibility be united; then the Invisible Government would cease to be, for government would become apparent to the eye of any intelligent citizen. The officer whom we now hold responsible would then actually be responsible for the reins of power would be in his hands.

<sup>11</sup> By Professor Beard in his *American Government*, pp. 506-507, where he discusses with approval Mr. F. H. White's proposals which are to be found in *The Political Science Quarterly*, 1903, Vol. XVIII, p. 655.

<sup>12</sup> For a long list of the present irresponsible organs which would be placed in directed coöperation under this department see *An Appraisal*, pp. 129-139.

<sup>13</sup> *Supra*, pp. 145-158.

## CHART I





**KEY TO CHART L—SHOWING THE DIFFERENT METHODS OF APPOINTMENT PRESCRIBED BY LAW, ROMAN NUMERALS BEING USED FOR PURPOSES OF REFERENCE TO CHART ON OPPOSITE PAGE.**

**APPTD. JOINT LEGISLATURE;**

- I.**—1—Am. Socie. and Hist. Preserv. Soc.  
2—New York State Hist. Assn.  
3—German-American Alliance  
4—Comm. Daughters Am. Rev. N. Y. State  
5—Mahwahsingh Chapter D. A. R.  
6—Mt. McGregor Memorial Assn.  
7—Johnstown Hist. Soc.

Seven organizations are designated by joint legislature as custodians of historic sites. The personnel of the organizations is self-perpetuating.

- II.**—1—Bd. Statutory Consolidation  
2—Bd. Regents (Ed. Dept.)

**APPTD. PART JOINT LEGIS., P'T EX-OFF.**  
**III.**—1—Bd. Trust. Inst. Study Malig. Dis.

**APPTD. GOV., ASSEMBLY SENATE**

- IV.**—1—Commn. Investigate Housing, Cities 2d Cl.  
2—N. Y. State Factory Investig. Commn.  
3—Panama-Pacific Exp. Commn.  
4—Treaty Ghent Commn.

**APPTD. JOINT LEGIS., APRVD. BY GOV.**  
**V.**—1—Curtis Monument Commn.  
2—Irisa Brigades Monument Commn.

**APPTD. GOV. W. ADV. & CONS. SEN.**

- VI.**—1—State Supt. Elections  
2—State Supt. Wgts. and Meas.  
3—Fiscal Supervisor State Char.  
4—Militia (Maj. Gen.)
- VII.**—1—Bd. Claims  
2—Bd. Tax Commn.  
3—State Bd. Port Wardens  
4—Bd. Trust. State Agr. Exp. Sta. (Geneva)  
5—State Bd. Public Char.  
6—Bd. Mgrs. Reform. (Elmira)  
7—Bd. Mgrs. East. N. Y. Reform. (Mapanoch)  
8—Bd. Mgrs. Agr. and Indust. Sch. (Industry)  
9—Bd. Mgrs. West. Home Refuge Women (Albion)  
10—Bd. Mgrs. Reform., Women (Bedford)  
11—Bd. Mgrs. Training Sch. Girls (Hudson)  
12—Bd. Mgrs. Indust. Farm Colony (Green Haven)  
13—Bd. Mgrs. Train. Sch. Boys (Yorktown H'ghts)  
14—Bd. Mgrs. Reform., Misdemeanants  
15—Bd. Mgrs. Rome Cust. Asy.  
16—Bd. Mgrs. Cust. Asy. F'b'l'm'd Women (Newark)  
17—Bd. Mgrs. Letchworth Village (Thiells)  
18—Bd. Mgrs. inst. F'b'l'm'd Children  
19—Bd. Mgrs. Craig Colony Epileptics (Soneya)  
20—Bd. Mgrs. Care Crippled Children  
21—Bd. Mgrs. School for Blind (Batavia)  
22—Bd. Mgrs. Hosp. Ty'm't Insp. Tuberc. (Ray Brook)  
23—Bd. Mgrs. Women's Relief Corps Home (Oxford)  
24—Bd. Mgrs. Thomas Indian Sch. (Iroquois)  
25—Bd. Mgrs. Utica State Hosp.  
26—Bd. Mgrs. Willard State Hosp.  
27—Bd. Mgrs. Hudson River Hosp.  
28—Bd. Mgrs. Middletown State Homeo. Hosp.  
29—Bd. Mgrs. Buffalo State Hosp.  
30—Bd. Mgrs. St. Lawrence State Hosp.  
31—Bd. Mgrs. Rochester State Hosp.  
32—Bd. Mgrs. Gowanda State Homeo. Hosp.  
33—Bd. Mgrs. Mohansic State Hosp.  
34—Bd. Mgrs. Long Island State Hosp.  
35—Bd. Mgrs. Kings Park State Hosp.  
36—Bd. Mgrs. Manhattan State Hosp.  
37—Bd. Mgrs. Central Islip State Hosp.  
38—Bd. Trust. Washington Hensdq's (Newburgh)
- VIII.**—1—Dept. Efficiency and Economy  
2—Banking Dept.  
3—Insurance Dept.  
4—Dept. Excise  
5—State Dept. Health  
6—Health Officer Port N. Y.  
7—Dept. Labor  
8—Dept. State Fire Marshal  
9—Dept. Agriculture  
10—Prison Dept.  
11—Dept. Arch.  
12—Dept. Public Works  
13—Dept. Highways
- IX.**—1—Sing Sing Prison  
2—Auburn Prison  
3—Clinton Prison  
4—Great Meadow Prison  
5—State Farm, Women (Valatie)  
6—Dannemora State Hosp. Insane Conv.  
7—Matteawan State Hosp. Insane Crim.

- X.**—1—Saratoga Springs State Res. Commn.  
2—Fire Island State Park Commn.  
3—Watkins Glen Reservation Commn.  
4—Palisades Interstate Park Commn.  
5—Commn. Prom. Uniformity Legis. U. S.  
6—State Civil Service Commn.  
7—Pub. Serv. Commn. (1st Dist.)  
8—Pub. Serv. Commn. (2d Dist.)  
9—State Commn. Prisons  
10—Bronx Parkway Commn.  
11—Conservation Dept. (Commn.)  
12—Commn. State Reserv. (Niagara)  
13—Newton Battlefield Commn.  
14—State Hosp. Commn.

**XI.**—1—Dir. Psychiatric Inst.

**APPTD. P'T GOV., ASSEMB., SEN., P'T EX-OFF.**  
**XII.**—1—Perry Victory Centennial Commn.

**APPTD. P'T GOV., ADV. CONS. SEN., P'T EX-OFF.**

- XIII.**—1—Bd. Trust. State Sch. Ag. (Morrisville)  
2—Bd. Cont. State Sch. Ag. Dom. Sc. (Delhi)  
3—Bd. Parole State Prisons  
4—Bd. Trust. Soldiers, Sailors Home (Bath)

**XIV.**—1—Workmen's Compensation Commn.

**APPTD. P'T GOV., MAYOR N. Y., P'T EX-OFF.**  
**XV.**—1—N. Y. Bridge and Tunnel Commn.

**APPTD. GOV. ALONE**

- XVI.**—1—Commissioner to Index Session Laws  
2—Commn. Fed. Legis. Alien Inmns  
3—Commn. Invest. Port Cond., N. Y. Harbor  
4—Voting Machine Commn.  
5—State Racing Commn.  
6—N. Y. State Athletic Commn.  
7—Commn. for Blind  
8—Commn. Invest. Prov. Mentally Def.  
9—Ketchum Memorial Commn.

- XVII.**—1—Bd. Embalming Examiners  
2—Bd. Exam. F'b'l'm'd, Crim., Other Def.  
3—Bd. Trust. Schuyler Mansion

- XVIII.**—1—Miscellaneous Reporter  
2—Harbor Masters  
3—Spol. Exam. and Apprais. Canal Lands

**APPTD. P'T GOV., STATE BD. CHAR., PRIS. COMMN., P'T EX-OFF.**

**XIX.**—1—State Probation Commn.

**APPTD. P'T GOV., P'T EX-OFFICIO**

- XX.**—1—Bd. Trust. State Sch. Agr. (L. I.)  
2—Bd. Trust. Coll. Forestry (Syracuse)  
3—Advis. Bd. Prom. Agr.  
4—Bd. Trust. Schoharie State Sch. Agr.  
5—Bd. Gov. State Nautical Sch.  
6—State Bd. Geographic Names
- XXI.**—1—Const. Conv. Commn.  
2—Commn. Revis. Codify Tax Laws  
3—N. Y. State Fair Commn.  
4—N. Y. Mon. Commn. Gettysburg, Chatt. Antietam  
5—25th N. Y. Vol. Cav. Mon. Commn.

**APPTD. FISC. SUPVSR.: SUPT. AS CH'RM'N, CH'RM'N APPTS. 2 ST'W'DS: ANNUAL M'T'G SUPTS. APPTS. 3 OWN NO.**

**XXII.**—1—Joint Pur. Comm. Char. Inst.

**WHOLLY EX-OFFICIO**

- XXIII.**—1—Bd. Estimate  
2—State Printing Bd.  
3—State Bd. Canvassers  
4—State Bd. Equalization  
5—State Bd. Classification  
6—Bd. Retirement State Hosp. Emp.  
7—Canal Bd.  
8—Trust. Pub. Bldgs. (Bd.)
- XXIV.**—1—Salary Class. Commn.  
2—Bldg. Improvement Commn.  
3—Commn. Sites, Grounds, Bldgs.  
4—Commissioners Canal Fund  
5—Commissioners Land Office  
6—Battlehip New York Silver Serv. Commn.

- XXV.**—1—Cust. Saratoga Monument  
**XXVI.**—1—Dept. Pub. Bldgs. (Supt.)

**SELF-PERPETUAT'G IN P'T (NON-STATE OFF.), P'T EX-OFF.**

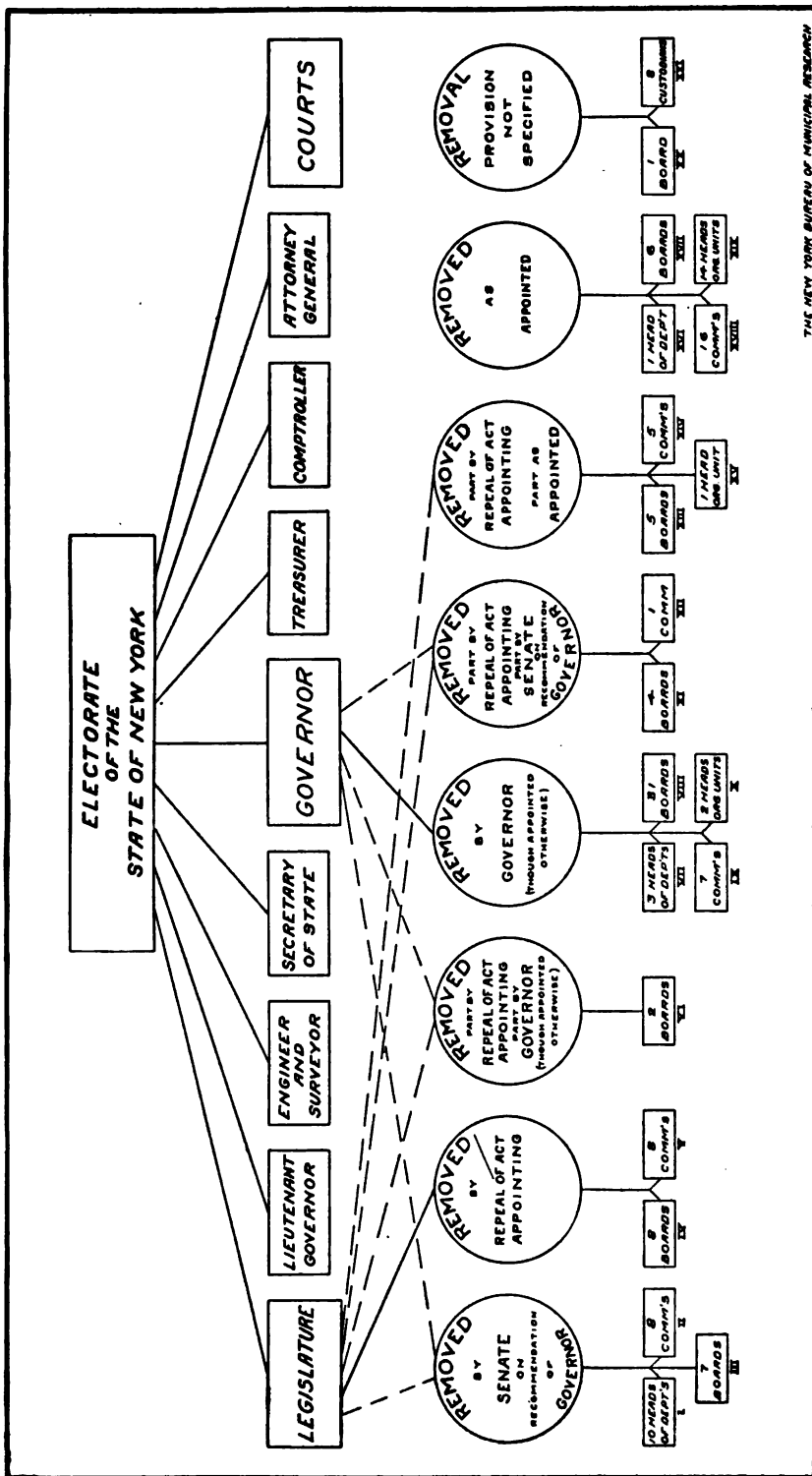
- XXVII.**—1—Bd. Mgrs. Soc. Ref. Juv. Del. N. Y. (Randall's Is.)

**APPOINTED BY COURT OF APPEALS**

- XXVIII.**—1—State Bd. Law Examiners  
**XXIX.**—1—State Reporter

**APPTD. APPELLATE DIV. SUPREME COURT**  
**XXX.**—1—Supreme Court Reporter

CHART II



**KEY TO CHART II.—SHOWING THE DIFFERENT METHODS OF REMOVAL PRESCRIBED BY LAW, ROMAN NUMERALS BEING USED FOR REFERENCE TO CHART ON OPPOSITE PAGE.**

**REMOVED SEN. RECOMMEND. GOV.**

- I  
1—Dept. Efficiency and Economy  
2—Banking Dept.  
3—Insurance Dept.  
4—Dept. Excise  
5—State Dept. Health  
6—Health Officer Port N. Y.  
7—Dept. Labor  
8—Dept. State Fire Marshal  
9—Dept. Agriculture  
10—Dept. Architecture

- II  
1—Saratoga Springs State Reserv. Commn.  
2—Watkins Glen Reserv. Commn.  
3—Palmyra Inter-State Park Commn.  
4—Commn. From. Uniformity Legis. U. S.  
5—State Civil Service Commn.  
6—Commn. State Reserv. (Niagara)  
7—Newtown Battlefield Commn.  
8—State Hospital Commn.

- III  
1—Bd. Claims  
2—Bd. Tax Commn.  
3—Bd. Mgrs. Reform. (Edmira)  
4—Bd. Mgrs. East N. Y. Reform. (Napanoch)  
5—Bd. Mgrs. Agr. and Indust. Sch. (Industry)  
6—Bd. Mgrs. School for Blind (Batavia)  
7—Bd. Trust. Washington's Hdqrs. (Newburgh)  
8—Bd. Trust. Coll. of Forestry (Syracuse)

**REMOVED BY REPEAL OF ACT APPTD.**

- IV  
1—Bd. Estimate  
2—State Print. Bd.  
3—State Bd. Canvassers  
4—State Bd. Equalization  
5—State Bd. Classification  
6—Bd. Retirement State Hosp. Employees  
7—Canal Bd.  
8—Trustees Public Bldgs. (Bd.)

- V  
1—Curtis Monument Commn.  
2—Irish Brigades Monument Commn.  
3—Salary Classification Commn.  
4—Building Improvement Commn.  
5—Commn. Sites, Grounds, Bldg.  
6—Commn. Canal Fund  
7—Commn. Land Office  
8—Battleship New York Silver Serv. Commn.

**RMVD. P'T REPEAL ACT APPTD. P'T GOV. (THO. APPTD. OTHERWISE)**

- VI  
1—Bd. Gov. State Nautical Sch.  
2—Bd. Mgrs. Soc. Ref. Juv. Del. N.Y.C. (Randall's Is.)

**REMOVED GOV. (THOUGH APPTD. OTHERWISE)**

- VII  
1—Prison Dept.  
2—Dept. Public Works  
3—Dept. Highways

- VIII  
1—State Bd. Port Wardens  
2—State Bd. Pub. Charities  
3—Bd. Mgrs. West. Home Refuge Women (Albion)  
4—Bd. Mgrs. Reform. Women (Bedford)  
5—Bd. Mgrs. Train. Sch. Girls (Hudson)  
6—Bd. Mgrs. Indust. Farm Colony (Green Haven)  
7—Bd. Mgrs. Train. Sch. Boys (Yorktown H'ghts)  
8—Bd. Mgrs. Reform. Misdemeanants  
9—Bd. Mgrs. Rome Cust. Asy.  
10—Bd. Mgrs. Cust. Asy. F'b'l'm'd. Women (Newark)  
11—Bd. Mgrs. Letchworth Village (Thiells)  
12—Bd. Mgrs. Syr. Inst. F'b'l'm'd. Children  
13—Bd. Mgrs. Craig Colony Epileptics (Soneya)  
14—Bd. Mgrs. Hosp. Care Crippled Children  
15—Bd. Mgrs. Hosp. Treatment Incip. Tuberc.  
16—Bd. Mgrs. Women's Relief Corps Home (Oxford)  
17—Bd. Mgrs. Thomas Indian Sch. (Iroquois)  
18—Bd. Mgrs. Utica State Hosp.  
19—Bd. Mgrs. Willard State Hosp.  
20—Bd. Mgrs. Hudson River State Hosp.  
21—Bd. Mgrs. Middletown State Homeo. Hosp.  
22—Bd. Mgrs. Buffalo State Hosp.  
23—Bd. Mgrs. Binghamton State Hosp.  
24—Bd. Mgrs. St. Lawrence State Hosp.  
25—Bd. Mgrs. Rochester State Hosp.  
26—Bd. Mgrs. Gowanda State Homeo. Hosp.  
27—Bd. Mgrs. Mohawke State Hosp.  
28—Bd. Mgrs. Long Island State Hosp.  
29—Bd. Mgrs. Kings Park State Hosp.  
30—Bd. Mgrs. Manhattan State Hosp.  
31—Bd. Mgrs. Central Islip State Hosp.

- IX  
1—Commn. Investigate Housing Cities 2d Cl.  
2—Fire Island State Park Commn.  
3—Public Service Commn. (1st Dist.)  
4—Public Service Commn. (2d Dist.)  
5—State Commn. Prisons  
6—Conservation Dept. (Commn.)  
7—Joint Fur. Comm. Char. Inst.

X  
1—State Supt. Elections  
2—Fiscal Supervisor State Charities  
**RMVD. P'T RPL. ACT APPTG. P'T SEN. REC. GOV.**

- XI  
1—Bd. Trust. State Sch. Agr. (Morrisville)  
2—Bd. Control State Sch. Agr. Dom. So. (Delhi)  
3—Bd. Parole State Prisons  
4—Bd. Trust. Soldiers and Sailors Home (Bath)

XII  
1—N. Y. State Fair Commn.  
**REMOVED P'T REPEAL ACT APPTG. P'T AS APPTD.**

- XIII  
1—Bd. Trust. Inst. Study Malignant Diseases  
2—Bd. Trust. State Agr. Exp. Sta. (Geneva)  
3—Advis. Bd. Promotion Agr.  
4—Bd. Trust. Schoharie State Sch. Agr.  
5—State Bd. Geographic Names  
XIV  
1—N. Y. State Factory Investigating Commn.  
2—Ferry Victory Centennial Commn.  
3—N. Y. Monum't Comm. Gettys'g, Chatt., Antietam  
4—N. Y. Bridge and Tunnel Commn.  
5—State Probation Commn.

XV  
1—Militia (Maj. Gen.)  
**REMOVED AS APPOINTED**

- XVI  
1—Dept. Pub. Bldgs. (Supt.)  
XVII  
1—Bd. Statutory Consolidation  
2—Bd. Embalming Examiners  
3—Bd. Exam. Feeble-minded, Criminal, other Def.  
4—Bd. Trust. Schuyler Mansion  
5—Bd. Trust. State Sch. Agr. (Long Island)  
6—State Bd. Law Examiners

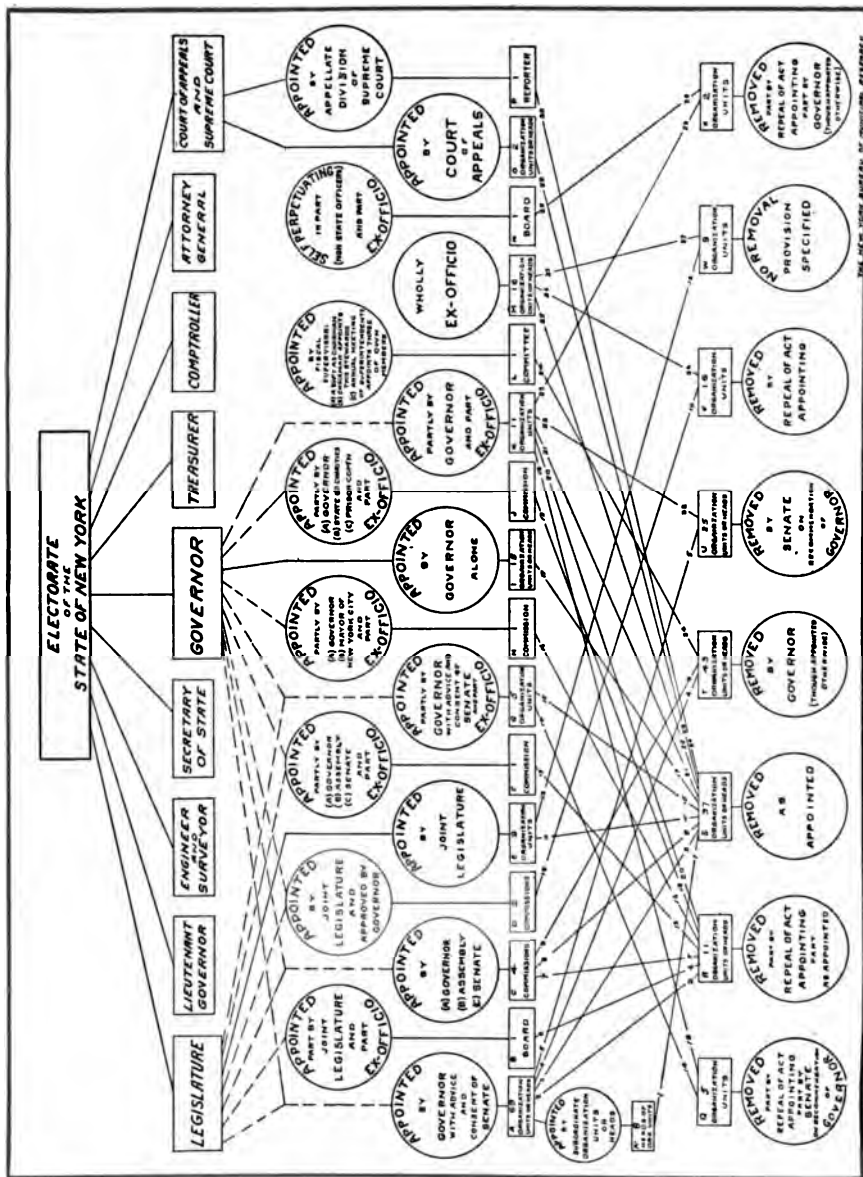
- XVIII  
1—Bronx Parkway Commn.  
2—Workmen's Compensation Commn.  
3—Commn. Index Session Laws  
4—Commn. Fed. Legis. Alien Insane  
5—Commn. Invest. Port Cond. N. Y. Harbor  
6—Voting Machine Commn.  
7—State Racing Commn.  
8—N. Y. State Athletic Commn.  
9—Commn. for Blind  
10—Commn. Investigate Prov. Ment. Def.  
11—Ketchum Memorial Commn.  
12—Const. Conv. Commn.  
13—Commn. Revise and Codify Tax Laws  
14—25th N. Y. Vol. Cav. Mon. Commn.  
15—Panama-Pacific Exp. Commn.  
16—Treaty Ghent Commn.

- XIX  
1—Sing Sing Prison  
2—Auburn Prison  
3—Clinton Prison  
4—Great Meadow Prison  
5—State Farm, Women (Valatie)  
6—Dannemora State Hosp. Insane Convicts  
7—Matteawan State Hosp. Insane Criminals  
8—Dir. Psychiatric Inst.  
9—State Supt. Wgts. and Meas.  
10—Miscellaneous Reporter  
11—Harbor Masters  
12—Spel. Examiner, Appraiser Canal Lands  
13—State Reporter  
14—Supreme Court Reporter

**REMOVAL PROVISION NOT SPECIFIED**

- XX  
1—Bd. Regents (Bd. Dept.)  
XXI  
1—Am. Scenic and Hist. Preserv. Soc.  
2—N. Y. State Hist. Assn.  
3—German-American Alliance  
4—Commn. D. A. R., N. Y. State  
5—Mahwahawagh Chapter D. A. R.  
6—Mt. McGregor Memorial Assn.  
7—Johnstown Hist. Soc.  
8—Custodian Saratoga Monument

CHART III



KEY TO CHART III.—SHOWING LACK OF CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN APPOINTMENT AND REMOVAL. THE HEAVY FACED NUMBERS REFER TO LINES ON CHART ABOVE.

APPTD. BY SUB. ORG. UNITS OR HEADS  
1—Removed as appointed

- 1—Sing Sing Prison
- 2—Auburn Prison
- 3—Clinton Prison
- 4—Great Meadow Prison
- 5—State Farm Women (Valatie)
- 6—Dannemora State Hosp. Insane Conv.
- 7—Matteawan State Hosp. Insane Crim.
- 8—Dir. Psychiatric Inst.

APPTD. GOV. W. ADV. & CONS. SEN.

- 2—Removed p't by r'l act apptg. p't as apptd.
- 1—Dept. Efficiency and Economy
- 2—Banking Dept.
- 3—Insurance Dept.
- 4—Dept. Excise.
- 5—State Dept. Health
- 6—Health Officer Port of N. Y.
- 7—Dept. Labor
- 8—Dept. State Fire Marshal

- 9—Dept. Agriculture
- 10—Dept. Architecture
- 11—Saratoga Springs State Reserv. Commn.
- 12—Watkins Glen Reserv. Commn.
- 13—Palisades Interstate Pk. Commn.
- 14—Commn. Prom. Uniformity Legis. U. S.
- 15—State Civil Service Commn.
- 16—Commn. State Reserv. (Niagara)
- 17—Newtown Battlefield Commn.
- 18—State Hosp. Commn.
- 19—Bd. Claims
- 20—Bd. Tax Commissioners
- 21—Bd. Mgrs. Reformatory (Elmira)
- 21—Bd. Mgrs. East N. Y. Reform. (Napanoch)
- 22—Bd. Mgrs. Agr. and Industr. Sch. (Industry)
- 23—Bd. Mgrs. Sch. Blind (Batavia)
- 24—Bd. Trust. Washington Hdqtrs. (Newburgh)
- 2—Removed as appointed
- 1—Prison Dept.
- 2—Dept. Public Works
- 3—Dept. Highways
- 4—Fire Island State Park Commn.
- 5—Public Service Commn. (1st Dist.)
- 6—Public Service Commn. (2d Dist.)
- 7—State Commn. Prisons
- 8—Conservation Dept. (Commn.)
- 9—State Bd. Port Wardens
- 10—State Bd. Public Charities
- 11—Bd. Mgrs. West. Home Refuge Women (Albion)
- 12—Bd. Mgrs. Reform. Women (Bedford)
- 13—Bd. Mgrs. Train. Sch. Girls (Hudson)
- 14—Bd. Mgrs. Indust. Farm Colony (Green Haven)
- 15—Bd. Mgrs. Train. School Boys (York't'n H'ghts)
- 16—Bd. Mgrs. Reform., Misdemeanants
- 17—Bd. Mgrs. Rome Cust. Asy.
- 18—Bd. Mgrs. Cust. Asy. F'b'l'm'd Women (Newark)
- 19—Bd. Mgrs. Letchworth Village (Thiells)
- 20—Bd. Mgrs. Inst. F'b'l'm'd Children
- 21—Bd. Mgrs. Craig Colony Epileptics (Sonyea)
- 22—Bd. Mgrs. Hosp. Care Crippled Children
- 23—Bd. Mgrs. Hosp. Trust. Incub. Tuberc.
- 24—Bd. Mgrs. Women's Relief Corps Home (Oxford)
- 25—Bd. Mgrs. Thomas Indian Sch. (Iroquois)
- 26—Bd. Mgrs. Utica State Hosp.
- 27—Bd. Mgrs. Willard State Hosp.
- 28—Bd. Mgrs. Hudson River State Hosp.
- 29—Bd. Mgrs. Middletown Homeo. State Hosp.
- 30—Bd. Mgrs. Buffalo State Hosp.
- 31—Bd. Mgrs. Binghamton State Hosp.
- 32—Bd. Mgrs. St. Lawrence State Hosp.
- 33—Bd. Mgrs. Rochester State Hosp.
- 34—Bd. Mgrs. Gowanda State Homeo. Hosp.
- 35—Bd. Mgrs. Mohansic State Hosp.
- 36—Bd. Mgrs. Long Island State Hosp.
- 37—Bd. Mgrs. Kings Park State Hosp.
- 38—Bd. Mgrs. Manhattan State Hosp.
- 39—Bd. Mgrs. Central Islip State Hosp.
- 40—State Supt. Elections
- 41—Fiscal Supervisor State Char.
- 4—Rmvd. gov. (tho. apptd. otherwise)
- 1—Militia (Maj. Gen.)
- 2—Bd. Trust. State Agr. Exp. Sta. (L. I.)
- 5—Rmvd. sen. rec. gov.
- 1—Bronx Parkway Commn.
- 2—State Supt. Weights and Meas.
- APPTD. P'T JOINT LEGIS., P'T EX-OFF.
- 6—Rmvd. p't r'p'l act apptg. p't as apptd.
- 1—Bd. Trust. Inst. Study Malig. Dis.
- APPTD. GOV., ASSEMB., SEN.
- 7—Rmvd. p't by r'p'l act apptg. p't as apptd.
- 1—Commn. Invest. Housing Cond. Cities 2d Cl.
- 8—Removed as appointed
- 1—N. Y. State Factory Investigating Commn.
- 9—Rmvd. gov. alone (tho. apptd. otherwise)
- 1—Panama-Pacific Exp. Commn.
- 2—Treaty Ghent Commn.
- APPTD. JOINT LEGIS. APPR. GOV.
- 10—Rmvd. r'p'l act apptg.
- 1—Curtis Monument Commn.
- 2—Irish Brigades Monument Commn.
- APPTD. JOINT LEGIS.
- 11—Removed as appointed
- 1—Bd. Statutory Consolidation
- 12—No removal provision specified
- 1—Am. Bionic and Hist. Preserv. Soc.
- 2—N. Y. State Hist. Asso.
- 3—German-American Alliance
- 4—Comm. D. A. R., N. Y. State
- 5—Mahwahwasagh Chap. D. A. R.
- 6—Mt. McGregor Memorial Asso.
- 7—Johnstown Hist. Soc.
- 8—Bd. Regents (Ed. Dept.)

APPTD. P'T GOV., ASSEMB., SEN., P'T EX-OFF.

13—Rmvd. p't by r'p'l act apptg. p't as apptd.

1—Perry Victory Centennial Commn.

APPTD. P'T GOV., ADV. CONS. SEN., P'T EX-OFF.

14—Rmvd. p't by r'p'l act apptg. p't by sen. on rec. gov.

1—Bd. Trust. State Sch. Agr. (Morrisville)

2—Bd. Control State Sch. Agr. and Dom. Sci. (Delhi)

3—Bd. Parole State Prisons

4—Bd. Trust. Soldiers and Sailors Home (Bath)

15—Removed as appointed

1—Workmen's Compensation Commn.

APPTD. P'T GOV., MAYOR N. Y., P'T EX-OFF.

16—Rmvd. p't r'p'l act apptg. p't as apptd.

1—N. Y. Bridge and Tunnel Commn.

APPTD. GOV. ALONE

17—Removed as appointed

1—Voting Machine Commn.

2—State Racing Commn.

3—N. Y. State Athletic Commn.

4—Commn. for Blind

5—Commn. Invest. Prov. Mentally Def.

6—Ketchum Memorial Commn.

7—Commissioner Index Session Laws

8—Commn. Fed. Legis. Alien Insane

9—Commn. Invest. Port Conditions N. Y. Harbor

10—Bd. Embalming Examiners

11—Bd. Exam. F'b'l'm'd Criminal, Other Def.

12—Bd. Trust. (Schuyler Mansion)

13—Miscellaneous Reporter

14—Harbor Masters

15—Spcl. Exam. and Appraiser Canal Lands

APPTD. P'T BY GOV., STATE B'D CHAR., PRIS. COMM. P'T EX-OFF.

18—Rmvd. p't r'p'l act apptg. p't as apptd.

1—State Probation Commn.

APPTD. P'T GOV., P'T EX-OFF.

19—Rmvd. p't r'p'l act apptg. p't sen. rec. gov.

1—Bd. Trust. State Coll. Forestry (Syracuse)

20—Rmvd. p't r'p'l act apptg. p't as apptd.

1—Bd. Gov. State Nautical School

21—Removed as appointed

1—N. Y. State Fair Commn.

22—Rmvd. sen. rec. gov.

1—Adv. Bd. Promotion Agr.

2—Bd. Trust. Scholastic State Sch. Agr.

3—State Bd. Geographic Names

4—N. Y. Mon. Comm. Gettysburg Chatt., Antietam

23—Rmvd. p't r'p'l act apptg. p't gov. (tho. apptd. otherwise)

1—Bd. Trust. State Sch. Agr. (L. I.)

2—Const. Conv. Commn.

3—Commn. Revise and Codify Tax Laws

4—25th N. Y. Vol. Cav. Monument Commn.

APPTD. FISC. SUPVSR.; SUPT. AS CH'RM'N. CH'RM'N. APPTS. 2 STWRDS., ANN. MEET. SUPTS. APPTS. 3 OWN M'BERS.

24—Rmvd. gov. (tho. apptd. otherwise)

1—Joint Fur. Comm. Charitable Inst.

WHOLLY EX-OFFICIO

25—Removed as appointed

1—Bd. Estimate

2—State Printing Bd.

3—State Bd. Canvassers

4—State Bd. Equalization

5—State Bd. Classification

6—Bd. Retirement State Hosp. Employees

7—Canal Bd.

8—Trust. Public Bldgs. (Bd.)

9—Salary Classification Commn.

10—Building Improvement Commn.

11—Commn. Sites, Grounds, Bldgs.

12—Commissioners Canal Fund

13—Commissioners Land Office

14—Battleship "New York" Silver Service Commn.

26—Rmvd. repeal act apptg.

1—Dept. Public Bldgs. (Supt.)

27—No rmvl. prov. specified

1—Custodian Saratoga Monument

SELF-PERPET. P'T (NON-STATE OFF.) P'T EX-OFF.

28—Rmvd. p't r'p'l act apptg. p't gov. (tho. apptd. otherwise)

1—Bd. Mgrs. Soc. Ref. Juv. Del. N. Y. C. (Randall's Is.)

APPOINTED COURT APPEALS

29—Removed as appointed

1—State Bd. Law Examiners

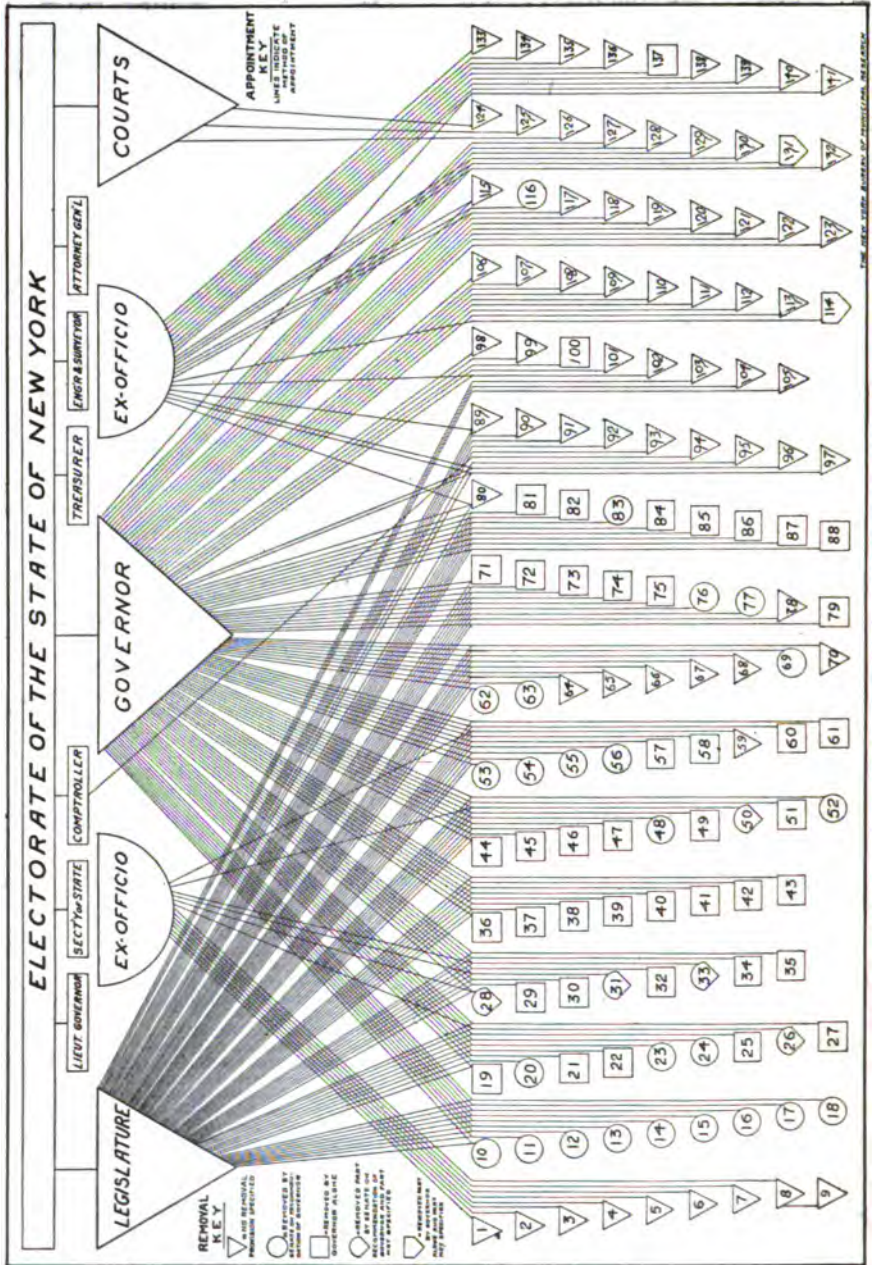
2—State Reporter

APPTD. APPELLATE DIV. SUPREME COURT

30—Removed as appointed

1—Supreme Court Reporter

CHART IV



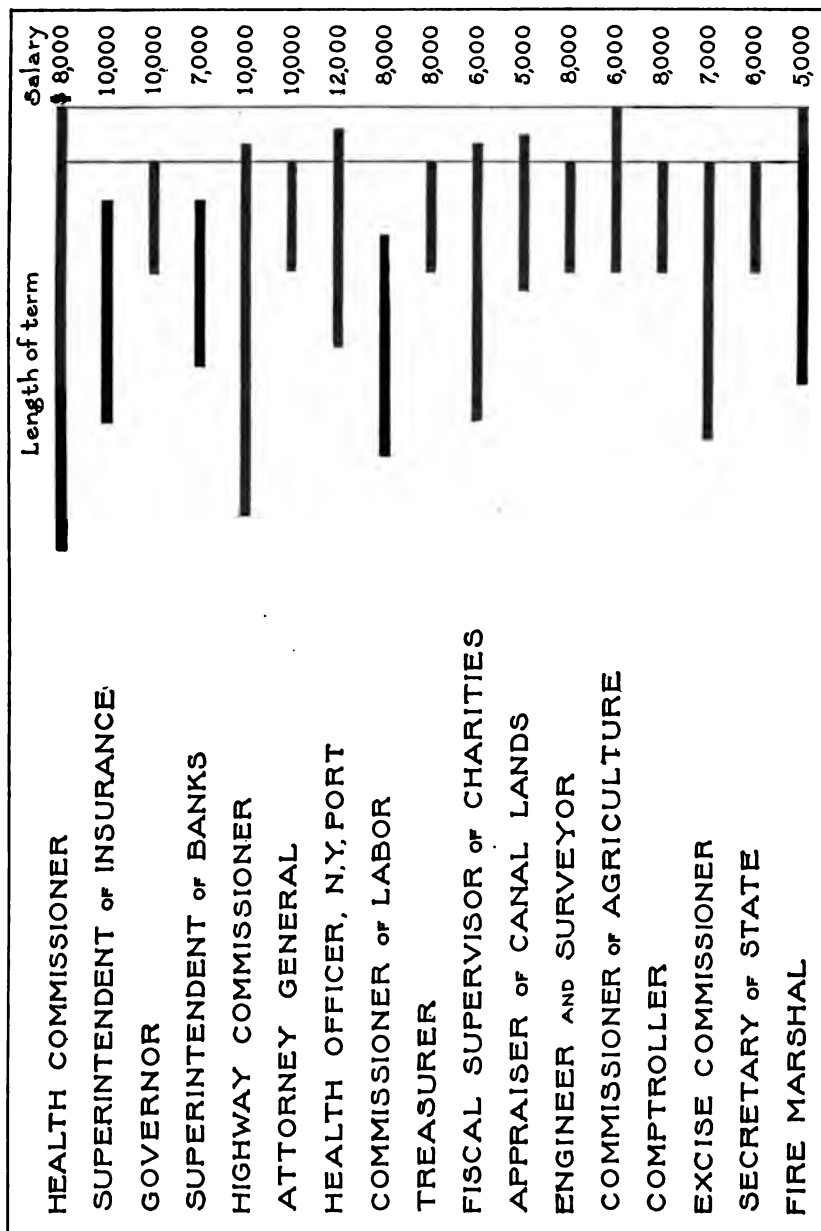
**KEY TO CHART IV.—SHOWING METHODS OF APPOINTMENT AND REMOVAL REGROUPED TO SHOW INTERMINGLING OF RESPONSIBILITY. KEY TO SYMBOLS AND LINES APPEARS ON CHART PAGE 22. NUMBERS REFER TO SAME CHART.**

- 1—Bd. Estimate
- 2—State Printing Bd.
- 3—State Bd. Canvassers
- 4—State Bd. Equalization
- 5—State Bd. Classification
- 6—Bd. Retirement State Hosp. Employees
- 7—Canal Bd.
- 8—Trust. Public Bldg.
- 9—Dept. Public Bldgs.
- 10—Dept. Efficiency and Economy
- 11—Banking Dept.
- 12—Insurance Dept.
- 13—Dept. Excise
- 14—State Dept. Health
- 15—Health Officer Port N. Y.
- 16—Dept. Labor
- 17—Dept. State Fire Marshal
- 18—Dept. Agr.
- 19—Prison Dept.
- 20—Dept. Architecture
- 21—Dept. Public Works
- 22—Dept. Highways
- 23—Bd. Claims
- 24—Bd. Tax Commn.
- 25—State Bd. Port Wardens
- 26—Bd. Trust State Sch. Agr. (Morrisville)
- 27—State Bd. Public Char.
- 28—Bd. Cont. State Sch. Agr. Dom. So. (Delhi)
- 29—Bd. Mgrs. Cust. Asy. Fb'l'm'd Women (Newark)
- 30—Bd. Mgrs. Letchworth Village (Thiells)
- 31—Bd. Trust. Soldiers & Sailors Home (Bath)
- 32—Bd. Trust. Women's Relief Corps Home Oxford
- 33—Bd. Parole State Prisons
- 34—Bd. Mgrs. Utica State Hosp.
- 35—Bd. Mgrs. Willard State Hosp.
- 36—Bd. Mgrs. Hudson River State Hosp.
- 37—Bd. Mgrs. Middletown State Homeo. Hosp.
- 38—Bd. Mgrs. Buffalo State Hosp.
- 39—Bd. Mgrs. Binghamton State Hosp.
- 40—Bd. Mgrs. St. Lawrence State Hosp.
- 41—Bd. Mgrs. Rochester State Hosp.
- 42—Bd. Mgrs. Gowanda State Homeo. Hosp.
- 43—Bd. Mgrs. Mohamie State Hosp.
- 44—Bd. Mgrs. Kings Park State Hosp.
- 45—Bd. Mgrs. Long Island State Hosp.
- 46—Bd. Mgrs. Manhattan State Hosp.
- 47—Bd. Mgrs. Central Islip State Hosp.
- 48—Bd. Trust. Washington Hdgtrs. (Newburgh)
- 49—Commn. Invest. Housing Cond. Cities 2d Cl.
- 50—State Fair Commn.
- 51—Commn. Fire Island State Pk.
- 52—Commn. Saratoga Springs State Reserv.
- 53—State Hosp. Commn.
- 54—Commn. Watkins Glen Reserv.
- 55—Commn. Palisades Interstate Pk.
- 56—State Civil Serv. Commn.
- 57—Pub. Serv. Commn. (1st Dist.)
- 58—Pub. Serv. Commn. (2d Dist.)
- 59—Workmen's Compensation Commn.
- 60—Conserv. Commn.
- 61—State Commn. Prisons
- 62—Newton Battlfield Commn.
- 63—Commn. State Reserv. (Niagara)
- 64—Perry Victory Centennial Commn.
- 65—Panama-Pacific Exp. Commn.
- 66—Treaty Ghent Commn.
- 67—Curtis Monument Commn.
- 68—Irish Brigades Monument Commn.
- 69—Commn. Prom. Unif. Legis. U. S.
- 70—State Supt. Wgts. and Meas.
- 71—Bd. Mgrs. Train. Sch. Boys (Yorktown Hgts.)
- 72—Bd. Mgrs. Indust. Farm Colony (Green Haven)
- 73—Bd. Mgrs. Train. Sch. Girls (Hudson)
- 74—Bd. Mgrs. Reform. Women (Bedford)
- 75—Bd. Mgrs. West. Home Relief Women (Albion)
- 76—Bd. Mgrs. Agr. Indust. Sch. (Industry)
- 77—Bd. Mgrs. East N. Y. Reform. (Napanoch)  
Bd. Mgrs. Reform. (Elmira)
- 78—Dir. Psychiatric Inst.
- 79—Fiscal Supervisor State Char.
- 80—Const. Conv. Commn.
- 81—Bd. Mgrs. Thomas Indian Sch. (Iroquois)
- 82—Bd. Mgrs. Hosp. Trmt. Incip. Tuberc.
- 83—Bd. Mgrs. School Blind (Batavia)
- 84—Bd. Mgrs. Hosp. Care Crippled Children
- 85—Bd. Mgrs. Craig Colony Epileptics (Soyes)
- 86—Bd. Mgrs. Inst. Fb'l'm'd Children
- 87—Bd. Mgrs. Rome Cust. Asy.
- 88—Bd. Mgrs. Reform. Misdemeanants
- 89—Johnstown Memorial Soc.
- 90—Mt. McGregor Memorial Asso.
- 91—Mawanaugh Chap. D. A. R.
- 92—Commn. D. A. R. N. Y. State.
- 93—German-American Alliance
- 94—Saratoga Monument
- 95—Am. Scenic & Hist. Preserv. Soc.
- 96—N. Y. Bridge & Tunnel Commn.
- 97—Battleship New York Silver Serv. Commn.
- 98—Commissioner Index Session Laws
- 99—Bd. Trust. State Agr. Exp. Sta. (L. I.)
- 100—State Supt. Elections
- 101—Bronx Parkway Commn.
- 102—N. Y. State Factory Invest. Commn.
- 103—Bd. Trust. Inst. Study Malig. Dis.
- 104—Bd. Regents (Ed. Dept.)
- 105—Bd. Statutory Consul.
- 106—Ketchum Memorial Commn.
- 107—Commn. Invest. Prov. Mentally Def.
- 108—Commn. for Blind
- 109—N. Y. State Athletic Commn.
- 110—State Racing Commn.
- 111—Voting Machine Commn.
- 112—Commn. Invest. Port Cond. N. Y. Harbor
- 113—Commn. Fed. Legis. Alien Insane
- 114—Bd. Mgrs. Soc. Reform. Juv. Del. N. Y. C. (Randall's Is.)
- 115—Advis. Bd. From. Agr.
- 116—Bd. Trust. State Coll. Forestry (Syracuse)
- 117—Bd. Trust. State Sch. Agr. (L. I.)
- 118—Bd. Trust. Schuyler Mansion
- 119—Bd. Exam. Fb'l'm'd Criminals, Other Def.
- 120—Bd. Embalming Examiners
- 121—Sp. Exam. & Appraiser Canal Lands
- 122—Harbor Masters
- 123—Miner. Reporter
- 124—State Bd. Law Examiners
- 125—State Reporter
- 126—Supreme Court Reporter
- 127—25th N. Y. Vol. Cav. Mon. Comm.
- 128—N. Y. Mon. Commn. Gettysburg Chatt., Antietam
- 129—Commn. Revise and Codify Tax Laws
- 130—State Bd. Geographic Names
- 131—Bd. Gov. State Nautical Sch.
- 132—Bd. Trust. Scholastic State Sch. Agr.
- 133—N. Y. State Hist. Asso.
- 134—Salary Classification Commn.
- 135—Commissioners Land Office
- 136—Commissioners Canal Fund
- 137—Joint Fur. Comm. Char. Inst.
- 138—Commn. Sites, Grounds, Bldgs.
- 139—Bldg. Improvement Commn.
- 140—Militia (Ma). Gen.)
- 141—State Probation Commn.



CHART V

Showing the importance of the governor's position in the administration by a comparison of the salaries and length of term of a few of the 150 units.—Prepared by Miss H. S. Lowitt





## POLITICS AS A BARRIER TO AN ADEQUATE AND EFFICIENT SYSTEM OF NATIONAL DEFENSE

BY GEORGE HAVEN PUTNAM.<sup>1</sup>

Under the policy maintained by the United States from the beginning of its history, the control of the military and naval resources of the nation has been left with the civil authorities. It is the theory of American government that the decision as to national policy and as to action under such policy, and the general direction of the military and naval forces maintained for the defense of the nation, or for the carrying out of national policy, must rest with the officials selected by the people for the government of the country.

The President who, notwithstanding the form of the electoral college, represents the political choice of the voters of the country, is himself the commander-in-chief of the army and of the navy. The secretary of war and the secretary of the navy, nearly always civilians, serving as members of the Cabinet, are selected by the President and are subject to confirmation by another civil authority, the United States Senate. The amount of the expenditure that is to be incurred from year to year for the maintenance of the army and of the navy, and for constructive work for new forts or for additional vessels, is fixed, in the first place, by a committee in the House of Representatives, whose action is confirmed by the vote of the Senate. The committees fixing these appropriations, through which are determined the effective force of the army and navy, have before them the recommendations of the President, the secretary of war, and the secretary of the navy, and these recommendations are based upon, or are assumed to be based upon, the reports and recommendations submitted by the army boards and navy boards, composed of trained and experienced officers who have been charged with the duty of investigating conditions and of putting into shape the plans for the effective maintenance and development of the army and navy.

<sup>1</sup>The limitations of the space in *The Annals* rendered necessary the omission of certain portions of Mr. Putnam's paper. These omissions are indicated by asterisks.

In no country in the world is the civilian control of army and navy so complete as in the United States, although there is in Great Britain an approximation to the American system. There are but few Americans who would be prepared at this time to raise question concerning the wisdom of this civilian control over the fighting resources of the nation. We recognize that under a system such as has been developed in Germany, where the organization of army and navy is determined by military and naval staffs, acting under the direction of the Emperor, himself a trained soldier, it is possible to secure a very much larger measure of fighting efficiency than can be looked for under our system. It had been known in advance of the present war that under the German system, with the direct Imperial control, and through the organization of efficient staffs by which should be determined the details of organization, the mapping out of the territory of the Empire into army departments and smaller regions controlled by division organizations, a much larger return in the form of fighting efficiency could be secured in proportion to the expenditure required than could ever be looked for under either the American or the English methods, in which Congress or Parliament insists upon retaining in its own hands the authority and the control.

The American citizen, like the Englishman, has been willing to sacrifice fighting efficiency for the sake of the certainty of retaining his citizen's control over national action. Under the conditions obtaining in the twentieth century, Americans must, however, recognize that the United States has reached a point where its fighting efficiency and the organization of the resources back of its fighting force, must be brought into comparison, and possibly in the near future into conflict, with the systems and the organizations of other nations. It becomes necessary, therefore, for us to consider how far it may be practicable without too serious a sacrifice of American theories of representative government, and of citizens' control of the action of such government, to develop an improvement of the methods of organization and of expenditure that have during the past years been accepted or endured.

Americans have the reputation of being a business-like people and of applying common sense and a fair order of intelligence to the management of their undertakings. There may well, therefore, be a feeling of annoyance, if not of mortification, and even of

concern for the future, when we are reminded from time to time that we incur an enormous expenditure for a very small measure of efficiency for fighting, or even for defense. \* \* \* \*

As far back as Revolutionary days, before the shaping of the Constitution had determined the method of control of the national forces, Washington complained through the long seven years of the Revolution, of the lack of intelligence shown by the Congressional committees to whom had been entrusted, or who had assumed for themselves, the direction of army business which they did not understand. Their blunders were made sometimes through undue interference and sometimes through shameful and heedless neglect, and these blunders brought upon the Continental troops a long series of unnecessary burdens and hardships, and undoubtedly lengthened the struggle for independence. The American reading the history of the Revolution feels that the Colonies would have been wiser to have adopted the system pursued in an emergency by republican Rome. If Washington had been made dictator, his task would have been easier and the country would have been better served. The twentieth century, however, or at least the twentieth century American, has no use for dictators, and we have got to do the best that we can with our citizens' control. But this control should at least be made intelligent and ignorant interference should be minimized. The history of the army posts and of the navy yards gives telling examples of the bad effect of civilian authority in regard to matters and details maintained against the opinions of the experts. We have at this time in existence forty-nine army posts—some eight or ten have during the past twenty-five years been abolished, but almost as many more have been added. The larger number of these posts were created a century or three-quarters of a century back for the very legitimate purpose of protecting the frontiers against Indian raids. The necessity for such protection has long since passed. The Indians are now quiet citizens, or have gone where good and bad Indians go. Successive secretaries of the army have given lists of army posts which ought to be abolished, and the abandonment of which would save moneys that could be used to advantage for the development of the army strength. These useless posts have been retained purely because the communities in which they are placed find some profit from the expenditure connected with them; and because the Congress-

man who voted for their abolition would incur unpopularity with his constituents. The vote of no one Congressman would be sufficient for the maintenance of the useless expenditure, but his vote, coupled with that of hundreds of other Congressmen who are interested on behalf of their own districts in maintaining other futile expenditures, has been sufficient from decade to decade to preserve these useless posts.

In 1912, Henry L. Stimson, secretary of war under President Taft, rendered an annual report of the War Department, which, as a repertory of important information, incisive analysis and clear-cut and weighty recommendations, will retain authority for years to come. It can be compared with the famous report on taxation printed some forty years ago by David A. Wells for the information and financial guidance of the state of New York. In this report, Mr. Stimson gives a list of the forty-nine army posts at that time in existence. He points out, in line with the recommendation of several of his predecessors, that forty or forty-one of these posts ought to be abandoned. This change is important, in his view, not only for the purpose of concentrating the scattered forces of the little army, so that these can be organized in proper divisions, and that officers and men can have the advantage of division service and training, but also to avoid wasteful expenditure. Mr. Stimson estimates that not less than \$5,500,000 could be saved annually by the closing of the useless posts. He shows also various ways in which this money could be used for the service of the nation by improving the efficiency of the army. Similar recommendations have been made by successive secretaries of the navy for the abolition of useless navy yards. The number of the navy yards now carried on the navy list is twenty-one. The experts have recommended that this number should be reduced to twelve or fifteen. Here also a substantial saving could be secured. When the two secretaries of war and the army and navy boards are criticized for incurring large expenditure with small results, it should be borne in mind that certain important divisions of this expenditure are placed outside of their control.

I may recall another instance in which political influence caused unnecessary expenditure and very seriously interfered with the fighting efficiency of our troops. The armies of our Civil War, outside of the little nucleus of the regular army, were organized as

United States volunteers. Our regiments were mustered into the service of the United States, and the armies were directed by United States officers. The regiments were, however, under the plan pursued, organized as state regiments. Some of the states attempted for a time methods which proved to be unprofitable and exceedingly unsatisfactory, under which the company officers were elected by the men, and the field officers were, later, elected by the company officers. But by the close of the first year of the war, there was, I believe, a substantially uniform system in all of the states of the North under which the regimental officers, company and staff, received their commissions from the state governors. The vacancies caused by death or resignation were filled up under the authority of the state governors. In theory at least, the new commissions for the companies were supposed to be given under the recommendation of the regimental officers, and for the regiments by the brigade commanders who had direct knowledge of the service rendered by the regiment. In fact, these vacancies were very largely filled with new men coming from civil life without training, who were appointed over the heads of the officers in the front who had volunteered for service early in the war, and whose service had secured for them a valuable training. These political appointments to fill vacancies did much to demoralize the effectiveness of the regiments at the front. A still greater evil, however, that is to say a more serious impairment of the fighting force of our Northern volunteers, was brought about by the decision to use the later recruits, in the first place volunteers and after 1863, the conscripts, to make new regiments instead of filling up the depleted ranks of the regiments at the front. The state of New York mustered into service during the four years of the war, one hundred and ninety regiments. There ought to have been kept in organization not to exceed one hundred regiments, and if the later recruits, volunteers, and drafted men had been used to keep the ranks of those regiments filled up, the effective fighting force of our army would have been enormously increased. New men campaigning and fighting shoulder to shoulder with veterans secure training very much more rapidly than is possible in a regiment which is green from drummer boy to colonel. These green regiments began wrong. They were a weakness to any brigade with which they were associated. The Confederates had the common sense to pursue the

sensible system. They used their later drafts of men for filling up the depleted commands. Their regiments were kept as nearly as possible to the fighting strength and their brigade divisions and corps contained in most cases nearly double the force of our own. At the Battle of Gettysburg, for instance, the men engaged on the field were, taking the average of the three days, very nearly equal in number: but the Confederates had three army corps engaged against six corps of Federals.

The recommendation of Secretary Stimson, based upon the reports of successive army boards, provides for concentrating the army of the United States into a small number of departments. He recommends a small group of posts covering the Atlantic seaboard on a line from the St. Lawrence to Atlanta; a similar series of posts on the Pacific coast on a line between Puget Sound and Los Angeles, and two groups between the Great Lakes and the Mexican border. The coast forts now number about eighty, of which thirty-nine have no garrisons and the others have garrisons averaging one-half the proper complement. The local sentiment, however, reflected by the action of the members of the House of Representatives, is strictly opposed to any lessening either of the posts or of the coast forts. This objection is, as said above, based in part upon the desire to retain for the districts the advantage of the annual expenditure; but it is fair to say that it is also based in part upon state pride. This local feeling on the part of our forty-eight states, or even of the Congressional districts, in retaining for their own territories something of the national property—some expression of the national power, is not unnatural, and in its general spirit is not to be condemned. ( It becomes, however, seriously inconvenient and makes a real detriment to a system of efficiency when it is permitted to stand in the way of a wise administration of our resources. If our system of defense is to become efficient, if we are to secure full value for the dollars expended, this objection, whether based upon local greed or local pride, must be overruled. The wise-minded and patriotic citizen must bring influence to bear upon his Congressman so that he shall vote not by district, but imperially; that he shall recognize his duty as a member of the national government; and shall use his vote for the interests of the country as a whole.

The reports of the naval board show that the vessels now com-

prising our navy represent a good standard of construction and they are carrying a force of officers and of men which comprises as good material as is contained in any navy of the world. These reports also make clear that the navy is about two-thirds manned; and when the construction of a new vessel is completed, it is possible to put it into commission only by drafting its men from some of the vessels now in commission which vessels must then be laid up. The under-manning of the navy brings disproportioned labor upon the men on each ship, labor which may from time to time cause discontent and discouragement for the service. These reports also show that the present navy is not complete as a properly equipped or effective unit. Naval men know, and they are the only men who do know, just what is required to make a complete unit efficient for its purpose. They point out that the existence of so many dreadnaughts, in the old term "ships of the line," calls for a complement of so many cruisers. There is, in like manner, requirement for a definite proportion of colliers, supply-ships, aeroplanes, submarines. If the people should decide, or at least if Congress, claiming to speak in behalf of the people, should decide, that, under our present policy, the navy ought not to be increased, there is no excuse for deciding at the same time that the navy for which we are now making appropriation should not be completed as a unit according to the reports of the naval board. And yet from year to year, these reports have been pigeonholed. The chairman of a Congressional committee who may be a citizen from some back Western state with no knowledge of ships, says jauntily, "The expenditure for the navy is sufficient; the navy is complete as it stands," or, assuming that he approves of some particular expenditure, he will support the recommendation so as to provide, for instance, for additional dreadnaughts, while refusing to approve provision for the colliers, the supply-ships, the aeroplanes, and the submarines which are essential to make the service of dreadnaughts effective. \* \* \*

(The Congressman who is called upon to help to shape in committee the appropriations for army and navy is often ready to give larger consideration to the effect upon public opinion rather than to the needs of the service. For instance, the reports show that the value of the guns now placed in our coast defenses aggregates \$40,000,000. The average citizen learning that these guns have

been provided, or possibly if he is himself within reach, taking a look at the guns, is ready to convince himself that the government has taken the measures necessary for the protection of the coasts, and that the safety of his own home is secured. He forgets to inquire what provision, if any, has been made for the placing of trained artillerists behind the guns or for the accumulation of ammunition, much of which is of a character that cannot be manufactured hurriedly. The Congressman, representing a coast district, has satisfied the demand of his constituents, but he has done very little towards providing the defense required. The report of General Weaver, Chief of Coast Artillery, published in December, 1915, stated that 21,000 men are required to equip the defenses of the coast. One hundred and twenty-eight big guns have absolutely no men to work them; while the supply of ammunition for these guns would enable them to render service for the space of one hour!

An example of political stupidity in the failure to utilize capital (in the form of experience) that was available, is given in the management of our war with Spain in 1898. \* \* \* No one of the states concerned made use of the veteran experience that was in that year still within reach; and each of the great states whose troops were sent to the front must bear the disgrace for the blunders that resulted from ignorant political management of military requirements. The deaths per thousand from typhoid within the United States, when the troops were within reach of all the resources of the country, was greater for this little Spanish war of a few months than for the armies of the North during the whole four years of our Civil war. The men whose lives were sacrificed in the camps on Long Island and at Chickamauga and in Virginia (within twelve miles of the headquarters of the surgeon-general) because the camps had not been properly laid out and were not properly cared for, were simply murdered. These deaths were due to political ignorance and were a disgrace to the nation.

For the coast defenses, as for all the fighting forces of the country, naval and military, three policies are possible: we should accept the views of the pacifists, save the money of the country and refuse to make any appropriations whatsoever; the coast forts could be dismantled; the guns melted up; the vessels of the navy could be put on the scrap heap, and the soldiers of our little army returned to civil life; the nation could take the ground



that it would make no provision for the defense of its territories at home, or for the maintenance of obligations outside of its own territories. These obligations would, of necessity, be terminated. Such a course of action would at least be consistent, but it would also be cowardly and in the end futile. We may realize from past history, and from history that is now in progress, that abstinence from aggression, refusal to interfere with the affairs of the world, and assertion of righteous and unselfish purposes, would not protect the United States any more than it has protected China or Belgium from aggression and in the end from domination.

The second policy is that of partial or inadequate defense. This is the system that has in substance been followed by our country during the greater part of its history. As in the instances above cited, we use money, and a good deal of money, for the beginning of a defense system. Such expenditures can have no possible value excepting that of satisfying some phase of opinion at the time of some apparent emergency. We carry on a great series of army posts, three-fourths of which are antiquated and useless; we have the framework of an army without providing men enough even to do the national police duty over our great territory. We build expensive vessels and call the group a fleet without making provision for the final equipment, so that the fleet, whether smaller or larger, lacks complete efficiency. This kind of policy which, with a large amount of expenditure, produces no satisfactory results, is what the country has secured in leaving in the hands of civil authority not merely the decision as to national policy, but the determination of the details of the military and naval organization required to carry out such policy.

The third, and as the men of my group contend, the only reasonable, course of action for a nation such as our own, with wealth to protect, with policies to maintain, with obligations to fulfil, with ideals to uphold, is to make such organization of our national resources of men and of material as shall give fair assurance for the defense of our coasts, particularly of our great coast cities, and as shall place us in a position to fulfil in our international relations whatever obligations we have assumed. The nation should take the position that is taken by an honorable merchant who incurs no obligations for the fulfilment of which he has not resources in hand, or for which resources cannot be secured. The men who are

emphasizing the importance of a wise and consistent system of national defense are insisting that the political representatives of the country shall give heed to the counsel and to the specific recommendations submitted by the military and naval experts whose reports are based upon trained skill and long experience. These men have been educated by the country to do a specific service, and it is futile to train such men, to call upon them for the service, and then to permit their recommendations to be thrown to one side by civilians who do not understand the subject and will not take the pains to study it. \* \* \* \*

It is impossible to forecast what new perils may arise in the future. It is the hope of those who are working for peace (and those of us who are interested in organizing our defenses are all advocates of peace), that after the present war it should prove possible to bring about the federation of the states of the world, which has always been the dream, the ideal of the peace men.

Under such a federation, issues arising between the several states would be adjusted, not by war, but by the decisions of a world's court, sitting possibly at The Hague. These decisions will be enforced by a world's police, military and naval, made up of contingents contributed by the several states in proportion to their population, their wealth and their international relations, commercial and political. The contribution of the United States to such world's police must, in connection with its population of 100,000,000 and its great relative wealth, be large, much larger, in fact, than the forces that are now being recommended for new vessels, for the increase of the regular army, and for the constitution of a great reserve of trained citizens. \* \* \* \*

We must emphasize also with Congress the contention that a certain amount of training given to the young citizen when he is still receptive must largely increase the efficiency of that citizen. Under the recommendations of successive secretaries of war, approved by our National Security League, the service with the colors is to be diminished from seven years to two years. Any man of sufficient intelligence can, either as a soldier or as a citizen, secure adequate military training in two years, and if he has a little above the average intelligence and zeal, he can be discharged from the colors as an efficient soldier at the end of one year. The experts

are at one in the conclusion (a conclusion based largely upon the study of conditions in Germany and in France) that the efficiency for later work or for citizen service of any kind is so largely increased by intelligent military training that there would be not a loss but a net gain in the productive capacity of the country in allowing two years, or one year, for youngsters of from 18 to 20, or from 17 to 19 to be devoted to military training.

While the men in the ranks can be made effective with training of from one year to two years, the training of an officer is, of necessity, more exacting. It takes years to make a man fit for the responsibilities of an officer. If the reserve army of trained citizens is to come into existence, we must have officers competent to render the training required. It is the recommendation of the experts that provision be made for an annual examination of men for certificates as officers for the reserve army. Such examination should give us, in the course of a year or two, the 30,000 or 40,000 officers required. Such additional officers can be secured, first, by the enlargement of West Point, second by passing with the certificates or commissions the men appointed from the military institutions of the country and from the land grant colleges which under the conditions of their organization carry on military training; and, third, from outside groups, such as the Institute of Civil Engineers. The politicians can be made to understand that there is no more risk through the extension of this training of officers and of citizens generally, of bringing the country into a militaristic or aggressive form of mind than there was that the armies of veterans who made their triumphal march through Washington in 1865 would take possession of the government and would run the country for their own advantage.

I believe that the majority of our citizens today have no patience with the attempt to avoid risk of war for the purpose of saving expenditures and of maintaining (if possible) an ignoble peace. I believe that our citizens are ready now, as they have been in past generations, to do what is necessary to maintain our independence and to fulfil our obligations. I believe that Americans will hold that our obligations include not merely the fulfilment of our guarantees for the protection of American citizens from aggression, but the doing of our part in maintaining in the adjustment of the

world's issues the independence of the smaller states, in supporting the contest against aggression and world domination, in defending the right of the people to govern themselves and in upholding the ideals of representative government which have from the beginning been upheld by our Republic.

## THE HIGH COST OF THE PORK BARREL

BY JOSEPH E. RANSDALL,

United States Senator from Louisiana.

The term "pork barrel" has been so freely used in the press and various public addresses that it is well to understand its meaning before attempting to discuss it. In its general acceptance, "pork," as applied to Congressional legislation, means an appropriation by Congress for an unworthy purpose that is not for the public good and useful to the nation, but is for the private benefit of the Congressman who secures it, or for one or more of his constituents. The term conveys the idea that certain classes of legislation such as pensions, public buildings, rivers and harbors, and some other bills, if not wholly reprehensible, contain many improper items for objects which should have no place in acts of Congress. These bills are made to appear similar to the parable of the sower who got the cockle mixed with his wheat. Their wise provisions which help the public and promote the general welfare constitute the wheat, and the selfish, unjust, and unwise items are the cockle, or "pork."

It has been observed that critics of "pork" always find it in other Congressmen's projects, never in their own. The appropriations for rivers, public buildings, and pensions in the district of Congressman A, the critic, are all right, in his opinion, and are without the slightest scent of "pork"; that smell exudes only from sums to be expended in the district of Congressman B. What a difference it makes whose ox is gored! In the press it is usually found that the severest critics of "pork"—especially river and harbor "pork," and more especially *river* "pork," since we seldom hear of *harbor* "pork"—are those publications closely allied to certain railroads which oppose river improvements because they fear water competition. The French say "Cherchez la femme"—"find the woman." I have no doubt that when we "find the woman" in the case of most of these publicists, who see so many motes in the eyes of so-called "pork barrel" Congressmen, it would not require glasses to discover railroad beams in their eyes.

*Senator Burton Denounces Charge of "Pork Barrel"*

Ex-Senator Burton of Ohio, who for ten years was chairman of the River and Harbor Committee of the House of Representatives, said before the Convention of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress in December, 1909 (See Convention proceedings, page 106):

My friends, the president of this congress will say to you that we have known no North, no South, no East, no West in the years we have been together. We have taken up projects according to the measure of their merit, and I can vouch that members of the committee in many instances have leaned over backward where their own localities were involved, and have given closer attention to projects in other places. . . . You have had to meet the idea that there is a pork barrel somewhere. Whenever there is a man of superficial information on this subject, or one who has had some project that has been turned down hard because it had to be turned down, that man begins to talk about the pork barrel. There has been no line of appropriations made by this government more carefully guarded than appropriations for rivers and harbors. . . . I challenge anyone to cite an instance where that bill has ever been made up to gratify certain localities or to advance the interests of some member of Congress in the House or Senate. . . . There has been no log rolling, no pork barrel, no regard for individual prospects or anything of the sort, no regard for any particular locality in the country.

What can I add to these words? Mr. Burton surely knew all about river and harbor legislation, and he had no motive to misrepresent facts.

As river and harbor legislation is the greatest sufferer from pork barrel slanders, I will take that up first, and later give some attention to public buildings and pensions.

*Slanders*

It is said of one of the famous French atheists, who despised Christianity with the utmost venom, that he told his followers; "Lie, lie, lie, some of your lies will stick." I sometimes wonder if this method is not taught by the enemies of river and harbor legislation, for it is hard to conceive otherwise how such baseless fabrications have been repeated again and again until many well disposed but ignorant people believe them to be true.

I have quoted above what ex-Senator Burton says about river and harbor "pork," and his indignant statement that "there has been no log rolling, no pork barrel, no regard for individual prospects, or anything of the sort, no regard for any particular locality in the country" in the preparation of river and harbor bills.

I was for twelve years a member of the Rivers and Harbors Committee of the House of Representatives, and for the past three years have been on the Commerce Committee of the Senate, which has charge of river and harbor legislation. Moreover, this subject has been a hobby with me, and I have studied it closely and from every angle for the past fifteen years; hence, I ought to be a fairly competent witness. Every word uttered by Senator Burton is true. The committees of Congress did their utmost to enact laws in regard to rivers and harbors that were fair, just, and beneficial to the public at large, regardless of individual Congressmen, or private interests. I do not pretend to say that no mistakes were made, for to "err is human," but I insist, for reasons that I will explain later, that fewer errors were made in the preparation and passage of river and harbor bills than in any class of legislation enacted by Congress. I deny with all the force of my being that there was any real "pork" in the river and harbor bills passed by Congress during the past fifteen years, and defy anyone to prove the contrary. I know that appropriations for certain projects have been criticized and held up to scorn and ridicule, but it is so easy to make an assertion, and so hard to disprove a slander. We are prone to believe everything evil we hear. The rules of legal evidence say that he who asserts must prove, but how much proof does the ordinary man require to convince him that a plausible story about some man's dishonesty or some woman's lapse from virtue is true?

The charge of "pork" in river and harbor legislation in effect is that the prominent people who advocated the project, the United States engineers who recommended it, and the members of Congress—especially the House Committee on Rivers and Harbors, and the Senate Committee on Commerce—are grafters; that they have looted the Treasury; that they have put their hands in a barrel and pulled money or "pork" which belonged to the public and used it for corrupt purposes.

If we analyze this charge, it appears unreasonable on its face. If we were to grant that the local people who urge the project on Congress because of selfish interest—for their communities, not for themselves personally—are corrupt, and that their influence with their own senators and representatives could induce these officials to favor the project, then surely the ten United States engineers who must give it their approval before it has any standing before

Congress have no motive for promoting a vicious project; and the Congressional committees charged with the duty of studying and reporting on it to their colleagues in both Houses can have no reason or incentive for favoring a project which is bad and unworthy, as it does not affect them or their people.

*Splendid Safeguards for Waterway Appropriations*

No bills that come before Congress are better safeguarded than those making appropriations for waterways, and it is almost impossible to put through an unworthy project. Following is a brief statement of the steps preceding the adoption of a project; whether it be one of great general importance costing millions, or some obscure river or inlet of only local interest, the process is the same.

A bill is introduced in the House or Senate asking a survey of the proposed project, and, if thought worthy on *prima facie* showing, the survey is included in the next river and harbor bill. The Chief of Engineers then directs the United States engineer in charge of the locality, usually an officer with the rank of captain or major, to make a preliminary examination and report, showing feasibility, prospective cost and benefits, and every ascertainable fact. This report goes first to the colonel in charge of the division, then to the Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors, composed of seven United States engineers of high rank, and finally to the Chief of Engineers. If the local engineer reports adversely, that usually settles it, and the matter is dropped, though occasionally he is overruled by his superiors. If the local engineer finds the project apparently worthy, he so reports, and his opinion, after most careful consideration by his superiors, is affirmed or disapproved.

Should the Chief of Engineers, in the light of all the facts and suggestions of the local engineer, the division engineer, and the Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors, conclude that the project is worthy of an actual survey, it is ordered referred back to the local engineer. A survey party is then placed in the field and an elaborate survey is made to ascertain every fact bearing upon the project, including cost, commerce present and prospective, and everything helpful to Congress in reaching a final conclusion upon its merits and demerits. This survey usually requires several months, and, in the very important projects, one or more years, and no reasonable expense is spared to get all the facts. The report



then goes to the division engineer, who attaches his views and forwards it to the Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors.

This board has offices in the city of Washington, and in addition to a careful review of the reports of the local and division engineers, it gives hearings, pro and con, to interested persons. Moreover, if the project is a costly one, the board frequently examines it in person, as it did recently when the entire membership of seven colonels investigated the Missouri River below Kansas City. The findings of this board, accompanied by reports, evidence, maps, etc., then go to the Chief of Engineers, who renders a final decision, which is transmitted through the Secretary of War to Congress, and the whole record is published as a public document for all the world to see. And if the project is not regarded as worthy either by the Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors or the Chief of Engineers, it is not considered as having legislative status. In other words, Congress will not appropriate for waterway projects unless approved as above indicated, except in very rare cases when the amount involved is quite small and Congress has conducted an independent investigation for itself.

Bear in mind that the United States engineers are the honor men of West Point, the pick and flower of the American army; that many of the ablest and best men of our republic, including the builders of the Panama Canal, have been United States engineers; that they have disbursed over three-fourths of a billion dollars on waterways with only one scandal—that at Savannah; that they hold office for life; that they are not interested personally in the localities where they serve for three or four years and then leave, never to return in most cases; that not only one engineer, but *ten*, must investigate and report in writing for publication upon a waterway project before Congress will consider it.

How would it be possible for anything smelling of "pork" or graft to run such a gauntlet? The charge of "pork" in connection with river and harbor legislation is preposterous. It is made by enemies of waterway legislation who have no regard for truth.

River and harbor bills are not pork barrel bills, but commerce builders.

#### *Public Buildings Teach Patriotism*

Appropriations for public buildings to be used by Congress and by the departments of the government at Washington, and for

use as customhouses, courts, post offices, etc., throughout the republic, have been sharply criticized and the cry of "pork" frequently leveled at them. Perhaps a few of these buildings were not really needed and too great expense may have been incurred in constructing some of them. The scope of this article does not permit a detailed discussion, but let me suggest that all these buildings, without a single exception, were for the use and benefit of the general public, and could not, except in the most indirect way, be of any advantage to private persons, though the Congressman who secured them received the plaudits of his constituents, and in some instances obtained political rewards. These expenditures were all investments and the government owns the buildings and other property in evidence thereof. Some were wise and returned large interest on their cost; others were not so good, but in the main they have turned out as well as average real estate investments.

As an instance of how substantially our government usually builds, let me relate a personal experience at the city of San Francisco. Mrs. Ransdell and I visited its ruins a few months after the great earthquake and fire. We traveled for miles through a scene of awful desolation with masses of every imaginable building material which fire could not consume, scattered and twisted and gnarled in the most inextricable confusion. The splendid city hall erected at a cost of seven millions was completely destroyed. The only structures which withstood the shock of quake and fire were the United States post office and customhouse. They were somewhat injured, but business was being conducted in them, and everything near them was in ruins. I could not have believed this had I not seen it myself.

Let me emphasize one feature connected with public buildings that is often overlooked, and that is their great value as teachers of patriotism. In many interior towns, where the population is about four thousand and upwards, are public buildings used for the local post office and federal court. These buildings in the smaller places rarely cost over fifty thousand dollars but they are built in the best style of architecture, and of the very best material. It is the most notable structure in the town, and is the observed and admired of all observers. To look at it makes one proud he is an American citizen. The United States flag is always flying over it—an emblem of our National Union, power, and glory; our right

to free speech and free conscience, and all that makes a government loved and honored by its people. In some localities the stars and stripes are seldom seen except on the staff of a public building, where they sing a continuous anthem in honor of our country, and teach patriotism three hundred and sixty-five days in every year.

Surely river and harbor and public building legislation is not fairly open to the charge of "pork," but the same cannot be said of our pension bill.

### *The Pension Abuses*

A discussion of the abuses of our pension system is a delicate and difficult matter. Patriotism is a virtue which is implanted deep in the American heart, and a leading attribute of patriotism is gratitude to those who have shed their blood in their country's defense—who heard and answered her appeal in time of direst need. No one, and certainly not I, would deprive any soldier who was disabled in the service of his country of a pension. Every dependent widow of a soldier who was killed or disabled while fighting for his native land should be pensioned. What I shall say is aimed not at our pension system, but at its abuses—abuses which have made the title "pensioner" appear more like a term of dishonor than a badge of glory.

Since the beginning of our government we have expended \$5,025,193,970 for pensions—a sum more than six times as great as all river and harbor appropriations during the same period, and two-thirds more than all navy expenditures during that time. Of this colossal sum, all but \$96,000,000, or \$4,928,748,525, has been distributed since 1865.

A brief study of our annual pension appropriations is illuminating. After the Civil War, our pension disbursements naturally increased as more and more names were placed on the rolls. In 1874 they had reached \$30,000,000, and then the decline began; but then also began the period of artificial pension legislation of questionable propriety. Up to 1878 pensions were paid only to disabled soldiers and their dependents, but in 1879, Congress passed a law granting full arrears to all persons entitled to pensions, and our expenditures leaped, in two years, \$20,000,000—from \$37,000,000 in 1878 to \$57,000,000 in 1880. This increase was so great that Congress then passed an amendment providing that the claim for arrears must have been filed prior to 1880. Through the payment of arrears

our pension appropriations soared, and in 1888 had reached \$82,000,000. In that year, the limitation as to the time of filing a claim for arrears so far as widows were concerned was removed, and this opened the door to all kinds of fraud. The tempting prize of thousands of dollars of arrears was too much for numbers of "widows," many of whom were negroes, and there can be no doubt that many persons were beneficiaries of the government's bounty, who were not entitled to it.

### *An Era of Extravagance*

Under the influence of this legislation and of "Corporal" Tanner, a member of the Grand Army of the Republic, who became pension commissioner at that time, and who is credited with the statement "God help the (Treasury) surplus when I get at it," our pension bill grew in two years to \$109,000,000. In 1890, an act was passed pensioning every soldier who had served not less than ninety days in the Civil War, and was so disabled that he could not earn a living by manual labor, but the disability need not have arisen from war service, provided it was not caused by vicious habits. The act also pensioned widows of soldiers who had married before 1890, and provided that they need not prove that the soldier's death was due to causes brought on by the war. The result was that our pension disbursements skyrocketed \$52,000,000 in three years, and reached \$161,000,000 in 1893. The strong stand of President Cleveland checked this waste of public funds for a while, and the efforts of the commissioner of pensions under him, Mr. William Lochren, unearthed enormous frauds. Mr. Lochren dropped 2,266 names from the pension rolls, and reduced the ratings in 3,343 cases. Pension disbursements, under his administration and without any change in the law, fell from \$161,000,000 to \$143,000,000 in a single year.

To show how graft of all kinds had permeated our pension system, let me point out that in 1899 Commissioner of Pensions H. Clay Evans, after investigation, disqualified 24,662 of the registered pension attorneys, leaving only 18,431 to practice before the bureau.

It is impossible, however, to go into particulars. In 1907, 1908, and 1912 further pension legislation was passed, and now we have practically a service pension, as every veteran over sixty-two

years of age, even though not disabled, is entitled to a pension. The war between the states is a memory of fifty years ago. Five years after the war, in 1870, there were 198,000 pensioners on the rolls; in 1915, half a century after the declaration of peace, there were 748,147 persons receiving government aid, of whom 691,606 are Civil War pensioners. In 1870 our pension bill was \$29,000,000; in 1915, it was \$166,000,000; and bills have recently been introduced providing for larger and more pensions.

#### *Our Pension Disbursements Largest in the World*

Our pension disbursements in 1913 were \$176,714,000—five times as much as France, seven times as much as Germany, ten times as much as Great Britain, and twenty-three times as much as Austria Hungary. These four great European powers combined spent for pensions that year only \$84,000,000, or less than one-half as much as the United States.

Let me repeat that every soldier who was disabled, or whose health was impaired, during the war, and his dependents after his death, should have a pension, but no one is entitled to government aid simply because he enlisted for ninety days, even though he had never seen a battle-field and had suffered no injuries whatsoever.

Now what is the method of obtaining a pension? Let us assume that a man claims to have been disabled during the war and desires a pension. He files an application with the Pension Bureau, and if the War Department can give no information as to his disabilities, he is requested to furnish evidence. This evidence is purely of an *ex parte* character, and consists of affidavits filed by the soldier from comrades, officers in his regiment, etc., alleging that they knew personally of his injury. This was a fruitful source of fraud, especially some years ago. There was a natural tendency among the old soldiers to reciprocate with each other on the principle, "If I swear to his 'disability' he will swear to mine." And every doubt is solved in favor of the old soldier.

#### *Some Striking Illustrations*

Two instances of "disability" will be instructive.

Mr. Charles D. Long, while serving actively as Judge of the Supreme Court of Michigan, was drawing \$72 per month for "total

and permanent helplessness," though this pension was reduced in 1893 to \$50 per month.

General John C. Black in 1878 was pensioned at the rate of \$100 per month by special Act of Congress on the ground that he was "a physical wreck, maimed and diseased, incapable of any effort and much of the time confined to his bed." Since then this "physical wreck" was Commissioner of Pensions for four years, served one term in Congress, and later was chairman of the Civil Service Commission for nine years, during all of which time he continued to draw his pension of \$1,200 per year, in addition to his salary of \$5,000 as commissioner, \$5,000 as representative, and \$4,500 as chairman of the Civil Service Commission. These are but two striking cases, though a great many similar ones could be cited.

### *The Mighty Pension Grip*

Surely if there is "pork" in any Congressional legislation, it is in our pension bills. So skillfully distributed has been this form of government bounty, and so closely akin to love of country is gratitude to the worthy veteran, that men's voices have been stilled, when they should have been raised in protest against the abuses of our pension system. So-called "reformers" who attack river and harbor legislation dare not turn the searchlight of publicity upon the evils that have crept into our pension disbursements; they dare not call attention to the real "pork barrel," the pension bill, because many pensions, and more liberal pensions, are very near and dear to the 748,000 recipients of the government's favor, and their relatives and friends, who are powerful at the polls.

Some idea of the importance of pension gratuities as purely financial propositions appears from the fact that in 1915 the amount paid in pensions to citizens of Ohio was \$15,666,000, Pennsylvania \$15,275,000, New York \$13,791,000, Illinois \$11,409,000, Indiana \$10,096,000, Iowa \$5,621,000, and Wisconsin \$3,995,000. Let us compare this Ohio fifteen and a half million pension crop, which never has a bad year and costs its beneficiaries nothing, with the Louisiana sugar crop, worth about twenty to twenty-five millions gross per annum, which is very expensive to produce, and is frequently the victim of bad seasons and adverse legislation. Is it any wonder that members of Congress from Ohio are pension enthusiasts?

*The Special Pension Bill Evil*

But the story is not yet told. Our pension laws are liberal, very liberal; in fact, they practically give a service pension, and every surviving Civil War veteran is believed to be on the rolls. Liberal as are these laws, they do not include all who desire pensions, and covering these cases, special bills are introduced giving a pension to, or increasing the pension of, some individual. Sometimes the bill is to correct the military record of a deserter, and grant him an honorable discharge, so that he may draw a pension under the existing law. Since 1861 Congress has allowed 47,398 pensions by means of special acts. Of these, 21,648, with an annual value of \$6,640,722, are still on the pension roll. The Sixty-Third Congress passed 5,061 private pension bills at an annual cost to the government of \$1,526,598.

These acts give pensions, or increases of pensions, to those who cannot qualify under existing most liberal laws, because of lack of evidence as to service, desertion from the ranks, not sufficient "disability," or for some other reason. Some of these bills may be worthy, but an immense number of them are not. No safeguards are thrown around pension legislation; no investigation is made prior to the introduction of the bill; and its consideration by the pension committees of Congress must necessarily be brief and cursory, when we recall that 5,061 bills of this character were passed last Congress, and, of course, this is only part of the number introduced and investigated by the committees. It is a physical impossibility to give each of these special bills a calm, judicial investigation in order to ascertain the real facts. They are of necessity put through in a hurry.

An examination of the *Congressional Record* shows that among the chief offenders in the introduction of these special pension bills are some of those "reformers" who have recently been so blatantly denouncing river and harbor appropriations. In one instance three-fourths of all the bills introduced during the Sixty-Third Congress by a Member who was very bitter in his criticism of river and harbor "pork" were special pension bills.

*Pension Extravagance Should Stop*

Our Civil War pension laws are written upon our statute books, and probably the greater part of the disbursements caused by them

have already been made. Let us hope so at least. These legislative mistakes are part of our history. We cannot correct them, but we can and should prevent the enactment of similar legislation in regard to wars since the Civil War. There are now 28,912 Spanish war pensioners on our rolls, and they received last year \$3,851,701. This is entirely legitimate, for it is only proper that the republic should pension those who were disabled in its service and their dependents, and the dependents of those killed in its service, but we must beware of entering upon a career of artificial legislation for these veterans, such as characterized the period after the Civil War.

#### *Pensions Confer Only Private Benefits*

Let us remember that the \$5,025,193,970 paid for pensions have been mere expenditures; money which we have had to pay out, and from which no dividends have ever been derived. These vast sums have been all outgo and no income. Pension bills are in their nature private bills. They give money to private individuals, and no one is directly benefited by a pension except the party receiving it.

On the contrary, bills for public buildings, and rivers and harbors, are public bills—they disburse money for public purposes and the public gets the benefit. The government, like a vast business corporation, must have houses in which to conduct its affairs. It must build or rent, offices, post offices, court houses, custom houses, etc., and these structures, for which in all \$363,967,276 has been appropriated, are the property of the government—they belong to, and benefit all the people, and not any particular individual. They are public assets, and in most cases have earned fair interest on their cost.

#### *Splendid Waterway Investments*

The \$800,000,000 appropriated for waterways since the American Revolution are investments which have yielded, and will continue to yield, in their great aids to transportation, perpetual dividends to the American people. For the stupendous sum of more than five billions lavished on pensions, we have nothing, absolutely nothing, of tangible public benefit to show. That money is gone, and gone forever. For our river and harbor expenditures, however, we have, and posterity will have for all time, our splendid



improved harbors, great marts of trade, where giant ships dock at their wharves; our Great Lakes, vast inland seas, where a hundred millions have been spent, and which carry the largest and cheapest volume of water-borne freight on earth; and our rivers, like the Ohio and the Black Warrior, heretofore almost unnavigable, but now being improved by locks and dams, and made great arteries of commerce. These are permanent public works which help to make our country the richest and best on the face of the earth. Improved waterways are freight carriers and rate regulators; they are commerce builders; they are creators of prosperity. There are only three cities in the United States of over 150,000 population, and none reaching 250,000, which are not on navigable water. Practically every metropolis of ancient and modern times was located on a navigable stream or the ocean. Improved waterways make quick, convenient, and economical transportation, and such transportation of products is essential to national prosperity.

To summarize, I am convinced that charges of pork barrel as applied to rivers and harbors, and public buildings, are in the main unjust and slanderous; but I cannot say the same about pensions. And not only has pension legislation been enormously expensive in actual outlay of money, but I fear its advocates have done much to demoralize American politics and to lower the high standard in which Congress should be held. The cost of the pension pork barrel has been very high.

## TARIFF MAKING BY LOG ROLLING

BY GUY EMERSON,

Associate Editor, *The Economic World*.

It has been given to very few men to grasp the fundamentals of American institutions so fully and so fairly as did the distinguished author of *The American Commonwealth*. Lord Bryce perceived with the accuracy of a trained lawyer our national defects, while at the same time visualizing with the imagination of a poet the promise of American life. He wrote:

America has still a long vista of years stretching before her in which she will enjoy conditions far more auspicious than any European country can count upon. And that America marks the highest level, not only of material well-being, but of intelligence and happiness, which the race has yet attained, will be the judgment of those who look not at the favored few for whose benefit the world seems hitherto to have framed its institutions, but at the whole body of the people.

Much water has flowed under the bridge since these words were written. The nations of the Old World have plunged into war; and, as an accompaniment of the physical conflict, there has been a searching analysis of ideals and institutions on the part of thinking men all over the world which has not had its parallel since the Renaissance. Americans especially have been moved to an intellectual taking of stock. Our eyes have been turned inward, and we have had to decide all over again whether or not we were ready to stand forth and defend with our lives the institutions of our fathers. Brought face to face with the spectacle of a remarkably efficient autocracy, we, who have believed ourselves custodians of human liberties, have been forced once more to go to the roots of things, to live over again the great days during which the foundations of this republic were being laid, carefully, arduously, stone upon stone.

It does not seem too soon to declare that Americans of 1916 have concluded that they are ready to carry forward the institutions of Hamilton and Jefferson—that they still believe in human liberties. But out of this deep and, perhaps, somewhat bitter self-examination has come the outstanding realization that much must

be done, immediately done, to prove that a democracy can be efficient.

These are the considerations which go far to vitalize a present discussion of our system of government, and to render of first importance a review of the machinery with which we expect to keep our place in the van of world progress. It is the purpose of this paper briefly to discuss the perennial American problem of tariff making, and to outline a course of action in line with present-day demands of industrial preparedness and national efficiency.

By way of preface it should be stated that the present discussion does not involve the merits of the various schools of tariff thought. It seems obvious that the United States will, for many years to come, adhere to some degree of protection, whether frankly, or incidentally, through a policy of tariff for revenue only. These are political questions. The majority of the people must decide what policy they desire to follow. This majority will be reflected in the majority in Congress. It is important to note, however, that when the people have registered their will at the polls, there still remains the important task of framing a tariff accordingly. This is tariff making. It is essentially a scientific and non-political task. It is a highly technical and difficult task. The fact that it has always been handled along lines of political expediency is one of the most pregnant sources of our present lack of national efficiency.

Let us first see what is involved in the problem. In the first place the tariff involves a considerable proportion of the total revenue of the government. According to the Treasury Statement of June 30, 1915, the receipts for the fiscal year ended on that date were \$695,663,190, of which the revenue from customs contributed \$209,268,107. It is the second largest indirect tax imposed by the government. In addition to this, however, the imposition of a tax on imports bears directly or indirectly upon our entire industrial fabric. Not only is it vital to the manufacturer to know what, if any, protection he is to have against foreign competition, but he must also know, if he is to attain to his full capacity as a producer of goods to be sold in competitive markets at home and abroad, what the chances are of a continuance of the policy in force at any particular time. Uncertainty is the greatest enemy of successful business. Many manufacturers would gladly exchange a considerable portion of the protection they now have and

which they stand in danger of losing at any moment, for a definite policy, based on ascertained facts, upon which an intelligent business campaign reaching into the future could safely be based, and in the security of which long-time undertakings and commitments could be entered upon.

Since 1890 there have been five revisions of the tariff. Each revision has been accompanied by an agitation of our entire commercial and industrial structure. None of the revisions has been generally satisfactory. Not only the manufacturers, but the laborers, farmers, merchants, bankers and the public generally have been more or less involved, and always with the result that an outcry has arisen for further change. It is an endless performance in which the actors are unskilled and the audience dissatisfied; and yet the same old play is staged over and over and over again.

It is a truism that a successful piece of work is the result of careful preparation and skillful execution. Is it not, therefore, more or less obvious why our tariffs have failed to satisfy the country? Let us examine briefly the machinery by means of which they are produced. In this connection a quotation is offered from an able paper by Mr. Henry R. Towne, formerly president of the Merchants' Association of New York. "The conditions under which this highly technical and complex subject is now dealt with," says Mr. Towne, "would be ludicrous, if they were not so utterly unfair. The members of the Congressional committees in charge of tariff revision are exceedingly busy men, each serving on other committees also, and devoting only a portion of his time to this work. Necessarily their public hearings must be limited to intermittent days, and be kept within limited hours, and yet, even ignoring these limitations, . . . the time during which tariff bills have been considered, matured and adopted during recent years has been strikingly inadequate." Mr. Towne then points out that the entire time spent on each tariff act has not averaged more than three and one-half months. In this same connection the following statement of Mr. Franklin Pierce is pertinent:

So hasty and careless are the methods of tariff legislation that the Dingley Bill, which filled 163 printed pages and imposed duties upon more than 4,000 separate articles of import, introduced at the opening of the session in the House on March 15, 1897, was passed within less than two weeks and transmitted to

the Senate, only 22 pages of it having been considered and discussed upon the floor of the House.

Mr. Pierce proceeds to recall the classic instance of the Canadian frog industry which, in their unreasoning haste, the legislators overlooked, with the result that the distracted customs appraisers, to repair the omission, held that frogs were poultry, and assessed duty accordingly.

To quote again from Mr. Towne's paper,

when Congress proposed to consider a revision of the present tariff schedules . . . a card was issued by the Committee on Ways and Means inviting persons who desired to be heard to apply "to be assigned to a place on the program," and naming fourteen dates for the hearings beginning November 10 and ending December 4. Each hearing was to cover a "specific schedule" and was expected to last two days. The first two hearings covered the schedules relating to chemicals, liquors, tobacco and sugar. One hearing, that of November 25, was allotted to considering the question of duties on "metals and manufactures of," that is, practically everything composed wholly or chiefly of metal, from pig iron to pins, from steel rails to sewing machines, from jewelry to stoves, from watches to steam engines. Is it surprising that the thousands of manufacturers concerned were conspicuous by their absence from so farcical a proceeding?

Mr. Towne then quotes Senator Beveridge with regard to the striking discrepancies between the findings of the Committee of the House and those of the Senate Committee "in their attempt to deal with technical questions involving applied science in almost every department, and commerce in every branch." The following examples are typical of the varying preliminary rates fixed by the two branches upon the same article:

Borax, per lb.,	House 2 c.,	Senate 5 c.
Phosphorus, per lb.,	House 20 c.,	Senate 10 c.
Certain knives, per doz.,	House 75 c.,	Senate free
Certain files, per doz.,	House 30 c.,	Senate 50 c.
Finished lumber, per M. ft.,	House 50 c.,	Senate 35 c.
Sugar cane, per cent. ad valorem,	House 20 %	Senate 10 %
Certain cotton cloth, per sq. yd.,	House 8 c.,	Senate 6½ c.
Matting, per sq. yd.,	House 8 c.,	Senate 4 c.

"The Conference Committee," Mr. Towne concludes, "which finally adjusted these differences of from 50 per cent to 150 per cent, was in session *only five days*."

It is needless to multiply instances of the total inadequacy and unfairness of present tariff-making methods. This inadequacy

and unfairness is realized by the great majority of thinking men throughout the country. And in the minds of many men there is a pronounced feeling that the haphazard and dark-closet methods of framing these all-important measures afford too great an opportunity for practices not only unscientific but positively immoral. Conditions have unquestionably improved in this regard since the publication of *The American Commonwealth*. The following passage from that book is none the less a suggestive text for a discussion of tariff making at the present time:

The tariff on imports opens another enormous sphere in which legislative intervention affects private pecuniary interests; for it makes all the difference to many sets of manufacturers whether duties on certain classes of goods are raised, or maintained or lowered. Hence the doors of Congress are besieged by a whole army of commercial or railroad men and their agents, to whom, since they have come to form a sort of profession, the name of Lobbyists is given. Many Congressmen are personally interested, and lobby for themselves among their colleagues from the vantage-ground of their official positions.

Thus a vast deal of solicitation and bargaining goes on. Lobbyists offer considerations for help in passing a bill which is desired or in stopping a bill which is feared. Two members, each of whom has a bill to get through, or one of whom desires to prevent his railroad from being interfered with while the other wishes the tariff on an article which he manufactures kept up, make a compact by which each aids the other. This is log-rolling: You help me to roll my log, which is too heavy for my unaided strength, and I help you to roll yours.

Readers of *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* will doubtless be ready to concede that public sentiment has for some time been running strongly counter to present tariff-making methods. Public-spirited men, irrespective of party affiliations, have declared against such methods; public-spirited organizations have passed resolutions condemning them; with one voice the press has ridiculed them. What may not be so generally recognized is the strong sentiment which has been gaining force within Congress itself in favor of putting an end to the present chaotic state of affairs. A few expressions from men who have actually been "through the mill" will serve to bring out this point. In a speech referred to above, Senator Beveridge said:

At the public hearings the committee rooms overflow with representatives of various interests. The private hearings are equally congested. Both are rushed and confused. At these hearings there is no time, no opportunity to go into any one subject thoroughly; no time, no opportunity to test the statements there made; no time, no opportunity, to verify a single supposed fact. The most

honest and alert man could not possibly prevent, or even know about, incorrect statements; and the best of men might be excused from making a tariff rate which they did not intend to make, and which, had they known all the facts, they never would have made.

He then quotes a signed article by Senator Vest in which the latter says:

I look back now upon what occurred during the Wilson-Gorman bill as a nightmare, from the effects of which I have never recovered. Before the conference ended three of the conferees had broken down under the constant strain to which we were subjected.

A few more may be selected from the rapidly accumulating body of statements which seem to unite in their disapproval of present methods of tariff-making:

Congressman E. J. Hill, of Connecticut:

I hope never to see another general revision of the tariff with its consequent upheaval of our whole industrial organization, and with the abominable trading and dickering which inevitably result therefrom.

Senator Norris, of Nebraska:

The methods by which the tariff has been revised in the past are unscientific, illogical, and out of date. This applies to every tariff that has been enacted.

Senator Root, of New York:

We have been here for over three months considering and discussing and voting upon the measure of protection that it is necessary to give in order to keep alive and prosperous the business of tens of thousands of corporations engaged in the manufacture and trades affected by the protective tariff. Upon one hand we have garbled statements; upon the other equally garbled and partial statements; and no means of distinguishing the truth. We are under the necessity of proceeding by guesswork, by conjecture, always with dissatisfaction, because we recognize the chance that we have guessed wrong about whose statements came nearest to the truth.

Senator Gore, of Oklahoma:

Burke said that statesmanship is the science of circumstances. Few there are who will deny the potency of circumstances. But few there are who will deny that facts are the best touchstone upon which to try the virtue of theory; few who will assert that taxable articles can best be determined by intuition, and the rates of duties best determined by inspiration. . . . It is no disparagement to the Congressional committee to relieve it of the toil of assembling facts, collecting and collating data. Shift that drudgery to somebody else, and allow the Congressmen the luxury of analyzing and reflecting upon the facts, to decide

as between the old and the new system. It is not necessary to convict the old system as being the worst possible system; it is only necessary to find that the new system would be the better system. Whom has the old system satisfied? Has it satisfied the advocates of high tariff? Has it satisfied the advocates of low tariff? Has it satisfied the country? Has it insured industrial peace, and commercial progress and prosperity? Why, my friends, the most elaborate and most colossal works of fiction ever produced in the United States are the tariff hearings before the Finance Committee of the Senate, and the Ways and Means Committee of the House. As works of fancy they are unrivalled by the Rape of the Lock. As works of the imagination, they are unapproached by Paradise Lost. They have all the function of *ex parte* testimony on the part of interested witnesses, alternating between violent hope and violent fear. Every temptation to misstatement is present. Nearly every obligation to truth is absent, save conscience alone, and their consciences are under such perfect control.

An attempt has been made to emphasize the fact that tariff making is a most vital matter, and that it is handled in a most unsatisfactory manner. In saying this, it is fair to point out that no unreasoning attack on Congress is justified because of the situation as it now stands. Persons in a position to know declare that the Underwood Tariff Act was framed in a more conscientious manner than any act we have ever had. It is well known that the men responsible for it worked themselves to the verge of exhaustion in an attempt to produce a fair result. But the point seems to be that in striving to lay plans to make our democracy efficient we cannot rest content with the conscientious failures of amateurs. Speaking wholly without political bias, it may be stated that the Underwood Bill is calling forth the same criticism which has been so generously heaped upon its predecessors; and that the party which happened to be in power when it was enacted into law is now conscious of the need of many changes in the measure. No one would deny that if five or six of the able members of the Ways and Means Committee were to give their entire time during a number of years to the study of tariff making, they could equip themselves to treat the matter adequately. But what would their neglected constituents say? What would happen to the other business to which each leader in both chambers is obliged to attend? Obviously such a plan runs counter to the normal and reasonable course of business in a representative body. The situation, therefore, appears to be something like this: Under the Constitution, Congress is required to pass laws bearing upon taxation. The tariff is a taxation measure. The ablest Committees in Congress



have demonstrated through three generations the fact that they were not equipped to carry out, in a manner satisfactory to the country, this duty of framing tariff acts. And the organization and duties of Congress are such that no permanent body equipped to handle the tariff ever can exist within Congress itself. Have we an instance here of an irresistible force striking an immovable body?

An effort will be made briefly to suggest a way out of this apparent *impasse*. The solution would seem to lie in this direction: that Congress has not discharged its whole duty to the people in merely framing a tariff act; its duty involves the framing of an adequate, scientific and non-political tariff act. If Congress, therefore, is unable to perform this duty unaided it should not attempt to delegate it, but should call to its assistance a body of men of the highest qualifications who would devote their whole time to studying the facts which properly underly all tariffs, whether high or low, together with their interrelationship, and their significance both as to domestic and as to foreign conditions, in such manner as to enable Congress to enact a law which will be in the best interests of the country as a whole. More than this, such a body would be able to keep abreast of the changing conditions at home and abroad and to enable Congress to meet new necessities as they arise, schedule by schedule, without the wholesale revision which has so long been the bug-bear of consistent progress and prosperity in the United States. Such is the plan in France, for example, where several hundred minor tariff changes have been made during the last few years—but always upon the basis of carefully ascertained facts, and in such a gradual manner that no business disturbance has been precipitated.

This suggestion appears to be gaining considerable favor throughout the United States. It appears to be the only answer to the problem. It may, therefore, be of interest to outline the best thought along the lines of a tariff board, or a tariff commission, as it has so far developed. It may be said at once that no tariff commission of the sort which the importance of the subject demands has ever existed in the United States. The commission of 1882 was created for a period of six months, during which time an independent body can hardly do more than can a Congressional committee towards producing a satisfactory tariff. The Tariff Board appointed by Mr. Taft in 1909 was not an independent commission

established upon broad lines. The Payne-Aldrich Law provided for the establishment of minimum and maximum tariff rates, and gave authority to the President, in determining such rates, to appoint experts to assist him. Mr. Taft followed this authorization, and dubbed the experts a "Tariff Board." Congress did not feel bound to continue this body, however, and in 1912 the Chairman of the Committee on Appropriations in the House saw to it that no appropriation for salaries or expenses of the Board was authorized and it thereupon automatically ceased to exist.

It is further generally conceded that the salaries paid to Mr. Taft's experts were not high enough to attract, in the majority of cases, men of the calibre demanded. And yet the work of that Board, so far as it went, was valuable, and was actually used and relied upon by Democratic members of the Ways and Means Committee in framing the Underwood Bill. In stating this fact, Senator Owen, of Oklahoma, in a recent address favoring a tariff commission, laid emphasis on the fact that the Committee on Banking and Currency of which he was chairman, found the report of the Monetary Commission of the greatest value in connection with the framing of the Federal Reserve Act. There seems to be no doubt in the minds of the constructive men in Congress that where an elaborate array of reliable facts is needed as a basis of legislation, the proper course is to employ the best men available in the country to devote their whole time to ascertaining those facts. Any other course would seem to be out of line with what the citizens of the United States have the right to demand.

It seems to be admitted very generally that the most important consideration in connection with all commissions is the character of the personnel. The most skillfully drafted statute providing for the establishment of a commission is hardly more valuable than waste paper if the appointments made under its authorization are mediocre. It is, therefore, a notable tendency of recent proposals for a tariff commission that they involve adequate salaries, on a par, for example, with those paid to members of the Federal Reserve Board. It has been urged further that a permanent annual appropriation be provided for, as was done in the recent Smith-Lever Agricultural Extension Act. Under such a provision, a commission cannot be cut off by the mere failure of a committee to insert the item in the annual appropriation measure. It is

necessary for a member of Congress affirmatively to bring forward a bill cutting off the necessary funds, to get this bill through the House and the Senate, and then to get it signed by the President.

Finally, it should be said that it is not contemplated that such a commission should make recommendations to Congress as to specific rates of duty, unless called upon to do so. The commission is proposed not to supplant nor to combat, but solely to assist, Congress. Then, if the right sort of men are appointed and give their time and energy to the study of this one great subject, it will not be long before they will come to be recognized as tariff authorities, and it is the tendency of the times that when they are so recognized, they will be freely consulted and increasingly relied upon both by Congress and by the President.<sup>1</sup>

This suggestion is not a new one. But it is doubtful if there has been a time when its importance was greater. The unprecedented changes in commercial and industrial alignments, both at home and abroad, make necessary a far-seeing and statesmanlike study of national necessities. Press dispatches indicate that all the nations of Europe which will be our rivals after the war are, without exception, giving some sort of expert attention to their probable commercial needs after the war, with special reference to the framing of reciprocal tariff arrangements. We cannot afford to leave work of this sort to government bureaus, under political and temporary secretaries. What seems to be demanded is a small body of the best men available who shall consider this matter continuously, independently, and non-politically.

A great opportunity is presented to us; it may be said that a great crisis confronts us. Not our commercial prosperity alone is at stake. There is involved also the cause of democracy and liberty for which this country has stood forth as the leading champion for over a century. Great causes call for treatment along great lines. It is not solely a question of ending our log-rolling methods of tariff making. It is a question of letting the light of day into our whole governmental system; of using modern machinery to produce modern results; of ceasing to muddle along and of adopting instead adequate methods of preparedness for peace; in short, it is a question of taking the great, fundamental steps which are so potently, so immediately indicated in the process of proving that a democracy can be efficient.

<sup>1</sup>Since this article was written a bill has been introduced in Congress by Representative Rainey, largely embodying the suggestions here made.

## SPOILS AND THE PARTY

BY CHESTER LLOYD JONES,

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The American people have always been complacent about the abuse involved in the spoils system. The enthusiasm for civil service reform has affected "intellectuals" but not the man in the street. Even those who pretend to an interest in the efficiency of the public service are apt to think the advance already accomplished much greater than is the case. When we read about spoils it is usually the story of a fight for their elimination in a specific service or a comparison of present-day standards with those of a generation ago but we are apt to overlook the fact that taken as a whole our party government is still spoils government. The civil service reform movement points the way; it does not represent a cause won.

This is true whether one considers national, state or municipal politics. The greatest party asset of a financial sort in the average campaign is still not the funds contributed by interested and disinterested followers nor even the franchises or contract plums which may be handed over to the faithful, but the prospect of profiting by what Senator Marcy long ago characterized as "the rule that to the victor belong the spoils of the enemy." As a means of getting party work done money contributions are of less importance than the patronage which is to be the reward of workers "who are valuable when the campaign is on."

### *Spoils in the Federal Service*

The advance in the elimination of spoils has been more conspicuous in the federal than in the state and municipal governments. Each administration advertises its good deeds in connection with the civil service in order that it may profit as much as possible by the effect on public opinion. The Civil Service Commission announces,

The government is doing more work with fewer employees and with increased economy and efficiency. Each year sees a more intensive application and observ-

ance of the rules, because the commission is coming into closer touch with the entire service and because of the coöperation and support of appointing officers.<sup>1</sup>

and the Council of the National Civil Service Reform League reports,

The past year demonstrates the constant growth of popular sentiment throughout the country in favor of the merit and efficiency system. Even in Congress the tide has turned against the spoilsman.<sup>2</sup>

These statements are true, but what has been done should be supplemented by an exposition of what still remains to be done if the real picture is to be secured. There are estimated to be at least 475,000 persons at present in the employ of the executive branch of the national government. Their aggregate salary is about \$400,000,000. A third of a century after the enactment of the basic Pendleton Act there are still only 61 per cent of the positions by number under the strict competitive system.<sup>3</sup> The advance we have made, too, is chiefly in the lower and middle grade positions. The higher, better paid, supervisory positions are to a greater degree still the prize of victory at the polls. When we remember that the men in these positions are usually in charge of the work of those who have minor positions of either temporary or permanent tenure it is easy to understand why it is so difficult to insure that efficiency records shall be reliable and underhand methods of inducing campaign contributions of work and money difficult to prevent. This army of senate-confirmed political agents comprising the higher class postmasters, the collectors of customs and internal revenue, district attorneys and marshalls scattered over the entire country are servants of the party primarily and of the people in only a secondary degree. Too often their official duties are nominal only, taking their attention for an hour a day or a day a week, the rest of their energy being devoted to directing the course of politics. Ex-President Taft's recent suggestion that the postmasters of higher grade be abolished since the assistant

<sup>1</sup> *Thirty-second Annual Report of the United States Civil Service Commission, Washington, 1915*, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Proceedings at the annual meeting of the National Civil Service Reform League, 1914*, p. 64.

<sup>3</sup> Dana, R. H.: *Good Government*, Supplement (New York) January, 1915, p. 9 et seq. *The Thirty-second Annual Report of the United States Civil Service Commission, Washington, 1915*, p. 5, reports that there were on June 30, 1915, 476,363 officers and employees in the executive civil service.

postmasters do the work anyway, may not be good politics but it points to a very real abuse in our public service.

*Spoils in State and Municipal Service*

The employees of our states have a total salary list of not less than \$300,000,000.<sup>4</sup> In by far the majority of these smaller political units there is not even a beginning of legislation to reform the civil service. Even a list of those which have civil service laws gives the impression that greater advance has been made than the fact justifies. In some commonwealths and municipalities, however, an improvement over the federal legislation is found in that the higher positions have to a greater degree been put upon the merit basis.

State legislation for the merit system in the civil service is in fact almost a matter of the last decade. Before 1905 only New York and Massachusetts had competitive examinations for their state services. In that year Wisconsin passed a state-wide act and Illinois one applying to state charitable institutions. Three years later New Jersey fell into line. Illinois in 1911 passed an advanced law. The next year Colorado applied the merit system to the entire state service and in 1913 Ohio passed a law to affect the service in state, counties and city school districts. California and Connecticut passed more conservative measures.

The last two years have on the whole been a period of reaction in civil service legislation in the states. Kansas passed an act applying to the state service, and New Jersey made important improvements over her law of 1908 and in Louisiana a law was passed creating a civil service commission to have charge of the employees at the port of New Orleans. Elsewhere the outlook for extension of the merit system was not encouraging. In the legislature of Connecticut there was a determined effort to repeal the law passed in 1913. Though unsuccessful, an amendment was passed which in effect allows any head of a department and any state commission to secure exemption from the law. The legislature of Colorado seriously weakened the law in that state. An attempt to provide for the certification to the appointing authority of the entire eligible list instead of the three highest upon it was only defeated in Wisconsin in the Senate. The Ohio legislature in-

<sup>4</sup> Dana, R. H. in *Good Government*, Supplement, Jan., 1914, p. 9 *et seq.*

creased the number of exempt positions. In California a bill to devitalize the Civil Service act was killed only by the "pocket veto" of the governor.<sup>5</sup>

In the municipal services the spoils system is still in all but exceptional cases in unquestioned control. In some of the states with civil service laws there are attempts to put the city services on the merit basis and this is true also of some cities in other states. But in the typical American municipality, with the exception of school teachers, firemen and the police, there is permanence and a legal test of fitness in neither the higher nor the lower ranks of the public service.

#### *Why Extension is Difficult*

The review of recent developments indicates that the problem which presents itself to the friends of the merit system is often not what extension can be secured but how can what has already been obtained be safeguarded.

The pressure to overthrow the laws already passed is especially strong whenever a change in administration involves also a change in party politics. In fact, the legislation by which the "classification" of public employees has been extended may not be devoid of partisan character. Such is the case for example when a certain branch of the service formerly filled by political appointments is "covered into" the classified service without an open competitive examination. Under such conditions it may well seem to the new party coming into power that their defeated opponents have filled the offices—by political appointees—and then given them permanency of tenure by putting them under the civil service rules thus in effect making a new rule—"to the vanquished belong the spoils," which is hardly a better maxim than the original one.

In 1908 President Roosevelt put under civil service rules some 15,000 fourth-class postmasters in the territory northwest of the Ohio River. Those then holding these offices, chiefly political appointees, were not required to take any examination. In October, 1912, shortly before the election in which it seemed practically certain the Republican party would be defeated, President Taft "covered in" all the remaining fourth-class postmasters, about 36,000, also without examination. Naturally these actions were not

<sup>5</sup> The recent developments in the states are discussed in *Good Government*, Supplement, Jan., 1916, p. 13-14.

looked upon with favor by the Democratic administration which followed that of Mr. Taft. President Wilson did not, however, revoke the executive orders of his predecessors but he did amend them by providing that no fourth-class postmaster should be given competitive classified status unless "he was appointed as the result of a competitive examination or shall be so appointed."

Even if a party does not set about to repeal the civil service law directly so as to open up more positions for its favorites, it may, through riders on important legislation, place certain classes of offices outside the merit system and see to it that the new places created by its legislation are filled under rules which will allow a free hand in appointments. Often, too, the administration of the law may be so manipulated that all vacancies that arise under it may be filled with good party servants even though the letter of the law be observed. Examples of the first of these practices are frequent in the recent history of the federal civil service.

Since 1913 Congress has shown reactionary tendencies in this sort of legislation by (1) excepting the field income tax collection force from the operation of the civil service law, (2) removing from the classified service deputy collectors and deputy United States marshalls, (3) excepting the employees of the Federal Reserve Board from the operation of the act, a bill passed only by the deciding vote of the Vice-President in the Senate, (4) providing—following the suggestion of the Secretary of Commerce—that fourteen new positions as commercial attaché should be filled without application of the civil service rules, (5) exempting attorneys, special experts and examiners of the trade commission from the operation of the law. Attacks have been made also upon the Indian service and repeatedly upon the post-office service.

Illustrations of the management of the law so as to allow *de facto* control though the civil service rules are in form observed can be cited in great number in both state and federal experience. The abuse is especially liable to occur where the number of competitors in the examination is small. If the law provides that the three with highest standings shall be certified to the appointing authority it will often be possible to appoint the man who would have been appointed under the spoils system. Of course, this practice is still easier where the appointing authority can reject those certified and ask the addition of supplemental names. The



thorough elimination of political manipulation of this sort is only possible where the administrative officer has at heart the enforcement not only of the letter but of the spirit of the law. Even if legislation specifically prohibited the transmission of any information as to the candidates' politics to the appointing power, it would be impossible to insure its proper enforcement if the administration did not share the desire for a non-partisan service.

The working of the federal regulations in this particular may be illustrated by the appointments to fourth-class postmasterships. Section 10 of the Civil Service Act reads:

No recommendations of any persons who shall apply for office or place under the provisions of this act which may be given by any Senator or member of the House of Representatives, except as to the character or residence of the applicant, shall be received or considered by any persons concerned in making any examination or appointment under this Act.

In the examinations for fourth-class postmasterships—now under the act by executive order—there are seldom more than three or four candidates. Consequently, if the man who would have been appointed under the spoils system passes he is fairly sure of the place he seeks. Postmaster-General Burleson is reported to have publicly solicited recommendations of members of Congress to guide him in making appointments to fourth-class postmasterships.<sup>6</sup> It hardly needs demonstration that the political advantage of having appointees in every hamlet in his district is an important asset to the Congressman. Other appointments in the departments at Washington may be similarly influenced and this obligation under which the appointee feels himself when originally placed may from time to time be increased as he comes up for promotion or is saved from demotion. Not only therefore does the spoils system still control the higher offices but it has an indirect influence upon ranks of the service which may be on paper "classified."

These various ways in which the pressure for patronage makes itself felt in the branches of the civil service already "classified" are symptomatic of the great demand for the offices still filled without reference to the civil service law. Civil service reform, unlike some other propaganda, does not prosper on its own success. It does not accumulate added momentum with each victory, even though the benefits attendant on the adoption of the

<sup>6</sup> *Good Government*, New York, Jan., 1915, p. 1.

merit system be easily demonstrable. Indeed, in some ways every advance makes the next step more difficult. The dispenser of patronage tightens his grip with every loss of power he suffers, the clamor for the remaining offices becomes more persistent, and the public are only on exceptional occasions aroused to an interest in the importance of the civil service issue.

In the present state of the public mind there is little likelihood of any rapid and continuous advance in civil service legislation by the federal government. In the states and cities more may be accomplished both because less has already been done there and because there the public is in closer contact with the officials. On the other hand the average campaign will even here turn on more spectacular issues. In any case what concessions may be secured will be determined by the opinion of the political parties as to whether they can get along without the highly valuable perquisite—the power to distribute offices. ( The increasing legitimate expense of campaigns coming at the same time as the popular demand for limitation of the sources, amount and purpose of political expenditures, taken with the demand that the valuable asset of spoils be given up, puts the parties in a difficult position. In this situation the corrupt practice acts and civil service reform come to stand in a peculiar relation to each other. The argument runs: if you limit too strictly the sources from which money may be solicited and the amount which may be spent in a campaign you must make it up by letting the candidate distribute offices—money value—in another form. Neither alternative is attractive but to a degree the opposition appears real, at least as to the stricter limitations on amount of expenditure found in the more drastic corrupt practice acts.

#### *Lessening the Demand for Patronage by Creation of Other Party Assets*

The way out of the dilemma frequently suggested lies in the creation of some other source of support for the parties thus lessening the pressure for place. There are a number of ways in which this could conceivably be done none of which seem both satisfactory and practical.

It has been suggested that we may develop a class of men of means who, their private fortunes being sufficient to their needs, will devote themselves to public affairs and bear the expense of their own candidatures. The answer is that at present we have no

such class, that a distinction of this sort separating candidate and electorate would be unwelcome to American public opinion and finally that few would be able to bear the expense of a thorough campaign in a large state and none that of the national elections.

Dependence on the great economic interests as a means of relieving pressure for patronage has been suggested. Our previous experience with alliances between big business and politics is not encouraging. Any contribution has at least the appearance of a purchase of immunity from hostile governmental action. There are plenty of illustrations that this is frequently the practical consequence; for examples read the history of Gould's expenditures for the protection of the Erie railroad in New York or the current exposures which show that in return for campaign contributions certain companies have received the promise that they might appoint the men who were to inspect their factories.

The most democratic and from all points of view the most attractive proposal is a greater dependence on the "rank and file" of the party—that is, a dependence on small contributions. Efforts to create a basis of this sort have not been lacking in the larger parties, probably not only from a belief in the correctness of the theory that the party as a whole should bear party expenses but also from the belief that a member who contributes has his loyalty to the party strengthened. To popularize support, the Republican party, so the chairman of the national committee later testified, had between seven and eight hundred representatives in Chicago alone soliciting campaign funds in 1908. The Democrats also have several times used similar methods as did the Progressives in 1912. But such methods are more important in the parties out of power and in those which have no chance of victory. In the larger parties in our times they have never brought in a large percentage of the total which passes through the war chest. Not until we have a radical and at present at least unexpected change in the attitude of the average voter can we hope for a cutting down of pressure for spoils through this means.

An interesting set of experiments in lessening the necessity of large funds or their equivalent for the work of parties are the laws passed in various states to transfer to the public treasury part or all of the expense of campaigns. In the first class are the so-called publicity pamphlets, the first use of which appeared in

Oregon. The state undertakes to publish at a rate below its actual cost a limited amount of campaign material and send a copy to each voter. This it is held will cut down the necessity of spending so much money in circularizing the electorate and give each party an opportunity of answering the arguments of its opponents in a way which will bring the clash of opinion forcibly to the voter's attention. The reception of such schemes has been by no means uniform. It seems to have met with a fair measure of success in Oregon, but the similar Wisconsin experiment has proved a failure. Though the pamphlet was generally used when it was first established, the following election showed a marked falling off of interest and the legislature of 1915 repealed the law.

Of a somewhat similar effect is the practice under which large amounts of campaign literature are now printed at the instance of members of Congress and given wide distribution under congressional frank. Of course, this is a less straightforward and defensible means of shifting to the public purse what are in fact party campaign expenditures.

Colorado passed a more thoroughgoing measure than the publicity pamphlet laws referred to. It provided:

That the expenses of conducting campaigns to elect state, district and county officers at general elections shall be paid only by the state and by the candidates for office at such elections. . . . .<sup>1</sup>

Within ten days after nomination of candidates the state treasurer was to pay the chairman of the state committee of each political party a sum equal to twenty-five cents for each vote cast at the last preceding general election for the nominee of the party for governor. The state chairman was to turn over to the county chairman sums equal to twelve and one-half cents for each such party vote within the county. Candidates for office could turn over to the committees in charge of the campaign in their districts an amount equal to 40 per cent of the first year's salary of the office or if the salary were paid by fees an amount equal to 25 per cent of the fees collected in the office in the preceding year. After the election the various chairmen were to report the amount and purposes of all expenditure.

At first sight this looks like a logical extension of the process of legalization through which parties have been going for now well

<sup>1</sup> Session Laws of Colorado, 1909, p. 303, Ch. 141.

over a generation. Primaries are regulated, the rent of the places where the voting occurs is paid by the public, the officers of election are paid by the state, the ballots are printed at state cost and as indicated above in some states the cost of circularizing the electorate is borne at least in part by the public treasury. The payment of the rent of halls in which the campaign meetings are to be held, payment for party watchers and similar expenses seem a logical extension of the same development.

There seems to be good reason to believe that a carefully drafted measure might accomplish at least part of the purpose aimed at in the Colorado act, which in fact was never allowed to control an election. The state Supreme Court took original jurisdiction in the unreported case of *Jesse McDonald v. W. J. Galligan* and declared the act unconstitutional. No opinion was rendered in the case.\* What imperfections the court found in the law it is, of course, impossible to state. Even if the act were upheld it is evident that a distribution of funds on the basis of the vote cast at the previous general election may not give the support to parties in proportion to their strength at the election about to occur. Further the law would act as a discouragement to new parties and independent candidacies. It might lead to a stereotyping of political action where free association and flexibility are most to be desired.

The review of the methods proposed and tried to put the parties in a position where they can feel that the asset of patronage is less essential than at present does not leave us hopeful for rapid and general elimination of the spoils system. The fact that we are accustomed to political distribution of offices would of itself make progress in such matters difficult, for except under unusual circumstances political habits change but slowly. More important probably is the feeling on the part of the political leaders that they cannot get along without the patronage until an equivalent asset is developed. This feeling is especially strong in the case of the federal government. In the states and municipalities there is room for greater advance without interfering with resources alleged to be necessary to the party. Here in the smaller units the patronage may probably with greater force be asserted to be more

\* Letter from R. E. C. Kerwin, Assistant Attorney General of Colorado, November 26, 1915.

a prize for skillful party organization than a means of sustaining party action. That power exercised through the patronage is, in these smaller units, greater than is necessary to healthy party life—granting that under present circumstances the elimination of the spoils system entirely is impracticable—seems to be demonstrated by the experience of the states with the better civil service laws. It is here, therefore, that the greatest advance in civil service reform may be accomplished in the near future, an advance which waits only for the development of an aroused public opinion which will make the demand.

## INCREASED EFFICIENCY AS A RESULT OF INCREASED GOVERNMENTAL FUNCTIONS

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Efficient administration of public affairs is dependent upon three factors: first, popular demand for efficiency; second, employment of trained managers, and third, responsibility of public officials to the voters. Of these three, the public demand for efficient administration is fundamental. The average man, whether the employee of public or private concerns, feels slight desire to secure maximum efficiency when his employers do not demand it. On the other hand, if his employers require him to prepare his work efficiently, he will do so. The usual office holder does what he has to do and little more. In order, therefore, to secure in public affairs economical management of the kind which gives a dollar's worth in goods or service for every dollar spent, the employers must want efficiency. Since the voice of public opinion rules America, popular sentiment, expressed through elections, must call for able and economical management if the public's business is to be well done.

Nevertheless, public demand will fail to secure the desired effectiveness in government management unless competent methods of administration are used. In modern business, the whole machinery of scientific management has been built upon two principles: first, the ablest managers must be trained and employed; and second, these managers must be strictly responsible to their employers. The adoption of these principles is as essential to the success of public undertakings as to that of private enterprises. If the people expect to secure good management, they must employ good managers who have been rendered expert by long and rigorous training. The most eager popular desire for efficient public administration will fail to secure the fulfillment of its wishes unless the ablest men attainable are directing the public business.

Even the employment of able managers, however, will be insufficient if the public cannot hold its employees strictly responsible

for every act. The operation of scientific management in corporate affairs has clearly shown that the best results are obtained from the strict responsibility of all officials to their superiors. Criticism from superiors has proved a salutary spur to greater efficiency. Unless public employees are subject to similar responsibility; unless they are rigidly accountable for their actions to the public, the management will not attain the highest efficiency. Such, then, are the essentials of efficiency in government administration: first, an intelligent popular demand for efficiency; second, the employment of trained, able managers; and, third, responsibility of the managers to the people. But in the past these essentials have been sadly lacking. It is not surprising that the people were not interested in efficiency, for they were absorbed in the attainment of honest government. In the cities, the states, and the federal government, rogues and corrupters seemed omnipotent. The period from the end of the Civil War to the opening of the twentieth century displayed alarming bankruptcy in the national morals. The first centennial of the United States was celebrated in the midst of startling disclosures of corruption, defalcation, and perjured trust in local and national governments. The Tweed ring, whiskey frauds, credit mobilier, Nebraska frauds, and many other instances of corruption indicated the general demoralization.<sup>1</sup> To conquer this canker the people bent their energies, striving to enforce the adoption by public servants of higher moral standards. The election of honest men was the desired achievement and the day is not long past when the prefix "honest" would elect men to office. The prevention of corruption, not the establishment of economical management, has been the great task confronting the American people.

It is also to be noted that, had the voter been interested in efficiency, his lack of knowledge concerning the business of the state would have rendered his desire ineffective. Criticism of the administration, the only way whereby the voter can enforce efficiency, requires thorough knowledge of what the government is doing and of what constitutes efficiency. With regard to the voter's ignorance of these matters the National Tax Association's Committee on expenditure says:

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* Dunning, *Reconstruction, Political and Economic*, chapters 13, 14.



The electorate must pass judgment upon the work which its servants do. It does not have this knowledge, the legislature does not have it. Electors vote and the legislature passes appropriation bills without authentic facts before them. Ignorance of public work, its difficulties, its effects, and its cost; and indifference—the product of ignorance—are probably the most fundamental causes of inefficiency in public service.<sup>1</sup>

Unable to secure (from the reports of public officials) any valuable information as to where the money went, the inquiring voter has been further handicapped by the lack of definite standards of efficiency with the result that the better class of voters has been absolutely unable to submit the administration to the test of criticism. If the better educated citizens were helpless, conditions were much worse in the case of the majority of the electorate. The combined influence of insufficient knowledge added to the distraction resulting from widespread corruption rendered the people helpless and uninterested in the effort to secure greater efficiency.

It is natural that the general failure of the public to demand efficiency was accompanied by defective methods of administration. The expert essential to efficient administration was almost unknown in public life. He has been opposed by the spirit of localism in America which would forbid the employment of the outsider. So marked has been this spirit that recently, in the city of Philadelphia, the grand jury criticised the administration for employing capable men not residents of the city.<sup>2</sup> To the support of this attitude has come the political organization, interested in maintaining its power built upon the gift of offices, and recognizing that the employment of experts would not only displace political appointees, but would, by eliminating sinecures, make those politicians still in the public service perform satisfactory work. Against the politician the expert has made little progress. Furthermore, out of this discouraging condition has come another handicap. The unpromising future of the expert in government work has deterred many from preparing themselves for such service, with the result that the limited supply of trained public servants has precluded any widespread employment of experts.

It is not only by the failure to employ experts that efficient

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* Eighth National Tax Conference, p. 367 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* Clyde L. King, "The Appointment and Selection of Government Experts," in *National Municipal Review*, Vol. III, p. 304.

administration is hindered. The principle that responsibility of employees to employers is essential to good management has been continually forgotten. If public officers are to be held responsible to the public for their administration, they must have the power to direct their work. But under the American system, no official has had sufficient power. The National Tax Association's Committees says:

a fundamental defect is found in the diffusion of power and responsibility. The people elect a legislature to carry out their will and then ordinarily split it into two parts in order that the one may check the other. Executive officers are then also elected, taking their mandate from the people to check and to be checked by the legislative houses. Above all the courts and a constitution often operate to further check the others. This is government for impotence, not for results. —If the people want little done and that little done in an expensive way, we have developed a marvelously effective way of satisfying the people's desires.

Diffusion of responsibility is to be found throughout our system. Disunity of control prevents concentration of authority and responsibility. In Minnesota there are about seventy-five separate heads of administration.<sup>4</sup> In New York state over one hundred fifty were counted.<sup>5</sup> Conflicting jurisdictions and unnecessary directors have sapped the power of officials and made impossible the enforcement of responsibility of public managers to the people.<sup>6</sup>

In the past, then, these three factors—ignorance and indifference of the people; failure to employ experts; and an organization under which responsibility could not be enforced—have resulted in costly inefficiency. With such conditions prevailing, the functions and resulting costs of the government have been rapidly growing. The cost of the national government has increased over 50 per cent in ten years.<sup>7</sup> The states have in the same time increased their expenditures nearly 100 per cent.<sup>8</sup> The cities spent 45 per cent more in 1913 than in 1902.<sup>9</sup> This marked increase in the cost of government finally started the movement

<sup>4</sup> *Vide Preliminary Report of the Efficiency and Economy Commission of Minnesota.*

<sup>5</sup> *Vide Municipal Research*, June, 1915.

<sup>6</sup> *Vide* Morris L. Cooke, "Scientific Management of the Public Business," in *American Political Science Review*, Vol. IX, p. 488.

<sup>7</sup> *Vide United States Census, Wealth Debt, and Taxation*, Vol. II, p. 33.

<sup>8</sup> *Vide supra*, Vol. II, pp. 34-35.

<sup>9</sup> *Vide* Ralph E. George, "Rapid Increase in Municipal Expenditures," in *National Municipal Review*, Vol. IV, p. 611.

which is now radically attacking the inefficiency of government. Criticism of the inefficiency of American administration had for a long time been expressed by prominent publicists such as President Wilson and President Lowell of Harvard. Yet this criticism failed to take effect until the enlarged cost of government jolted the American public into a partial realization of the insecure foundation upon which our administration is founded.<sup>10</sup>

Of the various public forces aroused by this high cost of government the most important is undoubtedly the taxpayer. The self interest of the property owner, stirred by the ever increasing taxes and by the fear of worse to come, has been exerting itself to secure greater efficiency as a method of preventing further increases in the tax burden. Chambers of commerce and other business men's bodies have appointed committees on taxation and expenditures to secure remedies for the present situation. In the city of Spokane, the committee of the chamber met almost daily this last fall with the city council for an examination of the budget. Under the stimulating criticism of these representatives of the city's business men, the officials found themselves forced to show where and why each dollar was spent. Not only did the city fathers recognize more clearly their obligations as a result of such sessions, but the business men were better qualified to demand and to recognize efficiency, and through these few representatives the whole body of business men in the city was educated. The experience of Spokane could be duplicated in many another city of the United States. In the states, also, chambers of commerce are doing excellent work. Especially evident is the case of such organizations as the Ohio Chamber. The business men have not stopped, however, with their own organizations. Strong taxpayers' associations have been organized in many states for the purpose of studying the organization and costs of government, disseminating the information secured, and directing a campaign for administrative efficiency. In the state of Washington, numerous local taxpayers' associations have been organized and federated into a state league. Several of these local organizations have mustered sufficient strength to force a reduction of the tax rate and on certain occasions have even defeated proposed bond issues. At the recent meeting of the

<sup>10</sup> Vide Frederick A. Cleveland, "Evolution of the Budget Idea in the United States," in *The Annals of the American Academy*, November, 1915, p. 15.

National Tax Association, furthermore, several state taxpayers' organizations were represented by their officers.

But the commercial opponents of high taxation have found themselves unable to secure sufficient information of what the government services cost and what the same services efficiently performed should cost. To satisfy this want, prominent property owners have met the expenses of organization and maintenance of the modern bureaus of research. The first bureau in this field, that of New York, has proved invaluable in the campaign for greater efficiency. The taxpayers of New York and other cities have been given a liberal education in municipal finance by this bureau. The success of the New York Bureau has resulted in the establishment of over a dozen similar research bureaus by business men of the cities and the number is constantly increasing. Recently the manager of the Chamber of Commerce of Portland recommended that its members establish such a bureau for the purpose of securing greater efficiency in city government. The movement is extending even into the states, where similar organizations are now being established at the demand of the taxpayers. The recommendations of the bureaus, moreover, are given cordial support by the taxpayer. The dissemination of information and the campaign for greater efficiency are strongly waged by the taxpayers. Out of this support has come the municipal budget exhibit, designed to popularize knowledge of government, its costs, results and needs. This last fall the expenses of a budget exhibit for the city of Spokane, attended by over one-third of the voting population, were paid by the Chamber of Commerce. At the present time the president of the National Chamber of Commerce is directing a nation-wide fight for the adoption of a budget by the federal government and for the introduction of greater efficiency into the federal administration. The increased cost of the various organizations of government, then, has aroused the business men to fight for greater efficiency, using for this purpose their old organizations, taxpayers' associations and bureaus of research, and endeavoring thereby to secure the widest possible education of the voters on all matters pertaining to finance and administrative efficiency.

Part and parcel of this same movement of taxpayers is the fight being waged by the large corporations. Officers of the railroads, especially, facing the difficulty of paying dividends at a

time when taxes are taking an ever larger proportion of the revenues, are, in desperation, striving to arouse their stockholders to a realization of what increasing taxes mean to them in the form of lessened income. But even more important than the appeal to investors is the interest aroused among shippers by the demand of the railroads for higher rates to pay the increased taxes. In the recent appeals of the railroads for higher rates (to the Interstate Commerce Commission), the argument was advanced by the companies that they were entitled to higher rates because taxes among other expenses had prevented their earning a fair return upon their investment. This argument has brought home to many shippers in a new form the cost of government and has greatly increased their interest in the efficiency of government.

This opposition to higher taxes on the part of the property owner has, moreover, placed the public official in a difficult situation. On the one hand the citizens are demanding more service, while on the other taxpayers demand lower taxes. Both sets of demands must be satisfied, in part, at least, if the official is to hold his position. But the only way in which both of these conflicting desires can be gratified is by greater efficiency on the part of the office holder. The treasurer of a large county remarked recently that his office was doing more work than ever before and at the same cost. In his words, "they had to, if they wanted a job." The screws have been turned on the office holder by taxpayers and consumers of the public service.

By these various methods the taxpayer is making himself heard. Indirectly, moreover, another force has been focused upon the efficiency problem. The increasing taxes caused so many administrative problems that in 1907 the National Tax Association was organized to seek solutions for the many pressing questions in taxation. Naturally the tendency was for this organization, composed of tax officials and students of taxation, to become interested in the cause of high taxes. While the association was organized primarily for the purpose of securing the better administration of tax laws, this by-product, publicity and discussion of expenditures and public efficiency, has been attracting more and more attention in recent meetings. A committee on expenditures whose report has already been quoted, is directing attention to many of the causes of present inefficiency in the public service.

There are being organized, furthermore, state tax associations, seven of which are now in existence, and all of which are endeavoring to spread greater information concerning the cost of government.

Further consideration of this movement shows that the increasing cost of government has aroused influences other than those primarily interested in taxes. The mere increase in size of public activities has attained widespread attention. In no class has this attention been more prominent than among college educators. College and university professors are devoting much time and effort to discovering the causes of the rapid increase in the cost of government. In the endeavor to ascertain the remedies for increasing taxes they have repeatedly called attention to the need for efficiency. The extension work of modern educational institutions has made possible the wide dissemination of knowledge on the subject of public finance. The old apathy and ignorance of the voter are thus being attacked from another quarter.

More important, however, than the extension work on this subject, is the class room study. Where twenty years ago public finance and administration was seldom taught except in connection with many diverse topics, today this subject is a standard course in the great majority of higher educational institutions. The leaders of the future, so far as they are college men, are being grounded in the essentials of good and efficient government. This form of education, moreover, is in part superior to that maintained by the taxpayer, since the latter cannot do more than point out faults in present administration. The campaign of the taxpayer, desirable though it may be, fails to develop public knowledge upon which the construction of a more efficient administration may be based. The college and the university, in these days of popular education, are able to prepare this foundation. The marked increase in governmental activities, then, by attracting the attention and study of the college, has resulted in a wide and more thorough education in the causes and needs for administrative efficiency.

The increase in public functions, furthermore, has inspired the criticism of administrative efficiency by persons interested in one or more of the new functions. The new activities deal with such diverse questions as land conservation, game protection,

liquor prohibition, protection of women and children, and development of good roads. It should be noted that, before this extension of government took place, the duties of public officials seldom brought them into close touch with the public. Under the present government, however, ramifying into practically every field of activity, the citizen and the official are in close touch. For every new function dealing with questions in which large numbers of citizens are interested, there is greater criticism of the administration. Unnecessary red tape in the preparation of government papers is savagely attacked by the "practical" man. Labor unions interested in the enforcement of labor laws insist upon efficiency in that service. The farmers' organizations of one state eliminated some of the inefficiency in the highways department by their alert watchfulness. The woman's club of one western city started a movement for more efficiency in the penal administration. In the western states criticism of the federal government's unstable administration of the public resources is rampant. The voters of one of the larger cities in the Northwest were enraged by the slowness with which a public utility commission made its report, deciding a local case. In these many ways, the newly expanded government arouses to greater interest formerly dormant groups of citizens. To the increase in public functions is due a greater and more intelligent demand for efficiency than has heretofore existed. On the one hand the taxpayer, alarmed at the prospect of ever increasing taxes, and on the other, the college and the advocate of particular functions, interested primarily in good government and efficient administration, have combined to develop a popular demand for public administrative efficiency.

To change the methods of administration is less easy. Yet here, also, these increased functions of government are bringing beneficial results. For the greater complexity of governmental business and the more technical aspect of the new functions make necessary in many cases the employment of the expert. Forced by utter inability to do some kinds of work, the political appointee has gradually allowed the functionally trained man to enter the public service. In the cities of New York and Philadelphia this change is perhaps most noticeable. But it is more complete in many of the smaller commission governed cities. Here the blighting influence of localism is being more rapidly overcome. In the

highway, water, and health departments the service in some of these cities has been entrusted almost in entirety to technical men. Even an auditor was imported by Spokane from an accounting firm of Chicago. City managers, where this form of government exists, are chosen from a wide field. Not only the city but the state is beginning to depend upon trained men. College professors have been called upon by all the larger states to assist or direct technical departments. In few states would the old type of politician dare to distribute to his followers responsible technical positions according to former fashions. This tendency to employ the expert, moreover, is, through widening the field for employment in public service, attracting to the government a better class of employees. To meet the demand of these men for preparation, universities are giving special courses and new schools are being established. College students are trained for the consular service, direction of state charities, municipal administration, and other branches of government service. It is evident that the increased functions of government, by making administration more difficult, have contributed to a wider use of experts and consequent increase in the number of men trained for such work.

Nor is this the only change in methods resulting from widening public activities. The framework of government is being changed in order that public officials may be held responsible by the voters. The commission form of government, adopted by some sixty cities, and the city manager form, in use in twenty-five cities, are both of the determination to enforce responsibility.<sup>11</sup> The elimination of the party ballot in local elections, accomplished in many states, is another step toward the enforcement of individual responsibility of public officials. The rapid introduction of these changes is due in large part to the greater popular sentiment for administrative efficiency.

The old scheme of government, furthermore, is breaking down under the new burdens. Bryce, writing in 1896, expressed his opinion that the old system "rubbed along because it had little to do." Now it has much to do. The result is friction at all points, inability to accomplish work efficiently, and general demoralization of the government service. So marked has this

<sup>11</sup> *Vide* Richard S. Childs, "How the Commission Manager Plan is Getting Along," in *National Municipal Review*, Vol. IV, p. 371.



hindrance to efficiency become, that even public officers are endeavoring to secure more concentration of power and responsibility. Governor Johnson of California, on taking office finding himself unable to discover what the state was doing, brought about the creation of a State Board of Control having absolute control over the expenditures of the appropriations made for the state departments and institutions. In this way not only was concentration of control secured, but a real state budget, essential to the enforcement of responsibility, was obtained. Somewhat similar legislation has been enacted in other states, notably Ohio and Illinois.<sup>12</sup> The growth of the government business is forcing a change in the organization in order that executives may know what they are doing and the people may be able to fix the responsibility for good and bad acts.

Such have been the results of the increased functions of government. The old conditions, always causing inefficiency, were disclosed by the increased size of operations. So long as the government business was a small scale industry, so long as it did not cost the taxpayer large sums of money to operate, so long as it did not come in close touch with the average citizen, it did not attract attention. The people were not impressed with the importance of efficiency in government. Where they were ignorant they were oftentimes indifferent. But the change in the size of the government's activities has set in motion forces which are rudely shocking the indifferent citizen. The dissatisfaction of the taxpayer, including the large corporations, has been manifested in a campaign of education on public administration and efficiency; the interest of the college aroused by the spectacle of so big a public enterprise has resulted in collegiate study of these problems; the desire of classes interested in some particular function to secure satisfactory results, has broken down much of the old indifference. In place of popular carelessness, is coming an intense public demand for efficiency. And the same influence is changing the old methods of operation through the introduction of experts and through the reorganization of government to secure greater responsibility.

But these changes do not come in a day. The mills of the gods grind exceeding slow. The change of popular opinion is a slow and tedious process, the results of which do not always

<sup>12</sup> Vide *The Annals of the American Academy*, November, 1915, Part II.

appear clear. The effects outlined of increased functions are making themselves most visible in the cities where taxes are higher, government more closely in touch with the people, and the demand of the public for service more emphatic than in the state or national governments. The same forces, however, are gradually extending to the larger, more remote governments. Through these influences the desires of the people are being moulded and finally in the intelligent desires of the people lies the hope of a greater administrative efficiency.

## SOME EFFICIENCY METHODS OF CITY ADMINISTRATION

BY JOHN ALLDER DUNAWAY,  
University of Pennsylvania.

In some quarters such a title as the one this paper carries will be considered inapt and misleading. Some people assume that efficiency and city administration are as far apart as the poles. Much has been said and written about the inefficiency in city affairs. Along with this goes an assumption that there are methods of efficiency open to the manager of private business that must forever remain a closed book to the city administrator; in short, that a man placed in charge of a private enterprise would be efficient, while the same man placed in charge of a similar business operated by the city would be inefficient. Perhaps these two complementary assumptions explain in part the widespread fear manifested at every extension of the city's activity, which fear for some reason or other is always more acute in connection with the city's operation of profit making or income bearing projects. If these two assumptions are true, then it is indeed a sad day for us, since the city already conducts an enormous business, whose extent and scope show no signs of decreasing.

However, there is a growing disposition to question these two assumptions. First of all there is at least a suspicion that privately conducted business is not 100 per cent efficient. These assumptions grow into specific charges, quoted freely in the current press, as having come from the Secretary of Commerce; they come to light in suits against public utility companies<sup>1</sup> and in studies of unemployment, and other studies of industrial conditions.<sup>2</sup>

It is the purpose of this paper to describe a few methods already in use in the city government of Philadelphia which, in results accomplished, point toward efficiency. They are significant in that they indicate the possibility of the city administrator's bringing to his aid such methods of management as are found useful in the

<sup>1</sup> *Cooke et al v. Phila. Electric Co. Pub. Ledger* (Phila.), Dec. 27, 1915.

<sup>2</sup> *Report on Unemployment in Philadelphia, 1915*, by Joseph Willits.

industrial world in solving similar problems, and that there is no natural antagonism between efficiency and city administration. Now to the writer efficiency is, at most, a relative term. It involves the setting up of definite standards by which progress can be measured. One valuable comparison in this connection would be that of methods employed in city administration with those of privately conducted business. Limitations of time and space prevent such a comparison at this time. This paper will be confined to methods employed in city administration, and by contrasting the past with the present, it is hoped a measure of progress may be presented.

### *1. Concerning the Adjustment of Bills Against the City*

Anything that cuts the red tape, and insures the speedy and satisfactory payment of bills contractors and tradespeople have against the city, increases the number of bidders upon city contracts and supplies, and thereby increases the city's chance of securing a more favorable price on such contracts and supplies. The amount of bother to which a creditor of the city is put in getting a bill paid is a matter of little concern to most of us. But it is safe to say the city has paid for all of it, and more.

Bills against the city of all kinds are settled by warrant. When the Blankenburg administration came into office, there were found in practically each division of the service, warrant orders that differed from one another in size, style and color of paper. To remedy this condition there has been instituted an order which is in the nature of a check and stub—the order or check end being framed in such a fashion that it can be deposited in the bank and the stub end or departmental receipt being returned to the office forwarding the order. The difference in styles is shown on page 91 (a) being the old style and (b) the present order in use.

The warrant order-receipt is now in use throughout the entire Department of Public Works, and other municipal departments. It has saved considerable time of city employees and those having business with the city. Under the old system it was necessary for the clerk having this matter in hand to write out a post card notifying the individual to call and receipt for warrant order. Then when this was done the latter would go to the City Controller's office and possibly be compelled to wait an indefinite time owing to congestion of business, after which he would go to the City Treas-

urer's office and cash the warrant. Finally he would take the cash received and deposit it in bank. Under the new procedure as soon

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WORKS  
DIRECTOR'S OFFICE

PHILADELPHIA \_\_\_\_\_ 191\_\_

JOHN M. WALTON, ESQ.,  
CITY CONTROLLER

DEAR SIR:

PLEASE DELIVER TO \_\_\_\_\_

OR BEARER, WARRANT No. \_\_\_\_\_ FOR \$ \_\_\_\_\_

YOURS VERY TRULY,

CHIEF CLERK

DIRECTOR'S OFFICE DEPT OF PUBLIC WORKS PHILADELPHIA		(a)		WARRANT ORDER (THIS ORDER MAY BE DEPOSITED IN BANK WHEN PROPERLY ENDORSED IN WRITING)		NO.	AMOUNT
WARRANT RECEIPT		NO.		AMOUNT		\$	
TO THE CITY CONTROLLER (ROOM 216, CITY MALL)		TO THE CITY CONTROLLER (ROOM 216, CITY MALL)		PLEASE DELIVER TO PAYEE NAMED BELOW, OR ORDER, WARRANT, AS ABOVE NOTED, IN FAVOR OF _____		191__	
RECEIVED FROM THE DIRECTOR'S OFFICE.		RECEIVED FROM THE DIRECTOR'S OFFICE.		ORDER FOR THE ABOVE NUMBERED WARRANT.		191__	
SIGNED _____		SIGNED _____		THIS RECEIPT SHOULD BE SIGNED, DATED AND RETURNED TO DIRECTOR'S OFFICE, ROOM 216, CITY MALL, IMMEDIATELY, TO INSURE PAYMENT OF WARRANT.		191__	
(b)		(b)		(TITLE)		191__	

as the City Controller's office notifies a city department that the warrants are ready for delivery, the department mails out the warrant orders in "window" envelopes and the recipients can then

endorse the orders and place them in the bank for collection. Receipts for warrants are generally returned to the department within twenty-four hours after mailing the orders.

One of the officers of the Department of Public Works has estimated that it saves in money value of time saved, on the \$17,000,000 spent for materials alone by the entire city, \$60,000, which is not an inconsiderable percentage.

When one considers that in the Department of Public Works alone there are over 600 warrant orders mailed each month, or a total of 7,200 per year, it can readily be seen that it saves the business man many hours in time and much needless bother formerly spent in making unnecessary trips around City Hall.

## 2. *Concerning the Handling of Inspection*

There are 45 inspectors under the Registrar, in the Bureau of Water. These inspectors read meters, inspect meter installation, count water fixtures and inspect for the waste of water in dwellings. This data is used for the basis of water-rent charges. Formerly the opinion prevailed among inspectors and their superiors that an "outside man" could not be supervised. So each inspector was given a district, composed of a certain number of political wards, and turned loose to collect this data as he saw fit. From the records kept no one could tell for sure how many hours a day an inspector worked or whether he worked at all or not. For an inspector soon learned how to make out his report without resorting to the laborious process of making all the inspections which his reports covered. He compiled a book, in which he listed the houses in his district, with their fixtures counted and entered therein. Water fixtures are fairly constant in number, and changes generally consist in additional fixtures. Since a consumer does not kick at an under-charge, the inspector could with comparative safety consult his book, and write out his report from the door step, the corner saloon or his own home. Even after the introduction of a few meters the inspector found he could dispense with three or four readings a year—he could compute this quarter's bill on the basis of last quarter's reading. Here again safety lay in making the computation low enough to escape a kick from the consumer.

The present Registrar<sup>s</sup> tried to standardize the work of these inspectors. He tried to set up the best method of procedure, and

<sup>s</sup>J. A. Carlin.

have it followed, and then to keep such records that some standard day's work could be determined by which each inspector's work could be judged. This involved careful planning of each day's work and control over the inspector while on the outside.

Now an inspector's work is planned and laid out for him each day. Five of the brightest men were appointed as supervising inspectors. Each meets his group of inspectors at an appointed time and place each morning, and gives each inspector a copy of his route for the day. These route sheets are made in triplicate, one being retained by the supervising inspector, while one is posted on a bulletin board in the Registrar's office. Each inspector is given blank forms which he must fill for each individual address with information gained from his inspection. These blanks are of four kinds: for meter readings, for meter installations, for regular fixture counting, or for complaints in regard to leaks, etc. When the blanks are filled out, and the recapitulation made on the route sheet, the inspector has made a complete daily report, from which the quality and quantity of his work can be judged, and compared with the standard set by the whole division. These reports are turned in to the supervising inspectors at the close of the day. This method of handling the work breaks up the hard and fast district lines, and makes it impossible for the inspector to have his report ready made in his pocket. He cannot very well make or carry a book covering the whole city as he formerly did for his small district. It is possible to know approximately where an inspector is working by consulting the master route. A chief inspector works as a free lance to check up the accuracy of the work. He follows first one man and then another, or goes on special or difficult cases where there is controversy or complaint. The inspector does not know when his route is being followed, so it is an incentive to do accurate and honest work.

The standard day's work is a matter of averages. It is true that in the nature of the case no two houses will take exactly the same time to inspect. The reading of the meter in the basement of an office building is a simple matter compared with counting all the water fixtures in an apartment house. But it is true, nevertheless, that in the course of a month averages can be obtained which make a standard by which an inspector's daily work can be judged. In comparing an inspector's work with the standard, the kind of work he is on is always taken into account.

The accompanying table B shows the monthly averages for the year 1914.

TABLE B

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	L	H	J	K
1914 Month	Working days in month	Number of inspectors on duty	Total inspector-days in month $A \times B = C$	Total inspector-days in office	Total inspector-days absent	Total inspector-days off street $D + E = F$	Total inspector-days on street $C - F = G$	Average no. of inspectors on street $\frac{G}{A} = L$	Total inspections	Average no. of inspections per inspector-day $\frac{H}{J} = I$	Average no. of inspections per day $\frac{H}{K} = M$
January.....	23.5	46	1,081	493.5	12.5	506	575	24.4	22,175	38.6	943
February.....	20	46	920	200	41.5	241.5	678.5	33.9	17,490	25.9	874
Average to date.....	21.7	46	1,000	346.7	27	373.7	626.3	28.9	19,832	31.6	914
March.....	24	46	1,104	398.5	26	424.5	679.5	28.3	23,508	34.6	979
Average to date.....	22.5	46	1,035	364	26.6	390.6	644.4	28.6	21,057	32.7	936
April.....	23	44	1,012	332.5	20.5	353	659	28.6	44,675	67.6	1,942
Average to date.....	22.6	45.5	1,028	356.1	25.1	381.2	645.8	28.5	26,962	41.7	1,193
May.....	23	43	989	312.5	19.5	332	657	28.5	23,884	36.7	1,038
Average to date.....	22.7	45	1,021.5	347.4	24	371.4	650.1	28.6	26,346	40.5	1,160
June.....	24	43	1,032	337	27.5	364.5	667.5	27.8	22,058	33	919
Average to date.....	22.9	44.6	1,021.3	345.6	24.6	370.2	651.1	28.4	25,631	39.2	1,119
July.....	24.5	42	1,029	312	100	412	617	25.1	17,045	27.6	695
Average to date.....	23.1	44.2	1,021	340.8	35.3	376.1	644.9	28	24,404	37.8	1,056
August.....	23.5	41	963.5	136.5	280	416.5	547	23.2	14,203	25.9	604
Average to date.....	23.1	43.8	1,011.7	302.7	65.9	368.6	643.1	28	23,129	34.9	1,001
September.....	23	42	966	298	61.5	359.5	606.5	26.3	21,713	35.7	943
Average to date.....	23.1	43.6	1,007.1	302.1	65.4	367.5	639.6	27.6	22,971	35.9	994
October.....	23.5	42	987	317.5	51.5	369	618	26.3	36,011	58.2	1,532
Average to date.....	23.1	43.4	1,002.5	303.7	64	367.7	634.8	27.4	24,275	38.2	1,050
November.....	21	41	861	258	17	275	586	27.9	23,284	39.7	1,109
Average to date.....	22.9	43.2	989.3	295.9	59.7	355.6	633.7	27.6	24,185	38.1	1,056
December.....	24	41	984	346	53	399	585	24.4	19,923	34	830
Average to date.....	23	43	989	303.4	59.1	362.5	626.5	27.1	23,380	38	1,036



The column H is the one from which the Registrar gets his most valuable information regarding each man's work. The reason for seemingly large variation is perfectly clear to him, and is due for the most part to different parts of the city in which the inspection was being carried on from month to month. It will be noted that while the "average number of inspections per inspector day" varied from month to month, the "average to date" is fairly constant, and varies but little at any time from the average for the whole year.

This sort of recapitulation is posted monthly, so the Registrar can at any time compare an inspector's work for the day and by taking into account the nature of the district he is working in, tell at once whether in quantity his work is up to the standard. Any errors that may come to light, either through subsequent investigation, or following a complaint of the consumer, or the report of the Chief Inspector are entered against the record of the inspector who made the error.

In short, it is easily possible in this way to tell the good work from the bad. The net result has been a great increase in the quantity and quality of the work. There was much dissatisfaction and friction at first. The men didn't understand just what was being done. They were fearful lest some of their cherished "rights" were being infringed upon. Comparison of one man's work with another, or with the average, was odious at first. The Registrar could offer no incentive in increase of salary to the better man, and could offer five only the raise in rank to that of "supervising inspector" which means, in reality, more responsibility and more work, for the same pay. Yet there was a fear of dismissal, and the incentive for "beating the record." The men soon found that after all it was not so difficult to do good work when it was expected of them, and their work was so planned that good work was possible. An *esprit de corps* has been built up. Errors have been reduced to a minimum. Each inspector hopes in time to become a supervising inspector, for there is something fascinating to most men, in occupying a position of responsibility and power, although it means more work and no additional pay. From the Annual Report of the Registrar we find that in 1911, 54,382 inspections of all kinds were made by the inspectors in this division. This number did not include serving of bills or reading meters. In 1914, 285,969 inspec-

tions were made by the same number of men, including the serving of 86,532 bills and 86,087 meter readings. As a result of the increased inspection in 1913, water rents were increased on the same properties over \$150,000 while many properties, not heretofore on the books of the Water Bureau, and not paying water rent, were found, billed and placed on the books for subsequent years. The complete report for 1915 is not available as this is written, but the work thus far shows as equally good results as those of 1913 and 1914.

One improvement in the method of keeping the books and making out the schedules of charges which the Registrar has made, has likewise resulted in a great saving in time and money. The permanent and official record of the 335,000 separate accounts carried by the Division was formerly kept in immense, permanently bound ledgers. Five copies of the schedules, taken from this record, must be made each year. Formerly they were made in long hand. The water rent book for previous years was compared and corrected by ledger for the current year. Then a master copy was made in long hand from this correct copy, which copy was then checked by the ledger. Three and in some cases four copies of this master copy were then made in long hand, and each compared with the master copy.

Now loose-leaf schedule books and ledgers are used. From the ledger, which has been corrected for the current year, with all additions, etc., made, as many typewritten copies as are needed are made at one operation. The typewritten copies are then compared with the ledger, and any necessary changes are made on the original and duplicates at the same time. These copies are bound in loose-leaf binders for the various departments which require them. Thus the chance for error has been reduced to a minimum. All copies of the schedule are alike. There is only one checking operation instead of four or five. The typewritten copies are, of course, much more legible and satisfactory. And in addition to all this, there has been a saving in expense to the city.

For 1912, making these schedules in long hand cost \$4,367.38, while for 1915 the cost was only \$2,779, a saving of 34 per cent, although there were more accounts to be entered and one additional set of books<sup>4</sup> to be made.

<sup>4</sup> From a letter to the writer from J. A. Carlin, Registrar of Water Bureau, Jan. 17, 1916.

The experience of the Registrar is significant in that it shows what can be done, even under adverse conditions, when the man who knows how, and wants to be efficient, is placed in a responsible position in city administration.

### *3. Concerning Cost-Keeping Records*

It is possible for the city administration to operate a unit cost system. This has been done in the Bureau of Water and in the Bureau of Highways of Philadelphia.<sup>5</sup> It now becomes possible not only to compare street cleaning and repair work on the streets, bridges and sewers of Philadelphia with the cost and quality of work in other cities, but with that done by different districts of the same bureau or gangs in the same district. A friendly rivalry and a pride in the work can be fostered by the proper use of the unit cost system.

A standard can thus be set up which will throw into bold relief the strong and weak points of the whole system. The mere keeping of a record, which a man knows will come before the eyes of his superior, is an incentive to that man to do better work. The purpose of the unit cost system installed in the Bureau of Highways, as given by the Chief of that Bureau, is:<sup>6</sup>

(a) To ascertain the quantity and total and unit cost of each class of work performed which will provide data to facilitate the preparation of budget and prospective work estimated and also afford a basis from which may be determined the fairness of unit prices bid on contract work.

(b) To provide data to assist in the determination of the time beyond which it would be undesirable for economic reasons to continue maintenance work in existing pavements, or in other words, the time when replacements must be contemplated.

(c) To secure by interpretation of the data, knowledge as to the efficiency of performance of the Bureau's forces, and to assist in showing the adequacy of the service rendered to the public.

(d) To show the quantity and cost of each class of work performed within the boundaries of any district, or unit length of highway, or on any specific structure or job.

(e) To show separately the varying and principal elements of expense, such as labor, hauling and materials, entering into the cost of each class of work.

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<sup>5</sup>For a complete description see the Annual Report of the Bureau of Highways, Philadelphia, 1914, p. 119-123.

<sup>6</sup>Report for 1914, Bureau of Highways and Street Cleaning, Philadelphia, p. 119-120.

(f) To produce in the subordinate employees the beneficial moral effect resulting from a realization that records of their performances are brought to the attention of their superiors.

(g) To promote friendly competition between similar units of the organization and establish a sort of *esprit de corps* among the men.

As has been said, these records make it possible to compare one administration with another and with similar work done by private concerns, in matters of expenditure, but without them the administrator himself cannot find the weak points in his own work.

An illustration of the advantage of keeping records of this kind was in connection with the bituminous surface treatment work, which is the principal factor in modern highway maintenance of water-bound macadam streets and roads. The unit cost records of this work performed in 1913 showed an average cost of 7.3 cents per square yard, while in 1914, the average cost was 5.8 cents per square yard, or a saving of 1.5 cents per square yard over 1913. This saving was a direct result of making an analysis of the items of cost for 1913, through which it was possible to point out the weak points in the performance of the work, with the result that in 1914 more attention was given to the different operations of the work, the cost of which was considered to be too high the previous year. Of this saving of 1.5 cents per square yard, about one-half cent per square yard was due to the fact that a number of the treatments were second applications and naturally required a less amount of bituminous material per square yard, and the reduction in the cost of gravel, but approximately one cent per square yard (or a saving of fourteen per cent, of the entire cost of the work) was entirely due to the increased efficiency of the organization in handling the work. A further study will be made of the costs of this work and also the unit costs of all work performed by the bureau, with a view to pointing out ways and means of conducting the work in a more efficient and economical manner next season.<sup>7</sup>

A similar system of cost keeping has been installed in the Water Bureau, with similar results. One instance only will be given. In the pipe-laying work of the Bureau, the effort at a unit cost keeping system has led to more adequate records, by which, not only the work of one district can be compared with another, but the work of each gang can be compared with that of the other gangs doing similar work in the Bureau. True, many jobs here may be unlike in size and difficulty, so comparisons may be of little value, but other jobs are fairly equal, and should show a somewhat similar cost. When a district shows a high cost for a particular kind of work, it is possible to find the particular gang or gangs in that district who are responsible. The cost of pipe laying and repair are kept by districts. The man in charge of all the pipe

<sup>7</sup> Report of the Bureau of Highways and Street Cleaning, Philadelphia, for 1914, p. 4-5.

laying and the man in charge of each district have before them the average labor cost of similar work in each district, as well as the average for the year (Table C). It is easy to see which district is falling behind on jobs of similar nature, and if the reason is not self-evident to the man in charge, the records of the gangs in that district can be gone into and the trouble located. For instance, from

TABLE C—AVERAGE LABOR COST OF WORK PERFORMED IN DISTRICTS  
JULY, 1914

DISTRICT	1D Drawing ferrules for leaks. Caulking joints on mains. Repairing city laterals		2D Drilling for new ferrules. Reaming for ferrules to increase water supply		3D Drilling for ferrules on building operations		4D Replacing ferrules drawn for leaks		11D Private or fire connection complete	
	No. of jobs	Av. labor	No. of jobs	Av. labor	No. of jobs	Av. labor	No. of jobs	Av. labor	No. of jobs	Av. labor
Yellow	20	\$6.61	41	\$1.26	83	\$0.18	8	\$0.70	1	\$5.63
	207	5.47	216	.87	450	.16	64	.86	3	12.19
Red	91	10.39	193	.98	31	.44	5	.65	..	..
	434	8.15	568	1.06	104	.36	30	1.13	4	17.06
Blue	50	7.87	17	2.17	48	.27	11	2.12	..	..
	222	5.63	91	1.69	125	.49	54	1.65	5	12.78
Green	21	9.31	128	1.17	81	.40	..	..	1	19.34
	92	6.54	500	1.15	246	.33	12	1.00	4	18.29
White	33	4.75	49	1.03	95	.31	1	1.13	1	23.95
	106	5.05	322	.94	457	.20	10	1.24	3	24.03
	1V Cutting in new valves on lines already laid		2V Renewing valves		3V Shifting valves		4V Removing or dismantling valves		6V Placing concrete boxes, frames and covers on old lines where no new work done	
	No. of jobs	Av. labor	No. of jobs	Av. labor	No. of jobs	Av. labor	No. of jobs	Av. labor	No. of jobs	Av. labor
Yellow	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	\$6.94
	1	28.44	8	10.78	..	..	2	8.26	27	6.83
Red	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	1	81.16	2	27.75	..	..	..	..	11	5.96
Blue	3	10.31	..	..	..	..	1	13.02	36	8.44
	5	8.54	10	13.49	..	..	4	9.34	207	5.77
Green	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	17	5.29
	2	19.88	2	12.95	..	..	..	..	35	5.14
White	..	..	1	16.06	..	..	..	..	27	7.53
	..	..	2	13.67	..	..	..	..	73	6.66

TABLE C—Continued

DISTRICT	7V Placing brick boxes, frames and covers on old lines where no new work is done		1H Cutting in new fire hydrants on lines already laid		2H Renewing fire hydrants		2Y Making concrete boxes			
	No. of jobs	Av. labor	No. of jobs	Av. labor	No. of jobs	Av. labor	No. of jobs	Av. labor		
Yellow	37	\$9.66	1	\$5.63	22	\$6.63	..	..		
	162	7.94	1	5.63	65	5.80	..	..		
Red	41	6.65	33	13.51	25	7.23	..	..		
	129	6.95	33	13.51	60	7.95	..	..		
Blue	3	5.37	..	..	26	7.85	3,142	\$ .06		
	8	6.53	5	10.93	99	5.65	13,502	.04		
Green	32	8.89	..	..	6	7.59	920	.13		
	99	7.24	1	10.13	24	6.15	1,944	.11		
White	..	..	1	13.08	10	8.04	2,832	.07		
	88	7.14	1	13.08	49	7.38	6,206	.08		

the monthly statement of July, 1914, Column 7 V: "The placing of brick boxes, frames and covers on old lines where no new work is done," is an operation that is fairly uniform in the difficulty and time ordinarily required. We find that the labor cost varies in the different districts from \$5.37 to \$9.66. Although the low figure was reported from a district which had done but three such jobs in the month, while the high cost was reported from a district that had 37, still the difference is sufficient to cause a careful supervisor to inquire into its cause. Of course the keeping of the records of costs is necessary so that those in charge will know there is a difference in cost.

#### 4. Concerning the Purchase of Supplies and Their Inspection

The city buys a great amount of supplies of one kind or another in the course of a year. Next in importance after price consideration, it should be known whether the city gets what it pays for. The setting up of definite standards wherever possible and then testing the products of the different bidders to see which come up to it is possible with an increasing number of supplies. Take the one item of asphalt used for paving. A complete system has been set up by the Bureau of Highways, by which not only is the material inspected in the plants, and a complete record kept of the output of

plants selling the product to the city, but samples are taken daily for laboratory testing. It is no longer left to the judgment of a laborer without technical education, who perhaps determined the hardness by chewing, or the consistency by sticking pieces on the wall.<sup>8</sup> Today this work is done by competent engineers, who have at their disposal modern scientific apparatus. Such defective materials as are found in the plants are never sent to the paving job. All materials used on any contract in the Bureau of Highways are inspected after they have been received. This rigid inspection of material results in raising the standard, and though high grade materials may be slightly higher in first cost, their use will ultimately prove a great saving to the city. There seems to be no good reason why the city should not always get just what it contracts for—if that is the desire of the city. The step toward standardization of specifications for material, which has been taken by the three principal bureaus of the Department of Public Works<sup>9</sup> is significant. To have a single set of standard clauses used in the specifications throughout the city's departments would guard against future irregularities. It would do much toward efficiency in purchasing. Adequate tests and inspection of the work and material purchased is likewise essential, and easily possible.

##### *5. Concerning Planning of Work*

One other method employed at the present time in the Bureau of Highways should also be mentioned. It is a large wall map, on which the kind of paving on each city street is shown, by a different colored line, as well as paving in process of construction or authorized. Pins of various kinds and colors indicate the status of the city's paving work, and the condition of the streets. Such other information as dates, sums of money spent, etc., cannot be shown on the map but are available in a visible card index case along side of the map. This is a simple and cheap device by which the Chief of the Bureau can tell at a glance the status of the vast amount of paving operations which the city carries on all the time, and the status of maintenance work on paved streets. For these two items alone the city is spending over \$6,000,000 per year. It visualizes

<sup>8</sup> See Report of the Director of Public Works, Philadelphia, 1914, p. 78.

<sup>9</sup> Report of the Director, Department of Public Works, 1914, Philadelphia, pp. 3-4.

"unbalanced" work, such as giving one section of the city more than its share of improvements to the neglect of some other section and likewise shows up dangerous conditions in streets or pavements. It gives the chief direct control over the operations under his direction.<sup>10</sup> Similar boards are already in operation in the Division of Bridges and Sewers of the same Bureau, as well as in the District Offices. One is also used in connection with the pipe-work of the Water Bureau. Its use might be profitably adopted by a good many other bureaus and departments.

These illustrations are isolated instances of progress toward efficiency in city administration. They have by no means exhausted the list, nor do they represent a finished or perfect result. They are given with no thought of proving a case, but as suggesting possibilities for the future. It is encouraging to know that even in Philadelphia real progress toward efficiency has been made, and it leads us to hope that what has been done here can be improved—and repeated.

<sup>10</sup> *Engineering Record*, Dec. 11, 1915, pp. 714-16.



## PUBLIC WORKS AND ENGINEERING SERVICES ON A PUBLIC SERVICE BASIS

BY WILLIAM H. CONNELL,

Chief, Bureau of Highways and Street Cleaning, Philadelphia.

Publicity of the right kind is the keynote in all campaigns relating to matters in which the public is concerned. Lack of this kind of publicity is more responsible than any other cause for the slow progress that has been made in placing public works and engineering on a public service basis throughout the United States. While it is true that in some instances public and engineering services are conducted on a basis that might well serve as an example to some public service corporations and industrial establishments, still in many localities there is a woeful lack of appreciation of the necessity of engineering service in conducting public work. This is particularly true in highway work in which it is not an uncommon thing for lawyers and laymen to be in charge of departments controlling such work.

Engineers as a rule do not do justice to the public side of their work and consequently the public does not appreciate as much as it should the value of their services. Technical descriptions of engineering work are invaluable for engineers but simplicity in publicity concerning matters relating to public work will educate the public mind with respect to the real value of engineering services. The people should be instructed in a general way concerning the day-to-day problems confronting the engineer in public service. This can be done through the press, periodicals, pamphlets, and by erecting signs on the site of the work containing a simple description of the project. It is only through such an educational campaign that we can ever hope to obtain the support of the public in matters pertaining to the public service. This is part of the engineer's work and what might come under the head of the business side of engineering on a public service basis.

In many sections of the country there is probably no branch of public work in such need of engineering services as is highway work. It is only through the right kind of publicity impressing

this fact on the public that this work will eventually be placed strictly on an engineering basis. It is estimated that nearly \$400,000,000 a year is spent on highway work. The economic administration of such an enormous expenditure annually is certainly a matter that should receive serious consideration on the part of the public.

The most essential factor in the administration of large affairs is organization. Therefore, in so far as highway work is concerned, a good engineering organization is just as essential to good roads and pavements as are the materials used to construct them. This is not a theory but a fact and one that unfortunately has not been given proper recognition in the United States, and only now is dawning on the public at large. The fault lies partly with the engineer, and not entirely with the politician who only too frequently is blamed for this state of affairs. The average politician is naturally inclined to parcel out all the jobs he can to his followers, who are in a sense his employees. As engineers are not found among political workers, it is perfectly natural that any public work, not generally recognized by business men and men of other professions to be distinctly engineering work, would not be regarded as such by the politician whose desire is to provide as many places as possible for his associate political workers. The responsibility for this state of affairs, therefore, rests in a measure with the engineer, since the profession as a whole has regarded the highway problem too lightly and has not been sufficiently jealous of the infringement upon its rights; namely, to supervise all work, public or private, that is of an engineering nature. The doctors and lawyers have to build up safeguards to protect what they consider their prerogatives. You never find an engineer supervising or conducting work coming under the jurisdiction of either one of these professions. But there are innumerable cases of lawyers and business men placed at the head of highway departments—the excuse being that they are executives. Nevertheless, this is engineering work, and while one of the principal requisites for such a position is executive ability, engineering knowledge is equally important, and the real qualification essential for the directing head to conduct such a department successfully is engineering executive ability, not executive ability engineered by a business man or a lawyer,

such as we have been having in many of our state, municipal, county and town highway departments.

Business concerns must advertise their goods not only for the purpose of encouraging sales, but for the protection of the public, as well as for self-protection; they must call attention to any imitations that will not answer the purpose or bring about the desired results. It is considered to be, and as a matter of fact is, the duty of the exponents of the professions of medicine and law to educate the people to protect themselves by taking advantage of the protection to person and property afforded through relying upon members of these respective professions in matters to which they can best attend. Likewise it is the duty of the engineering profession to educate the public to get a dollar's worth for a dollar of expenditure, whether it relates to public or private work, so long as it is engineering work, by employing competent engineers to supervise highway and other engineering work. This means engineers to plan, organize, and operate all highway departments. In other words, a proper *highway engineering organization* does not mean engineers working under the direction of a lawyer or business-man commissioner, but an engineering organization from top to bottom, with an engineer heading the organization, no matter what the title may be. This principle is an important one and should be ever before the young engineer. He should be brought to consider seriously the prerogatives and functions rightfully belonging to members of his profession—organization work, executive ability, business management, should be part of his professional training; they are just as essential to the engineer as they are to the lawyer, doctor or business man.

The highway work in a large percentage of our states, municipalities, counties and townships has been handled by all classes of officials from as many different walks of life, none of which gave them a claim to any qualification for the job. As a result, the highway work was allowed to drift along until the highway department was considered to be the property of the politician, and, still worse, only recently it has been used by some of the business administrations throughout the country to parcel out a few jobs to men probably deserving of some recognition, but conspicuously unfit in so far as highway work is concerned. In this policy they have made a great mistake, as the highway department in a large measure

is the principal show-case of any state, city, county or town government—the pavements representing the goods in the window. Recent developments have proved that more people can be pleased and satisfied through an engineering highway organization, conducted on a high plane, than through any other branch of public works. An adequate organization, however, is essential, as a successful highway administration is dependent upon conducting and controlling the work with the least friction. Ease of operation is a most important factor and this can be obtained only through an organization commensurate with the demands made upon it.

*Planning Boards as a Means of Simplifying the Control of Public Works Departments*

In an endeavor to define some means of simplifying the control and insuring a more thorough and intimate knowledge of the status of the operations coming under the jurisdiction of a large highway department than that afforded through the up-to-date records and definite procedures for each operation, it became evident to me that it would be necessary to supplement these records and procedures with planning boards containing a graphic representation of the status of the operations, in such a manner that the work could be more readily controlled than is the case where it is necessary to refer constantly to office records. No matter how thoroughly the operations of a highway department may be systematized, where the heads of the different units of the organization are dependent upon daily consultations and studies of the records on file to enable them to picture in their minds the status of the work under their jurisdiction, there is always a certain amount of lost motion and unbalancing of the work, resulting in one locality receiving undue consideration at the expense of another or delays in the starting of important contracts due to unconsciously yielding to outside influences interested in pushing forward less important work. This new scheme for simplifying the control of the work of a department through visualizing the operations enables the executive and division heads to obtain at any time a mental picture of the status of the operations coming under their respective jurisdictions. It is the most up-to-date system heretofore employed in highway departments or industrial corporations to carry on the work in an orderly and systematic manner. While planning boards have been

used with success in some of the industrial establishments, the application of this method of carrying on the operations of a large highway department is new. After several months' trial it has proved an unqualified success and one of the most practical schemes that has thus far come under my observation for simplifying the management of such a department. For some time past we have indicated certain data on maps, such as the progress of contracts, location of work, etc., but the planning boards referred to are used as a means of control of the entire operations of the department other than such work as is performed in accordance with a fixed schedule.

This method of visualizing the status of the work also enables the executive to readily give information concerning the operations under his jurisdiction that would ordinarily necessitate 'phoning to the office where the records are kept, which would mean a delay of several minutes before the information could be obtained from the record files. With the use of the planning board and visible card index system it is possible to obtain the necessary information in less than a minute. This saving of time means a great deal to a man interviewing a number of people every day requesting such information.

In the Philadelphia Bureau of Highways and Street Cleaning planning boards have been installed in the offices of the chief engineer, and in those of the two division engineers in charge of general highway department work, the division engineer in charge of bridge and sewer maintenance, and the seven district highway engineers.

They consist of a map indicating, in different colors, the character of all the pavements and unimproved streets throughout the city, mounted on a board and encased in a frame. The scale of the map is such as is necessary to contain the information desired in each specific case; for example, the scale of the district engineer's map, which contains the locations of holes in the pavements, etc., is necessarily greater than that of the chief engineer's map, which does not show such detail.

The scheme is a very simple one, and is not difficult to operate. The status of contract and municipal repair work, bituminous surface treatments, etc., and the location of the repair gangs and all other information contained on the boards are indicated by pins with

heads of different colors, shapes and sizes. For example, the status of the contract work may be followed by noting the appearance and disappearance of the pins. When any grading, paving, repaving, surfacing or resurfacing is completed, the limits of the work are colored with the coloring used on the standard map of the Bureau of Highways indicating the different characters of pavements and unimproved streets and roads. In the case of repair work, when the repairs are made the pins are removed; and the status of bituminous surface treatment and all other work (except that which is done in accordance with a fixed schedule such as street cleaning) coming under the jurisdiction of the Bureau is indicated in a similar fashion.

All information pertaining to permanent locations or fixtures is indicated on the planning boards by properly colored and symbolized thumb tacks which are inserted flush with the surface of the map. In general there are included in this classification such designations as the main and district highway offices, store yards, railroad sidings, ash, rubbish and street dirt dumps, disposal plants for rubbish and garbage, stables, and asphalt plants; while in the temporary or variable classification different colored and sized pins indicate the authorized work, the executed contracts, those in progress, or suspended, work by municipal forces, etc., and other details relating to the work that it is necessary to visualize in order to properly plan and control. Of course the exact details of the legend for each kind of planning board varies, and is arranged to suit the specific requirements of the particular planning boards to which it is to apply. Subject to these necessary variations the indications are, however, standard for any similar designations that appear on all of the planning boards.

In order to facilitate reference to information in greater detail, the indicators for the permanent designations also contain an identifying serial number, which refers to lists annexed to the planning board which indicate full information relative to locations, names of owners of asphalt plants, dumps, etc.

The details of the legends employed on the several planning boards in use in the Philadelphia Bureau of Highways and Street Cleaning can best be shown by the illustrations on pages 109 and 110.

**PLANNING BOARD  
OFFICE OF CHIEF ENGINEER  
BUREAU OF HIGHWAYS AND STREET CLEANING  
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WORKS  
CITY OF PHILADELPHIA**

### LEGEND

<p><b>PERMANENT DESIGNATIONS</b></p> <p>(Ind.) <b>REMOVE:</b>  <b>ADJUT. HIGHWAY OFFICE.</b>  <i>NOTE: In the following indications the essential designations of districts are indicated by numbers.</i></p> <p>(Ind.)  <b>DISTRICT HIGHWAY OFFICE.</b></p> <p> <b>SERVICE DISTRICTS (Street Cleaning and Public Health and Sanitation Districts).</b>  <i>NOTE: In the following indications the serial identification numbers refer to correspondingly numbered detailed notes on this document.</i></p> <p>(In Map)  <b>STONE MARK.</b></p> <p> <b>BOUND (from Public or Street Dist.)</b></p> <p> <b>GARBAGE DISPOSAL PLATE.</b></p> <p> <b>RUBBER DISPOSAL PLATE.</b></p> <p> <b>STABLE (Surface Construction).</b></p> <p> <b>CONTRACTOR'S RESUALT PLATE.</b></p> <p> <b>MUNICIPAL RESUALT PLATE.</b></p> <p><b>EXISTING PAVEMENTS:</b></p> <p> <b>ASPHALT BLOCK.</b></p> <p> <b>INTERBEDDED ASPHALT.</b></p> <p> <b>CONCRETE CONCRETE.</b></p> <p> <b>CORREL. OR RUBBLE.</b></p> <p> <b>SHEET ASPHALT.</b></p> <p> <b>SLAB BLOCK.</b></p> <p> <b>STONE BLOCK.</b></p> <p> <b>UNIMPROVED (Gravel, etc., chimes only).</b></p> <p> <b>INTERBED BLOCK.</b></p> <p> <b>INTERBEDDED ASPHALT.</b></p> <p> <b>WOOD BLOCK.</b></p> <p><b>MISCELLANEOUS:</b></p> <p> <b>RAILROAD SIGN.</b></p> <p> <b>DISTRICT BOUNDARY LINE.</b></p> <p><b>CHARACTER OF AUTHORIZED CONSTRUCTION WORK:</b></p> <p> <b>GRADING.</b></p> <p><b>PAVEMENT:</b></p> <p> <b>INTERBEDDED ASPHALT.</b></p> <p> <b>CONCRETE CONCRETE.</b></p> <p> <b>SHEET ASPHALT.</b></p> <p> <b>STONE BLOCK.</b></p> <p> <b>INTERBED BLOCK.</b></p> <p> <b>INTERBEDDED ASPHALT.</b></p> <p> <b>WOOD BLOCK.</b></p>	<p><b>TEMPORARY OR VARIABLE DESIGNATIONS</b></p> <p><b>INDICATION OF LIMITS OF AUTHORIZED WORK:</b></p> <p> <b>IF HIGHWAY IS NOT COLORED.</b></p> <p> <b>IF HIGHWAY IS COLORED.</b></p> <p> <b>IF NECESSARY IN CONNECTION WITH THE PREVIOUS INDICATIONS TO SHOW LIMITS OF CONTIGUOUS JURISDICTIONS.</b></p> <p> <b>IF WORK IS THAT OF SURFACE TREATMENT.</b></p> <p><b>TECHNICAL CLASSIFICATIONS OF AUTHORIZED WORK:</b></p> <p><b>CONTRACT WORK:</b></p> <p> <b>GRADING.</b></p> <p> <b>PAVING.</b></p> <p> <b>REPAVING.</b></p> <p> <b>SUBSTRUCTURE.</b></p> <p> <b>RESURFACING.</b></p> <p> <b>SPECIAL WORK (Work Development, Roadway Construction, etc.).</b></p> <p><b>MUNICIPAL FORCE WORK:</b></p> <p> <b>EXTENSIVE SURFACING, REPAVING AND REPAIRING.</b></p> <p> <b>DIST. LAYER TREATMENT.</b></p> <p> <b>INTERBEDDED SURFACE TREATMENT.</b></p> <p><b>STATUS OF WORK:</b></p> <p> <b>CONTRACT EXECUTED OR IN COURSE OF EXECUTION.</b></p> <p> <b>WORK IN PROGRESS BY CONTRACTOR.</b></p> <p> <b>WORK IN PROGRESS BY MUNICIPAL FORCES.</b></p> <p> <b>TROUBLE MAKER (for correction, delay, suspension, etc.).</b></p> <p><b>WORK DETAILS:</b></p> <p> <b>URGENT NECESSITY FOR PROMPT PERFORMANCE OF WORK.</b></p> <p> <b>INTERVALS OBSERVED.</b></p> <p> <b>INTERVALS DELAYED.</b></p> <p> <b>CONTRACTOR'S REPORT REMAINS AND OTHER WORKS REMAIN.</b></p> <p> <b>REPORT REMAINS REMAINS AND OTHER WORKS REMAIN.</b></p> <p><b>MISCELLANEOUS:</b></p> <p> <b>ORDINANCE PERMITS TO AUTHORIZE WORK.</b></p> <p> <b>CONSTRUCTION TICKETS (indicating existence of open traffic correspondence).</b></p> <p><b>GENERAL INFORMATION:</b></p> <p><i>Full detailed information relative to the current status of the legal contract, structural and other governing conditions pertaining to all work placed on this planning board is indicated on the individual card records for each project authorized in the current status file.</i></p>
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LEGEND ON PLANNING BOARD, OFFICE OF CHIEF ENGINEER

[illegible]

**LEGEND ON PLANNING BOARD, OFFICE OF DISTRICT ASSISTANT ENGINEER**



## CURRENT STATUS RECORDS

In addition to the data regularly carried on the planning boards there are also certain other data of a more detailed nature relative to the current status of the legal, contract, structural and other governing conditions, which should be easily accessible but which it would not be practicable to indicate on the planning board.

This information is, however, recorded in a very accessible manner by means of individual records properly filed and in visible filing cabinets, which are known as current status files, and which are located adjacent to the planning boards, and can best be described by the following illustrations:

Three forms of current status card records are provided, one form being for municipal force work and two for contract work for use in the main and district offices respectively. These records indicate in a logical and concise manner just what information is necessary relative to current conditions.

<b>Woodbine</b>		<b>FROM Lancaster</b>		<b>TO Upland</b>	
CLASSIFICATION		MATERIALS			
BITUMINOUS SURFACE TREATMENT		ASPHALT CUT BACK			
SCHEDULED	YES				
URGENCY OF WORK	YES				
MATERIALS ESTIMATED	YES				
MATERIALS IN STOCK	YES				
MATERIALS ORDERED	YES				
MATERIALS DELIVERED	YES				
WORK READY TO PROCEED YES		WORK ORDERED STARTED JUL 1 - 1915		WORK STARTED JUL 2 - 1915	
GANG IN CHARGE OF FOREMAN <i>Simpson</i>				DIVISION /	DISTRICT /

BUREAU OF HIGHWAYS  
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WORKS  
CITY OF PHILADELPHIA

RECORD WORK PROGRESS RECORD  
MUNICIPAL FORCE WORK

**PROGRESS RECORD FOR MUNICIPAL FORCE WORK**

**Indiana**

FROM 24th

TO 26th

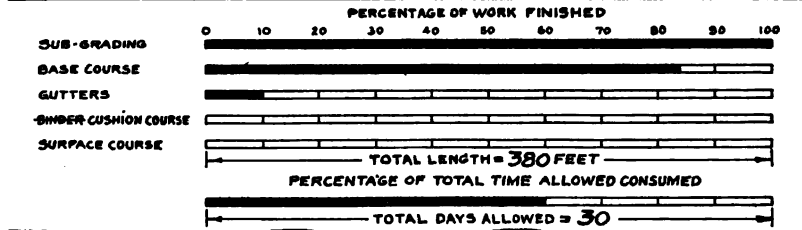
CLASSIFICATION <b>PAVING</b>	SURFACE <b>SHEET ASPHALT</b>	GUTTERS <b>VITRIFIED BLOCK</b>	TRACKS <b>DRESSED GRANITE BLOCK</b>	BASE <b>CEMENT CONCRETE</b>
WORK AUTHORIZED	<b>JUL 6 - 1915</b>	SCHEDULED	<b>YES</b>	GRADING
ON CITY PLAN	<b>YES</b>	ADVERTISED	<b>AUG 4 - 1915</b>	SEWER
LEGALLY OPENED	<b>YES</b>	WORK RECEIVED	<b>AUG 20 1915</b>	LATERALS
CITY TAX RATE	<b>YES</b>	AWARDED	<b>AUG 25 1915</b>	WATER
NECESSITY FOR WORK	<b>YES</b>	ORDERED	<b>AUG 26 1915</b>	GAS
FUNDS AVAILABLE	<b>YES</b>	EXECUTED	<b>SEP 2 - 1915</b>	LIGHTING
PLAN ORDERED	<b>YES</b>	APPROVED	<b>SEP 4 - 1915</b>	CURBING
PLAN RECEIVED	<b>YES</b>	DRAWING No	<b>3135</b>	
WORK READY TO PROCEED	<b>YES</b>	NOTICE TO PROCEED ISSUED	<b>SEP 9 - 19</b>	WORK STARTED
				<b>SEP 13 1915</b>
CONTRACTOR	<b>BARBER ASPHALT PAVING CO.</b>			DIVISION 2 DISTRICT 6

BUREAU OF HIGHWAYS  
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WORKS  
CITY OF PHILADELPHIAHIGHWAY WORK PROGRESS RECORD  
CONTRACT WORK**PROGRESS RECORD FOR CONTRACT WORK FOR MAIN OFFICE****Addison**

FROM 58th

TO 59th

CLASSIFICATION <b>PAVING</b>	SURFACE <b>SHEET ASPHALT</b>	GUTTERS <b>VITRIFIED BLOCK</b>	TRACKS <b>—</b>	BASE <b>CEMENT CONCRETE</b>
GRADING	SEWER	LATERALS	GAS	WATER
O. K.	O. K.	O. K.	O. K.	O. K.
CURBING:				
NOTICES EXPIRE		48-HOUR NOTICE		ORDER RETRACTED
9-18-15		9-19-15		REPORTED FINISHED
		9-22-15		10-2-15
CONTRACTOR	<b>EASTERN PAVING CO.</b>			NOTICE TO PROCEED
			<b>10-4-15</b>	WORK STARTED
				<b>10-12-15</b>

BUREAU OF HIGHWAYS  
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WORKS  
CITY OF PHILADELPHIAHIGHWAY WORK PROGRESS RECORD  
CONTRACT WORK**PROGRESS RECORD FOR CONTRACT WORK, DISTRICT OFFICE**

It will be noted that the arrangement of the form of the current status record for contract work as used in connection with the district planning boards makes it possible to post graphically either daily or weekly from the inspectors' reports the percentages of each

portion of the work finished and the percentage consumed of the total time allowed for the completion of the work.

The responsibility for the posting of the planning board and the current status file is centralized in one person in each office, and this posting is done early each morning from the reports of the operations, transactions and changes in conditions occurring since the time of posting on the previous day. In the district offices, however, a record of the need for the performance of any character of work is posted as soon as the necessity becomes apparent from any source, such as being indicated on a patrol inspection report; resulting from observation by the district assistant engineer or his subordinates; notice from the main office or any municipal department, from the police, or from the public.

In the seven district highway offices and in the division of bridges and sewer maintenance, the daily route sheets indicating the work to be performed by each maintenance and repair gang is prepared by direct reference to the planning board.

To be explicit, the function of the planning board may be defined as being a means of providing the chief engineer, the division engineers and the district assistant engineers and their subordinates with a continuous and complete, concise and easily accessible graphic record of the current status of all construction and maintenance work under their respective supervision, as well as prospective work, in order that they may plan and administer the work in the most efficient manner, and also to facilitate the prompt determination of any desired general information relating to the work that otherwise would not be available except after more or less detailed investigation. The planning boards are also a practical means of controlling or equalizing the quantity of work to be performed in the different localities under the jurisdiction of the department, and the order in which the work shall proceed, and also of determining upon the assignment or distribution of the engineering, inspection and working forces.

In fact, the planning boards may be likened to a graphic representation or moving picture of the general activities of the department presenting sufficient detailed information to insure the carrying on of the work with a maximum of efficiency, and to do away with the friction and loss of time through the engineers in responsible charge of the several units of the organization being

compelled to make daily or perhaps constant reference to and studies of the filed records to enable them to form a mental picture of the status of the work under their jurisdiction. With this scheme, a few minutes' inspection of the planning board each morning will enable the engineer to keep in close touch with and thoroughly plan or control both the extensive and minor work under his supervision.

There are countless opportunities in the management of a large highway department, as is also the case in other public works departments and industrial establishments, not only to improve upon the quality of the output but to save time and money through making analytical studies of the operating methods. As an illustration of this, only recently, by assigning an engineer to make an analysis of the unit cost records of the municipal repair gangs, and studies of the methods pursued in the performance of the work, we have been able to show a saving of \$40,000 in four months, which is a direct result of eliminating a certain amount of the lost motion, due to inaugurating more efficient methods of carrying on this work. Therefore, this saving was brought about entirely through these special studies. This, however, is just one feature of the work of a highway department, but the opportunities afforded for analytical studies of the operations as a whole, and the standard that can be obtained through the systematic operation of planning boards to control the work, opens up a new field with unlimited possibilities that must necessarily result in the saving of enormous sums of money that cannot be definitely measured at the present time.

In the Philadelphia Bureau of Highways and Street Cleaning there are approximately 700 contracts in operation annually. This in itself, aside from the number of extensive operations performed by the departmental forces and the multiplicity of other work coming under the jurisdiction of such departments, whether they be city or state, involving expenditures of approximately \$400,000,000 annually, puts a premium on organization and management as a most important factor in connection with the operations of such departments, and is evidence of the fact that the solution for economic management of highway departments is the most important problem in highway engineering today.

The more we study the possibilities of the management of highway departments, the more impressed we will be with the fact

that thus far we have only touched the high spots, and that the logical and systematic management of such a department is something yet to be attained, and who can say what will be the result of the studies now being carried on in some of our highway departments, as there is no field in which there are better opportunities to apply scientific principles to the operations than to those coming under the jurisdiction of a highway department?

## THE MOVEMENT FOR RESPONSIBLE COUNTY GOVERNMENT

BY H. S. GILBERTSON,

Executive Secretary, National Short Ballot Organization, New York City.

County government in every state, except Rhode Island and Connecticut (which have troubles of their own), whether it be under the town system or under the commissioner system, is organized on the plan of making as many officers as possible "directly responsible to the people." The people elect their board of supervisors or commissioners, as the case may be, and undertake to hold them responsible for the financial affairs of the county. They are to control, if they can, the expenditures, among others, of the sheriff. But always the sheriff is no subordinate of theirs; the people selected him! In the course of his work he collects sundry fees which so far as the supervisors are concerned he may account for or not as he pleases. They may reach him in some slow roundabout way but never by the direct power of summary removal which a private business concern may exercise. The supervisors may set out upon a program of economy and efficiency including, let us say, the standardization of supplies. But the county clerk will not recognize their superior authority; he will run his office to suit his personal convenience; and if the supervisors undertake to check him he may find some way of appealing to the people. The superintendent of the poor, the treasurer and the auditor may likewise go their respective gaits, and the county will be blessed not with one government, but with several.

This is the particular form which the ancient and revered theory of the separation of powers has taken in this branch of government. No one officer or board is entrusted with power enough to do serious wrong; let the people be the boss!

Noble sentiment. But there is a reverse side to it. Division of power carries with it division of responsibility. It is as though the board of directors were charged with the control of a private enterprise, but were expressly denied the power to select the manager and heads of departments wherewith to execute their trust. So

vital to their civic happiness have the people regarded this disjointedness of the county that many of the constitutions are explicit as to which officers shall be elected and in not a few cases name the whole list.

### *The Headlessness of Counties*

The county is about the only human institution that is absolutely headless. There are, of course, some exceptions. In the first class counties of New Jersey (Hudson and Essex), the state has provided for an officer elected by the people who has the title of "supervisor" and exercises powers similar to those of the mayor of a city. He makes no appointments, but he may suspend and remove subordinates, veto appropriations and make recommendations. In Cook County (Chicago), Ill., a president of the board of supervisors is elected by the people. Kings County (Brooklyn), N. Y., before consolidation had a "supervisor-at-large." But none of these exceptional executives has powers at all comparable to those of the mayor of New York or Cleveland. In the general run of counties the chief executive is not a single officer but the governing body itself. But almost invariably this body serves on part time and only meets at intervals, of sometimes as much as a month. If the town plan is in use the board may be very large as in Westchester County, N. Y., where the number of supervisors is forty-one or in Erie where there are forty-one members. That such a board would be all but strangers, of their own knowledge, to the detailed needs of the various offices in the county, goes without saying.

No, the ingenious Anglo-Saxon mind has discovered a substitute for direct personal supervision. This government of ours, we are told, is a "government of laws, not of men." If a given officer goes wrong or if he neglects his duties, then the supervisors are authorized to go to the district attorney and get him to take action on the officer's bond or to institute a criminal prosecution. If the district attorney is negligent in the matter, the supervisors may go to the governor with charges of neglect of duty against *him*. If the original officer in question is just plain lazy, slow or inefficient, then everybody simply has to wait "till he gets round to it."

All this circumambulation forsooth, in the name of democracy! It actually fulfils the conception of popular rule for no inconsiderable body of superficial political thinkers. Where the system goes

wrong, they inject a little more confusion, a little more irresponsibility into the plan of government—"the cure for democracy is more democracy." Even the reform of county government is conceived in the spirit of negation. Americans have a way when things go badly in the government, of trimming somebody's wings, of setting up "checks and balances." But every time they reduce an officer's power they have not only prevented him from rising to heights of constructive effort, but they have actually so obscured his responsibility as to increase the probability of his going wrong.

But to leave off the criticism of the county and to proceed to constructive remedies, what measures may be proposed?

#### *What Responsibility means in County Reconstruction*

In the approach toward an ideal county government the principle which underlies every accredited political reform must dominate: the principle of responsibility. The central state government must assume greater responsibility for the local execution of its own mandates. The locality must take full charge of its local affairs, in pursuance of the principle of home rule (which is but a phase of responsibility). The responsibility of the county electorate must be fixed by making the conditions of citizenship simple and workable. In plain English, every factor in government must be assigned its own proper function and must be put in possession of the means wherewith to enforce the trust imposed upon it.

With this standard in mind the form of a more perfect county government will not be difficult to conceive. Under a system of home rule the county will have been brought face to face with its obligation to frame its local policies. A suitable local legislature or governing body will have to be erected to represent accurately the people of the county. If the several localities in the county possess an identity which justifies their having a distinct voice in the governing body, they will be taken care of. But if on the other hand the fact is that the county is a geographical and social unit, the form of the governing body will reflect that condition. If the county consists of mixed urban and rural elements, that condition will not be overlooked. And cases will come to mind also where the county is identical with a city, in which case the county may utilize the governing body at hand.

Toward county unity and simplified governing bodies, New



Jersey has also contributed a strong impetus to the popularity of the small board. In 1902 the legislature passed the so-called Strong Act under which any county might abandon the idea of district representation. Thereafter the people of the county as a whole elect (according to the population of the county) from three to nine freeholders. This system has been adopted (up to 1915) in most of the twenty-one counties.

### *Responsible County Legislature*

The county legislature, in keeping with its amplified powers, its greater dignity and conspicuousness, will have a corresponding control over its agencies. It will not be obliged to carry out its trust through subordinates not of its own selection. Nor will it scatter its own powers of control, but will constitute some one person the head of the county administration. And it will protect its own responsibility by selecting for the executive headship a person not qualified by reason of partisan political experience but of specific fitness for performing his official duties.

The executive in his turn will have ample powers of control, through appointment and otherwise, of the county officers, at least in the "business" as distinguished from the "judicial" establishment of the county.

His powers will not be limited as are those of the supervisor, an office which has been established in counties of the first class (Hudson and Essex). These are apparently the only counties in the country which are operated under the slightest semblance of a single executive head. The executive is elected by the people and is in fact a survival from the time when the board of chosen freeholders (supervisors) were elected from districts, with a view to unifying the interests of the several localities, somewhat after the fashion of a mayor of a city. He is required "to be vigilant and active in causing the laws and ordinances of the county to be executed and enforced." Subject to the civil service law he has power to suspend and remove but not to appoint subordinates. He may propose legislation and veto resolutions.

And the state itself will sometime look more carefully and concernedly to the enforcement of its own laws. It will frankly do one of two things: either it will decide that a given law deals with really local questions, in which case it will wipe it off the statutes and

leave them to be handled by the county legislature; or else, it will resolve to see that the law, if wise, is properly enforced, and will proceed to establish its own means for its enforcement.

And finally, the responsibilities of citizenship will be conserved. No voter will be called upon to make selections from long lists of obscure minor officers, whom he never sees and whose duties he knows little or nothing about. He will have the assurance that by watching and controlling one set of officers he will control the whole county establishment.

### *A Concrete Proposal*

A proposal that practically squares with this formula was put forth some years ago by a group of Oregon citizens under the leadership of W. S. U'Ren in a projected amendment to the state constitution. The county business would be in the hands of a board of three directors to be elected by the voters of the county for terms of six years. This board would have power to "make all expedient rules and regulations for the successful, efficient and economic management of all county business and property." It would be required, however, to employ a business manager who would be the "chief executive of the county,"—and the choice would not be limited to the state of Oregon. The salary of this officer would be determined by the board. With him would rest the appointment of the subordinate county officers, except that the board should be empowered to audit bills, either directly or through an auditor.

The skeleton of the proposed Oregon system is similar to that of the commission manager plan of city government which has been in successful operation for several years in Dayton and Springfield, Ohio, Cadillac and Manistee, Michigan, and about thirty other cities of various sizes and is growing rapidly in public favor. A more complete and detailed scheme based upon the identical principles was embodied in a bill introduced in the New York legislature of 1915 by the New York Short Ballot Organization.

### *Some Practical Contributions to Responsible County Government*

In actual life no county has taken longer steps to secure a simplified structure than Los Angeles, California, which was the first county to act under the home rule amendment. This charter

starts out by abandoning the theory that every county officer must be elected. The supervisors are retained on the "ticket," but county superintendent of schools, coroner, public administrator, county clerk, treasurer, tax collector, recorder and surveyor, all of whom were formerly elected by the voters, are now appointed by and responsible to the county legislature, which is the board of supervisors. The sheriff, the auditor, the assessor and the district attorney are still elective. In thus extending the power of supervisors, the charter framers require that, with a few exceptions, the officers shall be chosen from competitive lists on the basis of merit and fitness. The fee system is abolished.

The charter of San Bernardino County, California, adopted shortly after the one in Los Angeles, provided for a board of five supervisors elected at large, one at a time, this board to appoint all other county officers except judges. But the changes seemed so radical that the people amended the charter out of all semblance to its original conception, before it was ever put into operation.

For the immediate future the movement for better county government must be mainly to bring the voters to see that there is a "county problem" of no small importance. No division of government contributes so largely to the continuance of political machines—the county is ideally constructed for that. The three thousand counties in the United States now spend annually about half as much as the federal government—a hint to the taxpayer. Social workers are aware that the management of the local welfare functions are often administered by counties in a manner that is nothing short of barbarous. But the county problem will not be solved by hitting at particular evil symptoms. We shall, in the writer's opinion, eradicate all the more serious evils by applying all along the line and to the practical limit the reconstructive principle of responsibility which is theme and subject of this volume.

## INTERWORKINGS OF STATE ADMINISTRATION AND DIRECT LEGISLATION

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Executive participation in the work of American legislatures has been frequently analyzed. Its increasing extent in recent years is closely interrelated with two other factors in the development of our state governments: first, the greatly enlarged tasks which the American public has come to exact of its legislatures, and second, the successive restrictions which have been placed upon these bodies. Though there has been a steadily growing dissatisfaction with the methods and motives of our representative organs—which has been voiced in certain restrictions imposed upon legislative freedom, such as requirements affecting procedure, limitations upon special and local legislation, the regulation of lobbying and the placing of matters of statutory character in constitutions—there has at the same time developed a need for constantly increasing reliance upon legislative regulation as a means of securing economic and social reforms. This expansion of the sphere of legislative competence and the increase of the limitations placed upon legislative activity have accentuated and made obvious the need for responsible leadership in the fulfilment of the manifold and complex duties which modern demands impose upon our state legislatures. This demand for responsible leadership has found its response in increasing participation of the executive in legislation.

The need for strong legislative leadership has existed since the beginning of our state governments. The American disjunction of executive and legislative organs left the latter without guiding and responsible agencies to discriminate among the tasks proposed to the legislatures, or to coördinate their efforts. Inevitably, to meet this need, agencies of leadership, not responsible under the constitution or the law, were in time created or accepted by the legislatures. Thus legislative committees—as, for example, the committee on rules, leaders of the party caucus, unofficial leaders

outside the legislature, were allowed in various ways to assume the functions of devising and executing plans of action for the legislative sessions. The agencies just indicated in many cases proved adequate for the work of preserving party unity and party subservience of individual members to the organization. None of these devices could satisfy the fundamental need—from the standpoint of the public, rather than of the political party—for an open, responsible, and unified leadership in legislation. The records of the governors who first perceived their opportunity to fill this gap and at the same time assume the positions of party guides, are familiar. The special fitness of a governor, properly equipped and with the appropriate motives, for such combined leadership, lies in the peculiar opportunities his position affords him for ascertaining or drawing out public opinion, for giving it definite expression, and for bringing to bear its force upon an otherwise irresponsible legislature.

But the legislature's irresponsiveness and uncertainty of action had been a primary cause for the introduction of the system of direct legislation, which was popularly demanded not only as a means for correcting the action of the legislature when it was corrupt or wilfully neglectful of the popular will, but also as a means for securing quick accomplishment of popular desires for legal regulation of economic, social, and moral conditions.

What effects will the extending use of the instrumentalities of direct legislation have upon the governor's position as legislative guide and party chief? What effects will their operation have upon the work of the governor and other state executive officers as directors of the vast administrative business which now devolves upon the state government, as a consequence of the expanded sphere of state regulation? The experiences of the states in which the system of direct legislation has been in operation provide us with material for indicating a few possibilities and tendencies along the lines of such questions, without approaching any final and fundamental conclusions.

On the one hand, with regard to the interworkings of direct legislation and executive participation in lawmaking, several practical questions arise out of the experiences of the last few years.

In the first place, the question may be raised whether, in order to make possible the exercise of intelligent judgment upon measures

submitted to direct vote, the governor must be looked upon as the guide whose task it will be to concentrate popular attention upon a few salient measures among the manifold propositions which may be submitted under the unrestricted employment of the instrumentalities of direct legislation. Much emphasis has been placed upon the multifariousness of the propositions submitted to popular vote, upon the resulting confusion of the mind of the electorate, and upon the tendency of such methods of political action to discredit popular rule by weakening its representative organs and by bringing further inexpertness and incoherence into our lawmaking. It is urged that in direct legislation as in representative legislation there is need for some responsible agency to assemble and make selection from the manifold legislative proposals emanating from limited groups of voters. Through the machinery of direct legislation as through that of our representative assemblies the total of legislative projects tends, it is held, to represent a collection of special and limited interests rather than a consolidated general interest. It is thus predicted that direct legislation without leadership will produce the same defects of irresponsibility and incongruity that have characterized legislation under the procedure of our typical representative legislatures. If there must be a conspicuous guide whose task it will be to propose and determine a program for popular legislation and to give to it generality and consistency, can the governor or some other state officer serve in such capacity?

To meet the need just indicated, an extreme suggestion has been made that the popular initiative should be allowed to apply only to measures which the governor has recommended to the legislature but which have failed of enactment in that body. In other words, the popular "initiative" should be restricted to a selection among measures proposed unsuccessfully by the governor to the legislature. This restriction would abolish altogether the popular origination of legislative proposals, and therefore cannot be considered as a means for guiding and safeguarding the use of popular initiative in legislation. The governor, through his power to awaken public opinion, can direct its attention to measures which he deems more important among the collection of measures offered for submission to popular determination. But no practical device seems available for conferring upon him or any of his col-

leagues legal powers of elimination among such proposals, without sacrificing the primary and radical purposes of popular legislation.

In the second place, shall the governor, as part of his province as responsible political head of the state, be empowered to set in motion upon his own initiative the machinery of direct legislation as a further means for pressing his legislative suggestions towards enactment into law? One governor has, without any formal authority of such character, but simply through his personal influence, secured popular decision upon measures which he had sponsored unsuccessfully before the legislature. Professor Barnett has pointed out that in 1912, because of the failure of the Oregon legislature to enact certain "good roads" legislation desired by the governor, the latter, upon his own responsibility, appointed committees to prepare measures and to obtain petitions necessary to require the submission of these measures to popular vote.<sup>1</sup> The same procedure was followed with respect to a "blue sky" bill and a "millage-tax" bill for the higher state educational institutions, submitted at the same election. Professor Barnett adds: "The governor was also largely responsible for the submission of the anti-capital punishment bill at the same election, and he was the real author of the bill for the consolidation of the desert land board and the state land board submitted at the next election." It may be added that each of these measures was defeated at the polls.

Various proposals have been made for attaching to the system of direct legislation provisions which would specifically extend the governor's powers of leadership in legislation. It has been proposed that the governor should be given power to initiate measures for submission to popular vote, without the intervention of any legislative action or popular petition. A more practical form of this proposal might be that the governor should be authorized to refer to popular vote any measure recommended by him to the legislature and failing of enactment by that body. Other suggestions have called for the automatic reference to popular vote of all measures rejected by the legislature after recommendation by the governor. It is argued that some such addition to the governor's power is necessary in order to give logical and practical completeness to the function which, with the acquiescence of public opinion,

<sup>1</sup> James D. Barnett, *The Operation of the Initiative, Referendum, and Recall in Oregon*, p. 12.

he is coming to assume as responsible political head of the commonwealth.

Thirdly, should officials of the state administration be vested with powers of determining the validity and sufficiency of petitions submitted for the initiation or reference of laws? In view of the aggressive leadership in legislation now so frequently assumed by the state administration, we are confronted by the practical question as to whether these officials, in their eagerness to protect measures which they have conducted successfully through the legislature from attack through the referendum, may not be tempted to exercise their powers of decision in the matter of petitions in such arbitrary ways as to prevent or obstruct the submission of such laws. In most states it is required that the petitions for the initiative or referendum be filed in the office of the secretary of state. This requirement generally carries with it the duty of that official to pass upon signatures the validity of which is questioned. That the exercise of such power may become involved in the political and legislative aims of the administration was revealed in connection with the investigation conducted by the secretary of state of Ohio upon the referendum petitions submitted in 1913. The methods and consequences of this investigation deserve consideration in some detail.

The system of state-wide initiative and referendum was established in Ohio in 1912 by constitutional amendment. In 1913 petitions were circulated for a referendum upon three of the acts passed by the legislature of that year. Neither constitutional nor statutory provisions in force at that time, affecting petitions for the initiative or referendum, established practical means for preventing or detecting fraudulent practices in making or soliciting signatures. Two of the acts upon which a referendum was sought were among the more important achievements of the extensive program of social and administrative legislation enacted by the Democratic legislature of 1913, under the guidance of Governor Cox. These two measures were an act establishing compulsory workmen's compensation through a system of state insurance, and an act substituting centrally appointed for locally elected tax assessors. The chief agency in the circulation of the petitions against these laws was the Ohio Equity Association, an organization representing certain industrial insurance companies and formed



for the purpose of securing the reference and defeat of the laws mentioned above. Accusations of fraud and corruption in connection with the circulation of the petitions were made to the governor, and at his direction a hearing upon the sufficiency of the petitions submitted was held by the secretary of state. The hearing brought out unmistakable evidence that extensive frauds had been committed and that practically every constitutional and statutory requirement affecting petitions had been wilfully disregarded. Many non-voters had been induced to sign; many names had been copied by circulators from city and telephone directories, hotel registers and poll lists; and many signatures had been obtained by payments to the signers or by misrepresentation of the contents of the petitions. Moreover, many abuses were disclosed in connection with the attestations by notaries public to the affidavits required to be made by the solicitor and attached to each part petition; these abuses were such as the failure of the notary to swear the solicitors, or swearing them by proxy, or swearing the solicitors when the notary had good reason to believe that names on the petition were forgeries.

Despite the large number of invalid signatures disclosed in the hearing before the Ohio secretary of state, there was a widespread popular feeling that the administration had displayed undue industry in throwing out questionable signatures and that it had taken advantage of the existence of fraud to throw out many petitions which were of only doubtful validity at worst. The secretary of state in his decisions and the attorney-general in his rulings were accused of using the powers of their offices, at the behest of the governor, to forestall arbitrarily the referendum. The governor's motive was considered to be determined by his fear of the test of a popular referendum upon the acts in question and in his desire to secure at all costs the power which would come to him from the patronage conferred by the tax assessor law. As a result of the secretary of state's decisions in the hearing the number of signatures adjudged by him to be valid was far short of the constitutional requirement. The secretary of the Ohio Equity Association applied to the supreme court of the state for a mandamus to be directed against the secretary of state to compel him to place the laws upon the ballot. The court refused to issue the writ, upholding the attorney-general's ruling that the secretary of state, as state super-

visor of elections, has authority to determine the sufficiency and validity of petitions filed with him, and that his decision thereon is final, unless such decision has been fraudulently or corruptly made or unless he has been guilty of an abuse of discretion; and sustaining also the attorney-general's ruling that a false affidavit or an imperfect swearing by the notary invalidates all signatures upon the part of the petition in question. This decision was rendered by a vote of five to one, the dissenting judge being the sole Republican judge on the supreme bench and the five majority judges including four Democrats and one Progressive.

In 1914 a special session of the Democratic legislature of Ohio passed a law to provide further safeguards for initiative and referendum petitions. The object of this law was to prevent a repetition of the frauds, but not of the executive interference, that appeared in connection with the petitions of 1913. This law established strict requirements as to the form and arrangement of petition blanks, required a statement of receipts and expenditures by circulators of petitions to be made before elections, provided penalties for methods such as those practised by circulators in 1913, and made provision for a preliminary local examination of petitions by county boards of election; these boards were not given powers of final decision but were required to report to the secretary of state cases of invalid signatures and illegal practices which they might discover.

Executive interference in legislation was a dominant issue in the state election of 1914 in Ohio. The Republican attacks upon the record of Governor Cox, who was a candidate for reelection, were directed partly to his activities in securing legislation consolidating and centralizing state administration, and partly to his policy of executive interference in legislation. This latter attack drew attention not only to his dominating leadership of the general assembly, but also to his part in blocking the referendum against two of his cherished laws, one of which greatly extended his powers of central administrative control. The Republicans were victorious in the election of 1914; and it is generally believed that the governor's activity in connection with the petition hearings of 1913 was an important factor in causing his defeat.

The Ohio Republican legislature of 1915 repealed the tax assessor law which had been withheld from the referendum. They

also passed a law giving to local tribunals final power in deciding upon the validity and sufficiency of petitions. This law provides that if the county board of election find any signatures insufficient, it shall, after notifying the persons concerned with the solicitation of those signatures, proceed to establish the insufficiency of the signatures before the court of common pleas of the county, whose decision shall be final. The county board is required to return the petitions to the secretary of state, with a certification of the total number of valid signatures on such petitions. The number so certified must be used by the secretary of state in determining the total number of valid signatures, which he is merely to record and announce. Thus power is withdrawn from the secretary of state to further the legislative aspirations of the administration by interfering with the application of petitions; unless the supreme court should hold that the statute cannot withdraw from the secretary of state power of judgment upon the validity of petitions, since such powers may be held to attach to him as a necessary implication from the constitutional provision requiring that the petition be filed in his office. It is probably desirable that such powers be wholly withdrawn from any state executive officer in order to relieve the administration of suspicion of prejudiced action. This is important in view of the aggressive leadership in legislative policy which governors sometimes incline to assume nowadays.

Recent centralizing laws in some states give the officers of state administration many subordinates in the various localities. A further consideration on the interworkings of state administration and direct legislation relates thus to the question whether this condition places dangerous powers in the hands of state administrative officers to further their legislative ends by exerting influence over their subordinates to promote the circulation of petitions.

Here again a recent experience in Ohio affords illustration for the question in point. The Republican legislature of 1915 passed a law upsetting the state liquor license commission which had been created by the Democratic legislature of 1913, and substituted local selection for state appointment of county liquor license commissioners. One of the members of the state liquor license commission who would be deprived of office by the new law, brought the pressure of his influence over the local commissioners in such a way as to secure their active coöperation in the circulation of petitions

against the liquor license ripper law of 1915. This law was defeated at the referendum and the law of 1913 was thus preserved and the state commissioner above mentioned maintained in office. After the election, the Republican governor who had been advocate and supporter of the new liquor license law, charged the commissioner with gross misconduct in office in urging his subordinates to use their influence with saloon keepers in such a way as to promote the securing of signatures to the referendum petitions, and ordered his removal from office. The supreme court, however, by a majority decision of the Democratic judges over the dissenting opinions of the minority Republican judges, restored the commissioner to office on the ground that the activities of the latter did not constitute gross misconduct in office. A decision uninfluenced by the partisan differences arising out of the issue of centralization of state government would probably have sustained the governor's removal. Nevertheless, the incident reveals ways in which officials of the state administration under a centralized system may be tempted to use their powers over local subordinates to promote attacks upon measures enacted by the legislature against their opposition. Under normal circumstances, public opinion will doubtless prove an adequate check to abuses of this nature.

It has been proposed to provide the governor with a regular way for obtaining popular decision when he unsuccessfully opposes measures coming from the legislature. This proposal calls for the automatic reference of all vetoed bills directly to the people in lieu of the return of such bills to the legislature, as at present.<sup>2</sup> It is argued that where the governor discovers defects in any bill sufficient to warrant his veto, the people, rather than the legislature which originated the bill objected to, should determine the conflict of opinion between governor and legislature.

A final consideration as to the consequences of direct legislation for the governor's position as legislative leader presents the question as to whether his position may be weakened by the opportunities which the system of direct legislation presents to adverse factions or interests to upset his legislative program. We have noted above that it was only by dogged persistence through possibly unfair means, on the part of Governor Cox that three of his measures were saved from attack by the referendum in 1913; and it is widely believed,

<sup>2</sup> Barnett, *The Initiative, Referendum, and Recall in Oregon*, p. 126.

by supporters as well as opponents of his policies, that two of those measures would have been defeated had the referendum been allowed. Furthermore, in 1915 two of the enactments for which Governor Willis had, in a less aggressive and open manner, stood sponsor before the legislature and the public, were defeated at the polls in the November election. It is obviously improper for the state administration to seek to protect its legislative program from outside attack, through its control over the machinery of petitions and elections or through its influence over local subordinates. Nor does there appear to be a practicable way whereby formal powers can be conferred upon the governor or his colleagues to defend their legislative achievements from interference through legitimate use of the referendum. It can only be suggested, therefore, that in so far as we approve executive leadership in the work of the legislatures we must also accord to the executives a tolerant hearing when they appear before the public as speakers in support of measures which, having been promoted by them successfully through the legislature, are subjected to the further test of a popular referendum.

The other side of the question of the interworkings of direct legislation and state administration relates to the effect of popular lawmaking upon administrative efficiency. Examination of the character of measures submitted by popular petition reveals that it is not only matters of social and economic policy or of general political structure, upon which the people demand the privilege of expressing direct voice. Some measures which have been popularly initiated relate to matters of administrative policy and some are of a semi-technical character. Thus during 1914 measures of the following titles were submitted by initiative petitions: regulating the placing, use and maintenance of electric poles, wires, cables and appliances;<sup>3</sup> creating a state board of drugless practice;<sup>4</sup> regulating requirements of dentists to practice in the state; creating a tax code commission to be appointed by the governor; consolidating the corporation and insurance departments.<sup>5</sup>

It is peculiarly in such matters of administrative legislation that constant and intimate communication between administrative

<sup>3</sup> In Arizona; adopted.

<sup>4</sup> In California; defeated.

<sup>5</sup> The three measures last enumerated were submitted in Oregon and were defeated.

heads and lawmaking authorities is required throughout the process of formulation and discussion of proposed laws. The neglect of our legislatures, when engaged in enacting laws affecting the forms and functions of administrative offices, to utilize the expert information and correction which they were in position to obtain from the actual administrators of these offices has been a primary factor in producing the inefficiency and wastefulness in our state administration, to which we so frequently point in dismay. Where administrators and lawmakers are at so much greater distances from one another, as must be true where the lawmakers are the voters acting directly in their various precincts, it is perhaps natural to question whether our administrative organization is not in danger of being further weakened by ill-coördinated extensions and modifications.

Two considerations would seem to determine the answer to the question just put, so far as it relates to the possibility and occasion for introducing further safeguards against the use of the instrumentalities of direct legislation upon matters of administrative and technical character. In the first place, beyond the exclusion of tax levies and appropriations from the operation of the initiative, it does not seem possible to discover a satisfactory basis for discriminating with any approach to practical and legal precision between laws, on the one hand, which relate to fundamental and general structure and policy and are, therefore, susceptible to reasonable judgment on the part of voters acting directly, and, on the other hand, laws which are of such technical and supplementary character, requiring specialized knowledge for their proper estimation, that they cannot be adequately judged by the mass of voters even under the tutelage of administrative leaders who may seek to inform them through the press and upon the platform. In the second place, examination of the subjects of measures upon which the operation of direct legislation is actually invoked does not disclose that we are in serious danger of extended misapplication of the system by using it for legislation of mere administrative and technical consequence. Titles of the character listed above, by way of giving illustrations of administrative matters to which direct legislation has been applied, are relatively few in number. The people do not frequently become interested in promoting or defeating legislation of such character.

To approach more nearly to a discovery of the ultimate effects

of direct legislation upon the operation of state administration we must revert to the subject of executive participation in legislation. We have noted that coöperation of the administration in the work of the state legislatures has been in some instances followed up by activity in the paths of direct legislation and that proposals have been put forward to facilitate this kind of activity. The accumulation of legislative duties upon the governor, the absorption of his attention in matters of legislative policy and tactics, make more indispensable a reconstruction and simplification in our state administrative machinery. If the governor is to become more of a legislative leader, two conditions are essential to make him a more responsible and effective director of administration. In the first place, state administration must be so consolidated as to unify and clarify his tasks as administrative leader; in the second place, the principles of expertness and permanency of tenure in the civil service must be so extended as to relieve him from the distractions attending the disposition of patronage and to provide him with a body of trained and reliable subordinates.

Thus through executive participation in legislation problems of direct legislation are interrelated with the problems of merit and standardization in the civil service, centralization and consolidation of administration, and the short ballot. Those who advocate the closest consolidation of our state government—to the extent of placing legislative and executive powers and responsibilities in the same hands, point to the initiative and the referendum as adequate safeguards against dangers of arbitrariness and venality that might otherwise make such a combination undesirable.

## PUBLIC HEALTH AND POLITICS

BY EDWARD A. MOREE,

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Words, like children, suffer terribly from faulty environment. "Politics" has been cramped, stunted and morally corrupted by its environment. There is no word in the English language that describes a more important field of human welfare and service. Yet what word expresses more contempt to the minds of many good people than the term "politician" or "professional politician"?

That is why the invitation to prepare this article was a request for a paper on "Ridding Public Health and Welfare Administration of Politics." "Politics," to the one who framed that title, means or rather connotes the same evils that are expressed by the word to probably a majority of people. It means, not public service and an activity in the affairs of the community, but corrupt politics, partisan politics, politics for the purpose of personal or party aggrandizement

Now if we were to actually rid public health of politics we would strike out "public." Public health out of politics means merely the private practice of medicine.

The best way to rid public health and social welfare activities of politics is to put them into politics so definitely and so completely that the "politician," so called, will always realize, in dealing with these subjects, that they are matters of such vast importance in the every-day life of the people that the voters will not tolerate their employment by the "organization" for its own advancement, to the detriment of the agencies themselves.

In other words, I would erect before each social service agency, a gong and a sign. I would say on that sign: "Stop—Look—Listen. Look out for the public opinion express. This belongs to the public. Trespassers who fail to get out of the way of the engine will be run down!"

It is not difficult to establish a proper attitude towards social welfare activities in the mind of the politician. Let me say, parenthetically, that in referring to politician I do not in any way dis-



parage the man in public life, either the office holder or the man who directs the affairs of political organizations. The politician, or possibly I should say the elected official or political manager, is quick to seize upon policies that are popular. The one who doesn't soon goes into the discard. The wise political leader of all times has recognized certain fields in the public's affairs that were well placarded with "No Trespass" signs. The old-time politician occasionally disregarded these signs. Through a consistent working out of the law of natural selection, that kind of a politician has, to a degree, become a relic of an older and less enlightened time. The politician has acquired an instinct akin to a child's avoidance of a hot poker.

Recognizing, of course, that certain forms of government are particularly suited to advance the interests of the self-seeking politician, and that other forms no longer experimental seem well calculated to make more difficult the abuse of social welfare activities by political organizations, the author does not concern himself in this paper with governmental forms.

The most ardent supporter of the commission form of government for cities, of broad gauged reforms in county government and the cabinet system in the state government, will agree that in the last analysis the fact of good or bad government depends upon the kind of person administering it. Provide simplicity; provide clear lines of responsibility; provide adequate checks and balances and do away with district representation carried to an extreme in the administration of state, county and city affairs, and you have done about all that you can do by statute to eliminate the evil of partisan commercial politics.

Fundamentally, then, we are striving in all of our governmental reforms, to make it easier for the voter to get at the official responsible for maladministration. In other words, we are bringing governmental affairs out into the open, displaying them where all may view them, so that the honest, efficient official may be rewarded, and the dishonest, inefficient official may be effectively damned.

A "reform movement" is merely an attempt to focus public opinion on the particular phase of public affairs that needs—at least in the minds of the reform group—to be corrected. Realizing, then, that upon the voters themselves, in the last analysis, rests the responsibility for keeping *evil* partisan politics out of social wel-

fare activities, we must face not only the problem of stimulating interest in public affairs, but also the problem of so organizing the voters' interest that effective machinery will be provided for informing them as to what is going on, and in refocussing, as occasion demands, the public opinion which everyone knows exists, in support of efficient administration.

This problem is especially vital in the newer fields of social welfare activities. Labor departments are relatively new; departments of charities, with their immense institutions and large pay-rolls; prison departments with their prolific opportunities for graft and maladministration; and probably the newest important field of social welfare work, and the one with which the writer happens to be most familiar, the departments of health—are all comparatively recent additions to our governmental responsibilities.

Originally governmental function was restricted practically to police duty, at home and abroad, and to the duty of levying and collecting taxes for the support of that function.

People have long realized the importance of protecting the public treasury and the other original governmental interests from graft and inefficiency. They have set up all sorts of statutory protective devices. In the newer fields of public work, however, we have seen in recent years many disgraceful efforts to prostitute social welfare for party aggrandizement. These attempts have usually gone on until the voters have realized the extent to which the new activities affected the welfare of each individual. Then politicians and parties have received rude awakenings and the raids have ceased.

To meet this situation, and to serve as perpetual warning sign posts, and to focus public attention on the conduct of social governmental activities, there have sprung up all kinds of associations of private citizens brought together for the purpose of stimulating interest in various fields, and focussing public opinion on especially grave evils as they develop. To this new development is due in large measure the growth of a new attitude on the part of politicians toward social welfare activities.

The names of these organizations are significant of their purpose, and illustrate very well the growing recognition of the importance of stimulating and keeping alive public interest in public affairs.

Among these are our municipal leagues, city clubs, citizens' unions, legislative voters associations, civil service reform associations and public health associations. Closely allied to these are many organizations whose main purposes are other than that of interest in governmental affairs but who interest themselves more or less constantly in certain phases of national, state and local administrations. Among the latter are the grange, women's clubs, churches, lodges, labor unions and even organizations of officials themselves, such as state conferences of mayors, tax officials and other state and national organizations of elected or appointed officials.

The remaining space allotted for the presentation of this topic can best be employed by an account of a rather spectacular campaign to focus public opinion on the work of the New York State Department of Health, that succeeded in defeating one of the strongest political moves that could well be conceived.

In order to give an accurate picture of the situation, it will be necessary to give a short account of certain important developments that lead up to it. In this account, in order to fix clearly in the mind of the reader the political significance of certain events with which this article deals, persons and parties are referred to. It should be said here, however, that the author in no way questions the sincerity of their motives. The strengthening of a political organization is a highly important public duty. Those who opposed the attempted health legislation in New York State in 1915 believed that the public was served by preventing the building up of the organization at the expense of efficiency in such a highly important social welfare activity as the department of health.

Legislators who lent their support to the move to reorganize the state department of health did so, no doubt, from what they considered worthy motives. It is also undoubtedly true that their attitude was due to lack of information as to the standards that had been applied by the health commissioner in making his appointments in the reorganized department. They believed, from many sad experiences with similarly reorganized departments, that it had been done on a political basis, and that a desire for patronage had been the controlling motive with the opposing party in the enactment of the laws upon which the reorganization was based. It is only fair to say that many of the men who supported the bills

entirely changed their attitude when they knew the facts, and understood the spirit of social service that had actuated the commissioner throughout.

In 1913, the governor, Senate and Assembly being Democratic, a commission was appointed by Governor Sulzer to investigate the public health law and its administration. Based upon this commission's investigation a new health law was enacted, creating a public health council with power to enact a sanitary code for the whole state to take the place of the fourteen hundred antiquated sanitary codes then in existence in the fourteen hundred different towns and villages; creating nine divisions in the department of health; creating at least twenty sanitary districts, the health work of each of which should be under a sanitary supervisor; increasing the term of the commissioner to six years, and increasing his compensation, and in various other ways strengthening the law and increasing the department's opportunity to apply to the state's health work the scientific principles which have been developed by modern medical research. Public health experts in all parts of the country have declared the law a model and look upon it as a most progressive and important step in health legislation.

In 1914 Governor Glynn, a Democrat, appointed Dr. Hermann M. Biggs, who happened to be a Democrat, as commissioner, and the work of reorganizing the department of health began, along the lines established by the health commission, of which he was chairman. The appointment was in no sense political and the department was organized on the basis of merit alone. The reorganization of the department was substantially completed, and the work was fairly under way, when the legislature convened on January 1, 1915.

With a Republican governor, and a Republican Senate and Assembly, it was only natural that serious consideration should be given to a department headed by a Democrat appointed by a Democratic governor under the provisions of a law passed by a Democratic legislature and signed by another Democratic governor. Such proved to be the case for soon after the legislature convened disturbing rumors were heard in Albany as to the intentions of certain leaders of the majority in reference to the state department of health.

Confidential information from legislators who, by reason of

their prominence in the counsels of the majority, were competent to speak, indicated that there was a well-defined intention on the part of certain members of the majority to revise the public health law so as to make the position of commissioner untenable by the present incumbent, and to generally reduce the department's staff and its opportunity for advanced health work.

The State Charities Aid Association, an unofficial volunteer organization, receiving no public funds, through its tuberculosis committee had become impressed with the necessity for maintaining the efficiency of the state's health work. This natural interest in the legislature's attitude toward the health department was enhanced by the fact that the association had taken an active part in the investigation that preceded the introduction of the new public health law, and an even more active part in the campaign to secure its adoption.

The first formal statement as to the intention of the majority of the legislature in regard to the health department came on March 14. In announcing a program for the following weeks of the legislative session, the majority leader of the Senate stated that the appropriations for the department of health would be cut in half.

The effort to maintain the department and its admirable organization dated from that announcement, although previously the association had undertaken by circular letters and newspaper publicity to focus public opinion on the need for an appropriation for a tuberculosis division, and the need for adequate appropriations for the educational work of the department.

On March 23, the majority leader of the Assembly introduced the first of five bills, whose enactment would have greatly crippled the efficiency of the department. The association's work in support of the health department thereafter became most active and from April 1 was as intensive and effective as the association could make it.

These bills, if they had been enacted, would have made the position untenable by Doctor Biggs and would have driven out several of the division directors; would have made the establishment of sanitary districts by the commissioner discretionary instead of mandatory; would have reduced the number of districts to ten and would have reduced the salary of the sanitary supervisors to \$2,500; would have made the establishment of the nine divisions

of the department discretionary instead of mandatory. They would have stricken out of the health law the provision requiring the public health council to prescribe the qualifications of directors of divisions, sanitary supervisors, local health officers and public health nurses, thereby making it impossible to restrict the applicants for these positions to persons properly qualified to hold them. They would have required the sanitary code to be submitted to the legislature for approval before it could have the effect of law and would have repealed the present excellent sanitary code.

It is needless to describe to sane thinking men what the effect of the enactment of these bills would have been. We now know, for sure, as we had always assumed to be the case, that the department would have been safe even if the bills had passed the legislature, for Governor Charles S. Whitman would have vetoed them. The governor's admirable address before the American Public Health Association at Rochester was a whole-hearted intelligent endorsement of Doctor Biggs and his work and evinced a most encouragingly far-seeing interest in progressive health work. It nevertheless seemed wise to relieve the governor, as much as possible, of pressure from legislative leaders in this regard. No effort was spared, therefore, to defeat the bills in the legislative stage.

The campaign for the defeat of these five bills and for adequate appropriations for the department was essentially a campaign of publicity. It put a warning sign post all over the public health field in New York state. It was a successful endeavor to focus upon the legislature the public's opinion of the work of the state department of health. The association believed that the department had firmly entrenched itself in the public mind for the first time in the history of the state as an efficient organization working out a well-considered program for the reduction of the state's death rate by the application of the principles established by modern medical research. The problem presented, therefore, was to find means of expressing this sentiment to the leaders of the legislature. The success of the association's efforts was due, not merely to the methods employed, but also, and to very larger degree, to the fact that the department's work justified all that could be said in praise of it.

So great was the protest against the attacks on the department

that all of the five bills were defeated and the department was granted nearly adequate appropriations, although the appropriation bill carried the salaries of only ten of the twenty supervisors. Besides this, six bills which had been introduced in the Assembly and four in the Senate, all of them practically identical, and which would have stricken from the health law the minimum wage for health officers, failed of passage.

It seems likely that readers of *The Annals* may be interested in a short description of the details of the campaign. The plan involved first the creation of a psychological background of general newspaper publicity. We felt that against such a background our letters appealing for definite action and for the organization of meetings would bring better results. Second, we sent representatives into the field to organize meetings and to learn the extent and the kind of sentiment in the various localities, and to bring that sentiment before the legislature in the form of resolutions, letters, telegrams and newspaper articles. Third, of course, we requested and were granted hearings before the committees of the legislature to which the various bills had been referred. The publicity campaign extending over a period of six weeks involved the following efforts:

- 9 newspaper articles were mailed to 168 daily newspapers.
- 3 news articles were mailed to 866 daily and weekly papers.
- 2 stereotype plate articles, one column each, were expressed to a list of 440 daily and weekly papers.
- Space was purchased in 55 of the leading up-state newspapers, in which was published a stereotype, two-column argument against the Hinman bills and in favor of adequate health appropriations. This reached a circulation of 851,538 and, judged by advertisers' estimates, was read by not less than three times that number, or 2,544,614 persons. The article indicated by its form that it was published in paid-for space.
- 866 letters were sent to the daily newspapers, thanking them for their cooperation and suggesting further possible editorials.
- 37 personal letters were sent to editors on a specially selected list, expressing appreciation of their special interest and suggesting further editorial comment.
- Personal interviews with the editors of the New York City papers brought forth unanimous editorial support.

The results of this publicity campaign were extremely satisfactory and were, in measure, rather striking. Our clipping bureau cut nearly 1,100 separate clippings, 181 of which were editorials

and 915 news stories. The news stories alone showed that 12,595 inches of space were devoted to a discussion of the attack on the health department. We received over 1,250 inches of favorable editorial comment. Publicity experts figure that not more than one-fifth of actual results ever appear in a clipping bureau service. On this basis we secured the surprising total of 69,225 inches of space. This is more than a mile.

Practically all of the editorials were strongly favorable, regardless of the newspapers' political affiliations, and the same can be said of the news stories, with the exception of the very limited publication of a statement attacking the health department, issued by the introducer of the bills.

Four pamphlets or circulars comprised the printed matter which contained the "general orders" of the campaign—the basic arguments against the proposed legislation and in favor of the department's appropriations. Fifty-five thousand copies of these were sent to prominent persons throughout the state with appropriate letters.

The circular letters were most carefully prepared in order that they might not carry the impression that the movement was a display of artificially prepared sentiment. In all cases the recipients were asked to read as carefully as possible the memoranda and briefs which accompanied the letters and to write or telegraph to the legislature *any* opinion that they might reach upon consideration of the arguments presented. This is very different and creates a very different impression upon the legislators from merely seeking letters against a bill.

Remember that all the letters were read against a background of newspaper publicity. They brought forth thousands of personally written letters, telegrams, resolutions and petitions which showered in upon the legislature. In the early stages of the campaign one legislative committee chairman said that he had received a thousand letters of protest. Another received two hundred telegrams in one day. Inasmuch as the campaign ran on with increasing vigor for three weeks, these and others in the legislature undoubtedly received several thousand letters. One man characterized it as a snow storm—another said he had enough to carpet his office a foot deep.

The newspaper publicity and the letter campaigns were dovetailed into the field work. The field work, however, by reason of



the personal contact with prominent citizens throughout the state was, in large measure, responsible for the hundreds of appeals by prominent citizens to their legislators.

The newspaper publicity may be likened to the advertising in a merchandising campaign; the circular letters to the selling letters, and the field work to the appeal of the salesman for orders.

Two field agents visited thirty-five cities to organize and take part in public meetings at which resolutions were adopted, published in the newspapers and transmitted to the leaders and to the local representatives in the legislature. This action was made the basis of editorial comment, and the agents visited many editors and discussed with them the merits of the bills and the desirability of aiding in the movement to preserve the department's work.

In twenty-six localities meetings were called by the mayors, thus serving to give expression to official as well as the unofficial disapproval of the objectionable legislation.

Many organizations were called upon and practically all of them responded. This was especially true of the State Sanitary Officers' Association, the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, the Federal Council of Churches, the State Grange, the State Conference of Mayors and the Board of Directors of the National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis.

This movement was unique in that little, if any, personal work was done with the legislators directly by the association's staff. Not one legislator was asked by any member of the association's staff to vote against the bills nor to try to hold them in committee.

The association did, however, strongly urge the legislative committees not to report them until all the facts had been presented at a public hearing.

Special efforts were made by letter, telephone and telegraph to inform all interested persons of the hearings, and to secure speakers who could discuss the various phases of the subject. As a result on the day of the hearing every seat in the Senate Chamber was occupied and there were many standing. And due to careful selection it wasn't merely "crowd." It was crowd that counted—each person representing some influential group in the community.

None of the bills passed. The most important and far-reaching result of the campaign, however, was the educational effect of

so widespread an effort to focus public opinion on a social service department of the state government. Never before in New York state had public health received such thorough discussion; never before had newspapers placed themselves on record to so large an extent in favor of the state's health work; never before had the people of the state so generally been brought to realize the significance of the department of health in the daily existence of each individual.

The people of the state know now that the health department is their department, that its work is their work and for their benefit. Consequently regulations are enacted with a minimum of protest and health work is more than ever before an accepted function of state government.

It is safe to say also that it will be extremely difficult for any effort to undermine the work of the state department of health in the near future to succeed in any considerable degree. Of course bills may be introduced to repeal important provisions of the health law, but legislators and politicians throughout the state realize now, as never before, the extent of popular support of the health department's work, and while nothing is more difficult to predict than the course of legislation, it seems unlikely that the leaders of any political party would consider giving such an attempt party sanction.

To keep machine politics of the old, bad type out of social service activities involves also, of course, the securing of the right men for important executive positions. In this, the lay unofficial organizations interested in the various phases of governmental affairs have important duties. Chief among these is an obligation, that nearly all will immediately accept, to support civil service reform and to combat all efforts to weaken the application of wise civil service laws. Beyond, however, there is another obligation—the duty to stimulate interest in public service among men of high type and high ideals and possessing the proper qualifications to fill either elective or appointive office. It frequently happens that such coöperating organizations can be of inestimable service in urging men of the right type to take civil service examinations, and offer themselves for appointment outside the civil service.

All of this, of course, assumes an absolutely disinterested, non-

partisan attitude on all social service questions and in all relations with parties and officials.

The value of such unofficial coöperating agencies was very strikingly attested by Governor Charles S. Whitman, in a recent address before the North Atlantic State Tuberculosis Conference. The governor expressed his gratification that so large a part had been taken in the tuberculosis movement by interested citizens and lay organizations:

"We need these local associations and societies," he said, "to hold the local authorities to a high sense of duty and to furnish the stimulus for securing the funds with which to carry on the work."

## THE EXECUTIVE BUDGET

By C. H. CRENNAN,

Editor in Charge of Volume.

"The budget provides a means through which citizens may assure themselves that their effort which has been diverted to community ends is not used for private gain, is not misused nor frittered away, but is applied to the accomplishment of those purposes which the community approves and is made to produce the maximum of results for the effort expended. Thus viewed, the budget is something more than a method of checking or reducing the tax rate, more than any scheme of accountants and efficiency experts. Above and beyond its relation to economy and efficiency in public affairs it may be made one of the most potent instruments of democracy. Given at least manhood suffrage, any government so organized as to produce and carry out a scientific budget system will be susceptible of extensive and intelligent popular control. On the contrary those governments, whatever their other virtues, which fail to provide adequate budget methods, will neither reach the maximum of efficiency nor prove to be altogether responsible to the people."<sup>1</sup> Thus did Professor A. R. Hatton set forth the full import of the executive budget as editor of the volume of *The Annals on Public Budgets* issued in November of 1915.

It is only because so recent an issue of *The Annals* was devoted entirely to a detailed discussion of the public budget that this fundamental part of any plan for responsible government is not included in the present volume. For the technical details of budgetary procedure and a full appraisal of the importance of the executive budget, reference must be made to the November, 1915 *Annals*.

<sup>1</sup> *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, November, 1915, p. vii.

## THE COMPETITIVE CLASSIFICATION OF PRESIDENTIAL POSTMASTERS

By GEORGE T. KEYES,

Secretary, National Civil Service Reform League.

From the time of President Jackson the holding of federal office carried with it an implied obligation to help run the party machine. With an occasional protest, this service came to be taken for granted by the public. In federal, state and municipal service it was open, insolent and dominating. President Hayes issued an advisory protest against it which came to nothing. After the adoption of the civil service act in 1883, this activity continued, although in lessening degree among those inferior officials who were relieved from coercion by being brought under the civil service rules. In 1886, in answer to a public demand, President Cleveland issued his well-known order to limit this activity. It was only another advisory protest, and its enforcement rested in himself and in unsympathizing heads of executive departments. In 1902 President Roosevelt declared the Cleveland "order" to be still in force, but made no change as to the manner of enforcement and it remained only a protest. So far, no president believed that he could make a direct rule and enforce it without causing an opposition which would block the wheels of the government to an unwarranted extent.

In 1907 President Roosevelt took it up in earnest and made a real order. He amended section one of rule I of the civil service rules by adding the following paragraph:

Persons, who by the provisions of these rules are in the competitive classified service, while retaining the right to vote as they please and to express privately their opinions on all political subjects, shall take no active part in political management or in political campaigns.

The enforcement of this rule was thrown upon the Civil Service Commission, and the commission has performed its duty. The order is an epoch in civil service reform. The competitive classified service now embraces 292,296 places, and the holders of these places are confined to the quiet and efficient performance of

their public duties and are completely absolved from the quasi-feudal allegiance which compelled them to devote time on demand to running primaries and conventions. This is the tremendous victory which civil service reform has won.

The wholesome results of the separation of the competitive service, so great in volume, from politics, furnish the most powerful weapon with which to drive politics out of the unclassified service and to extend the system to state and municipal service. The patronage system cannot stand before the comparison.

The patronage system, and the more emphatically since the recent orders of President Roosevelt and Taft classifying as competitive the fourth-class postmasters, is now confined to a corner of the service. This corner, however, embraces over 100,000 places, some of them having high salaries attached and filled by men of ability, thoroughly skilled in political manipulation. With few exceptions, they hold their places on the recommendation of some politician, a senator, or a congressman of the dominant party, and in states where the party is not dominant, party committees, and private citizens commonly known as referees, make the recommendations. By whomever recommended, the office-holder feels a duty to his patron, and on demand will work days and nights in his interest. As the higher salaried offices are filled through appointment "by and with the advice and consent of the Senate," they cannot be classified under the civil service act of 1883 "unless by direction of the Senate."

In the main the federal service seems to be conducted with considerable efficiency, yet this practice violates every business principle. Except in the departments at Washington and a few other places, the larger offices in the unclassified service might be left vacant and the service would be as efficiently performed as now. The average United States marshal, the average postmaster of the larger cities, the average collector of customs, the average surveyor, the average collector of internal revenue, performs comparatively little service for the government. On its business side the employment of these officers is wastefulness and extravagance. The head of a considerable office should be the master mind of that office, thoroughly skilled, devoted to his duties, and his impulse should be felt in every part of the business. As a rule, he knows

little of the business. If it were not for the members of the classified service under him, he would be a helpless and useless hulk.

The first object sought by all workers in politics, whether office-holders or not, is the control of the party organization, the precinct and ward men and the county, city and state committees. The work required is in such bad repute that most citizens will not engage in it, and the structure represents the efforts of about 15 per cent of the party. Primaries and conventions are held upon the call of these committees. With rare exceptions, wherever there is a contest, cut-throat law applies. In any meeting the chairman may, and often does, decide that twenty is a majority over forty, although he is deafened by the vociferating forty. Repeaters, non-residents, insane men and dead men may be voted. The ballot box may be stuffed. A small minority may and do hold another meeting and elect delegates to a convention. At the convention the committee on credentials rarely decides upon the merits. It lets in the set of delegates the majority of the committee wants in the convention. These are well established rules in politics, and every worker in politics understands that he plays the game accordingly.

This is the kind of politics that the unclassified branch of federal office-holders engage in.

At the present time there is a political army of 9,000 presidential postmasters to be used by the President to aid him in securing legislation.

Is not the present system a form of bribery? A great American once said that to buy votes with your own money out of your own pocket was evil and demoralizing; in fact, in plain language, it is a crime known as bribery, but that to buy votes by gifts of public office was even more despicable because the purchase was made with other people's property, or, in other words, with the property of all the people appropriated by an individual or a party. I do not pretend to quote his words, but that was their substance and in that statement he put the argument for civil service reform in the strongest possible way. It deals with bribery, bribery made worse by the fact that the bribe offered does not belong to the briber and does belong to someone else.

Let us look the facts in the face. These appointments of postmasters are, under the rule of the courtesy of the Senate, with

rare exceptions, made for political reason. Political appointments under the "courtesy" rule became a matter of routine.

When these appointments are made in a campaign year, they come to have a peculiar signification. Frankly political, however much of a custom they may be, they can hardly fail to have an influence on local political conditions.

The controversy over the New York City post office throws a strong light upon the evils of the present system. Mr. Morgan has served two terms and President Wilson was asked to reappoint him by the business interests of the city. It is understood, however, that the President has been prepared to select a political soldier of fortune interested in public office solely as a base for the distribution of spoils.

It does not seem possible that the American people will long tolerate a condition which makes inevitable such an unseemly demand upon the President for spoils—a demand, too, made at a time when the President should be free to give his entire attention to matters of state of the gravest importance.

It seems plain that the time has come to take the post offices of this country out of politics and prevent a repetition of the Johnson appointment. The present system allows the business of the nation, the legislation of Congress, the duties of the departments, all to be subordinated to the distribution of patronage. The great officers of the government are constrained to become mere office brokers. Thousands of these postmasters remain outside the scope of the merit system. In Democratic states these patronage appointees are the political agents of their Congressional sponsors; in Republican states they are the political agents of the administration in power.

The present system is a medieval inheritance and commercial bodies and civic organizations ought to coöperate with the League to secure legislation providing for the competitive classification of first, second and third class postmasters. Will not public opinion demand the termination of such a situation?

The National Civil Service Reform League, by a resolution of its council, has entered upon a campaign for legislation which will provide for the competitive classification of first, second and third class postmasters.

The legislation needed to establish the merit system for these



post offices must, first, repeal the present provisions of the law setting a term of four years for these postmasters, and, second, either provide directly that for an appointment the advice and consent of the Senate shall no longer be required or that such advice and consent shall not be required when the President shall have classified postmasters of these classes. The tenure of office requirement has no place in the merit system, since it subjects the offices to possible, if not probable, change at the end of each term. The advice and consent of the Senate in such appointments is plainly inconsistent with an appointment from a competitive list.

The League's reasons for urging this legislation are briefly as follows:

1. These offices have nothing to do with the determination of policies. Postmasters are subordinates of the Postmaster-General and are no more than subordinate officials in charge of the business management of their respective offices. There is no more reason why a Democratic postmaster should be removed on a change in administration to make way for a Republican than that a clerk should be removed for similar reasons.

2. Under the present system all first, second and third class postmasterships are part of the senatorial patronage. Appointments are based not on merit, but on political considerations. A change in administration means a change in the postmastership at or before the expiration of term and the appointment of a new postmaster almost certainly having but the slightest knowledge of the duties of his office.

3. Under the merit system postmasters would be appointed and retained in office without regard to political considerations. Under such a system it would be possible to fill many of the postmasterships through promotion from the clerical force in the post office and in other cases by the promotion of a postmaster from a smaller to a larger office, on a basis of efficiency and competitive promotion examination.

4. The change would result in a material saving to the government. In a message to Congress on April 4, 1912, President Taft stated that there was a loss of at least \$10,000,000 annually because of the present method of appointment to local offices under the departments of the treasury, post office, justice, interior and commerce and labor, due to the fact that "two persons are paid for

doing work that could easily be done by one." He stated further that

if the position of postmaster (first and second classes) were placed in the classified service and these officers were given salaries equal to 20 per cent more than the salaries now given to the assistant postmasters, the latter position being no longer required, there would be a saving in salaries to the government of \$4,512,900. In the case of postmasters at offices of the third class a large annual saving could be made.

These recommendations were based upon the investigations made by the President's Commission on Economy and Efficiency.

5. The classification of these postmasters has been repeatedly recommended, not only by President Taft, as stated above, but by Postmasters-General Burleson and Hitchcock. Postmaster-General Burleson has on a number of occasions declared that he favored the classification of second and third class post offices in order that he might conduct the business of his department in a businesslike fashion. Postmaster-General Hitchcock went even further and urged the classification of first class, as well as second and third class, post offices, saying in his report for 1910:

This action, which is earnestly recommended, would unquestionably result in a still better standard of service. . . . The old practice of making frequent changes for political purposes has a most demoralizing effect and resulted in unwarranted expenditure due to poor management. If their positions were included in the classified service, postmasters could be continued in charge of their offices so long as they performed their duties satisfactorily, and whenever vacancies occurred they could be filled by the promotion of subordinate officers, thus insuring a constant management of men trained in the postal business. Incidentally, inclusion of postmasterships as a part of the classified postal system would furnish a new incentive for good work on the part of subordinates and employees ambitious to reach ultimately the rank of postmasters.

## OLD AND NEW PROBLEMS OF CIVIL SERVICE

BY HENRY MOSKOWITZ,

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The history of governmental regulation generally starts with a policy of prohibition and develops into one of constructive instrumentality. The regulation of trusts, interstate commerce, and public utilities illustrates the same movement from negative prohibition to positive construction.

A commission is at first concerned with what cannot be done under given conditions. But it is constrained by the necessity of these conditions to work out what can be done. So that in very large measure the cause of regulation depends upon the capacity for constructive thinking and ingenuity of the regulators.

The history of civil service administration which is concerned with the regulation and control of public employment is no exception to this practice. The old problems of civil service administration were wrapped in the efforts of the civil service commissions to combat the spoils system. They were concerned with denial of exemption and with original entrance examinations. Naturally distrustful of patronage hunters, the pioneer civil service reformers regarded the merit system as a protection of the public against them. In the decalogue of their civil service bible, *thou shalt not* was continuously emphasized.

The early pioneers and conservative administrators kept the "front door" of the service barred to the spoilsmen. They had an almost oriental faith that the back door would take care of itself.

But administrators of the merit system faced conditions which necessitated a more constructive attitude toward the problems of public employment. They were forced to regard the civil service law and rules as instruments for efficient government, in so far as its personnel was concerned. Upon the practical administration of the merit system depended its growth and development. They had to meet the challenge of honest administrators of departments and successful men of affairs that the merit system substitutes incompetency for dishonesty.

This led to the consideration not only of the front door but also the back door problems of the merit system.

1/2 To depart from the language of metaphor—there are two aspects to civil service administration, first, the problems of selecting fit candidates to enter the service, second, the galvanizing of the service after they have entered it. The former relates to the technique of examinations and investigation of the qualification of candidates. Considerable progress has been made in this direction notably by the federal service, the Philadelphia Civil Service Commission and the Municipal Civil Service Commission of New York. Civil service examinations are not in established and sound commissions unrelated to the duties. The technique of examinations has developed to so great an extent that competition has proven practicable for very high administrative positions. The record of the present commission of the city of New York has demonstrated this to the most skeptical. It has secured the coöperation of high class experts in holding the examinations. It has supplemented written examinations by oral tests conducted by Boards consisting of men and women distinguished in the work for which candidates compete.

Such positions as director of the bureau of food inspection, salary \$5,000; director of public health education, salary \$5,000; director of the bureau of child hygiene, \$5,000; superintendent of the employment bureau, \$3,500; superintendent of the municipal lodging house, \$2,400; medical superintendent of Randalls Island, \$5,000; assistant director of the bureau of standards, \$3,500; medical superintendent of hospitals, \$3,500; overseer of the reformatory, \$3,000; superintendent of women prisoners, and other high class executive positions have been effectively filled through the civil service examination method.

Where a written and an oral examination were not deemed sufficiently adequate to judge the fitness of candidates, it has introduced practical tests. The commission gave for the first time in the history of the city service, practical tests for the positions of playground attendant, swimming instructor, psychologist, inspector of blastings, inspector of weights and measures.

Progressive commissions have resorted to the non-assembled test for certain positions, opening them up to the entire country. They have used the oral test with the aid of the best experts they

could get, coöperating with their examiners. They have become a specialized employment agency for their governments, some using the most effective advertising and publicity methods to attract men and women of calibre in competition. The New York commission has developed in addition a bureau of investigation which carefully considers the past employment record and any criminal record of the candidate, thus enabling it to disqualify the morally unfit.

By developing this selective process, civil service commissions have demonstrated the practicability of competition for positions, a long time regarded as exempt places, because competition was deemed impracticable. The zone of competitive classification and hence of the merit system was widened as a result of the ingenuity and constructive thinking by those commissions that devised practicable and effective examinations for these places. Civil service commissions have made considerable progress therefore in the selective process of choosing candidates for original entrance into the service.

What of the back door problems? What of the application of the merit system to employees after they have entered the service? Here is the unploughed field of civil service. These are the newer problems with which civil service administrators must grapple and reach constructive solutions. For, while private business has much to learn from civil service commissions in selecting employees fit to do particular jobs, progressive business men can teach governments how to keep their employees efficient. It must not be forgotten that private business can offer bigger material inducements, and that the only substitute for these inducements for many in the civil service is security of tenure and a pension system, both of which have not been properly guaranteed and safeguarded in the civil service of America—save in a few instances where the pension system is fiscally unsound from the standpoint of governmental expenditure. Among the problems of the back door the following are the most pressing:

1. Efficiency records and promotions;
2. Training for the public service;
3. Standardization of salaries;
4. Classification of employees—simplification of civil service procedure;
5. Pensions;

6. What should be the basis of lay-off discharge and reinstatement;
7. Removals;
8. Independence of commissions.

### *Efficiency Records and Promotions*

Every sound civil service law contains a provision for promotion examinations wherever practicable. Without an opportunity for promotions there would be no incentive to remain in the service. The civil service should provide a goal for the ambitious to reach as a result of their service record, and their demonstrated mental capacity to fill the higher grades through promotion examinations. There should be automatic increases of salary within grades, based on seniority and efficiency alone—but where duties change, and responsibilities are heavier, promotions should be based upon a record of efficiency, seniority and an examination relating to the duties.

To establish such sound lines of promotions is one of the purposes of a civil service classification.

A scientific classification is one of the most difficult problems of civil service administration. One needs but to attempt it to realize all the difficulties of arriving at distinctions between services, groups, grades and titles.

The civil service commission of the city of New York has co-operated with the Bureau of Standards of the Board of Estimate and Apportionment in working out a scientific classification. The Bureau of Standards realized the need of it for purposes of financial control, and as a basis of appraising the value of positions. One of the crying evils in the civil service of New York City, and indeed in the majority of the services of the country, is the inequality of salaries attached to the various positions. Men in positions of great responsibility are often earning less than men who are doing purely routine work, the appropriations for these salaries being based upon considerations which were purely personal to say the least. Salaries for positions should be based upon the value of the work done. In applying the principle of standardization due consideration should be given to employees who have been rendering faithful service to the government for a great many years and who have been accustoming themselves to a standard of living based upon their earnings. A ruthless

application of the principle except where inequalities are gross is unwise. In my judgment it should be gradually assimilated and apply to the vacant positions as they arise. But however one may differ with the application of the principle of standardization, no one can deny its soundness and its justice.

The work of such standardization is in the main a civil service function. For it involves a study of the duties, of position, for the purpose of formulating specifications, within services, groups, grades and titles.

Unfortunately there has been too great a separation between the appropriating authorities and the civil service commissions. They should work together. The commission is often better able to appraise even the financial value of a position, since it is most familiar with its requirements, and has an accurate register of supply and demand in the number and calibre of applicants who take the examination at particular salaries. Not infrequently a commission is unable to supply a list of adequate eligibles because the salaries for the positions, especially of the professional groups, are inadequate.

A closer coöperation between civil service commissions and the appropriating authorities is essential to the proper enforcement of the civil service law and to the proper financial control of the personnel service.

Standardization and a sound classification are therefore essential to a sound promotion system. The classification should contain logical lines of promotion and should simplify civil service procedure. It should be published and made accessible to employees in the service and to those who contemplate entering it. The municipal civil service commission will publish the new classification and other material to be later referred to in a manual or textbook which will be available to the public.

The problems of classification, standardization, efficiency records and promotions are all organically interrelated; the solution of one depending upon the solution of the other.

A sound efficiency record system is one of the most baffling problems of civil service administration. It should be related as far as practicable to a primary record of work; wherever possible it should have a fact basis. But the duties in the service are so varied, many being purely routine and subordinative, many being partly

routine and partly managerial, and many being solely managerial, that a fact basis for all the duties is impossible. In many cases the records must be the result of the superior's judgment. It is clear, however, that efficiency records ought not to be uniform for all positions, that factors of efficiency can be worked out, based upon an analysis of the duties, and that weights be given to those factors depending upon their relative importance for the work to be performed.

In purely routine positions the factor of quantity of work is more important than quality. In managerial positions the factors of quality, initiative and executive ability are more important than quantity of work. Personality is an essential element in managerial places—but personality is difficult to rate—its estimate is a judgment. When quantity of work is a prime consideration, it is essential that the average output be fairly ascertained, and that employees be carefully rated, as average, or below and above the average.

It is essential that the various departments experiment with a system of efficiency records, that they be stimulated to interest themselves in securing greater efficiency among their employees, and that they develop work measurements which will become standards for recognizing merit or for penalizing inefficiency in order to eliminate the dead wood from the service. A sound efficiency record system should serve as a means of reward and penalty.

The Municipal Civil Service Commission of the City of New York is experimenting with efficiency record systems in city departments.

It is aiming to secure the coöperation of the employees and department heads, for without such coöperation no efficiency record system will work. It is trying to avoid the danger of superimposing a paper system by studying department needs and by securing suggestions from the men on the job.

At the suggestion and with the coöperation of the municipal civil service commission, the police and fire departments of the city have added a new system of weights for excellent police and fire duty. Heretofore commendations and medals of merit having a weight in promotion examinations were given solely for excellent police and fire duty involving personal risk or physical courage. The commission thought this system penalized an excellent police-



man or fireman who did not have the opportunity of performing daring feats of physical courage. Some credit should be given in promotion examinations to members of the uniformed force who have a cumulative record of devotion to duty and of efficiency, for some acts involving presence of mind and quick judgment may prevent the accident which elicited the bravery of a policeman. Such prevention also should be rewarded. Even an outline of the new efficiency records introduced in the police and fire departments would transcend the limits of this paper. It is important, however, to emphasize that the commissioners, their staff officers and their men are actively coöperating with the civil service commission to improve the records. When a force in a department from the head down are thinking hard about improving the efficiency of the service and helping to devise suitable records for registering and rewarding it, signal fruits in administration are bound to result.

The Municipal Civil Service Commission in coöperation with the Bureau of Municipal Research is experimenting with a new efficiency record system. It is installing this system in a number of city departments, in the hope that experience will correct its defects, and make possible a system of service records which can be more generally applied. An outline of this system has just been published. In the language of this outline,

There are three purposes for which service records may be used:

1. By executives in the current administration of their departments;
2. By executives in recommending regular periodic increases within grades for competent employees, and by the appropriating bodies in their action upon such recommendations;
3. By the Municipal Civil Service Commission in establishing the relative standing on promotion lists.

The following factors and sub-actors are to be used in the preparation of ratings.

1. Management—To include:
  - (a) Work Results—
    - Planning and organising work
    - Directing subordinates
    - Quantity of group output
    - Quality of group output
    - Cost of group output

- (b) Improvements—
    - In technique of work
    - In organization
  - (c) Reporting—
    - Promptness
    - Accuracy
    - Completeness
    - Special requirements
  - 2. Individual Performance—To include:
    - (a) Quantity—
      - Volume of work output
      - Industry
      - Speed
      - Productive overtime
    - (b) Quality—
      - Thoroughness
      - Accuracy
      - System
      - Orderliness
      - Improvements
      - Ingenuity
      - Resourcefulness
      - Imagination
  - 3. Personality—Representing effect of personality upon fellow-workers and the public—To include
    - (a) Influence on fellow employees for team work and loyal coöperation.
    - (b) Appearance, courtesy, tact, willingness
  - 4. Conduct—Representing the disciplinary and negative side of employment—To include
    - (a) Lateness and absence without leave
    - (b) Misconduct—
      - Inebriety
      - Insubordination
      - Misuse of city property
      - False accusation
      - Falsification of records or reports
      - Disobedience of rules of personal conduct
- Regulation II—Classification of employments and percentages to be given to factors in each class.
- 1. From the standpoint of service rating, employments in the city service may be divided into three classes, as follows:

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<sup>1</sup> This factor is used in rating the work of employees both in those employments where definite standards as to quantity, quality and cost of work have been or can be established, and in those employments where it is impractical to establish such standards and an element of judgment on the part of the supervisor must enter into the rating.

- (1) Employments involving duties wholly or almost wholly supervisory and administrative.
- (2) Employments involving duties partly supervisory and administrative and partly performed independently or under supervision.
- (3) Employments involving duties wholly or almost wholly performed independently or under supervision.

The above factors shall be applied to three classes of employments as follows:

In class 1—namely, those employments involving duties wholly or almost wholly supervisory and administrative—the factors (1) management, (3) personality, and (4) conduct will be applied.

In class 2—namely, those employments involving duties partly supervisory and administrative and partly performed independently or under supervision—the factors (1) management, (2) individual performance, (3) personality, and (4) conduct will be applied.

In class 3—namely, those employments involving duties wholly or almost wholly performed independently or under supervision—the factors (2) individual performance, (3) personality and (4) conduct will be applied.

In connection with any efficiency record system two boards of control are necessary and are already provided for in the rules of Municipal Civil Service Commission, a departmental promotion, or personnel board, consisting of the higher officials in the department, which receives the reports of the officers immediately in touch with the subordinates they rate, and which *adopts a standard for the final rating* which it registers for the department in a given period.

The commission has urged upon the departments that the ratings be accessible to their employees to enable the latter to make their appeal before this board if they think they have been unjustly dealt with by their superior officer. For unless employees can seek redress for possible wrongs, the efficiency records will not be taken seriously and serve as an incentive.

The second board of control is the Board of Review, of the Civil Service Commission, which consists of the president, an examiner in charge of the records, and a representative of the department under review.

This board is the court of final appeal for any employee who thinks he has been unjustly rated. The board hears both sides

and decides. A number of such appeals from employees have been granted and one denied.

The commission will send a representative to attend departmental promotion board meetings, to act in an advisory capacity. The commission aims to develop employment specialists of the various departments, who will familiarize themselves with the problems of their personnel service and who will coöperate with these departments in the solution of their civil service problems. They will be ready to suggest the most efficient organization of the service to the commissioner in the spirit of coöperation. They will help the commissioner in working out the personnel service schedules of their annual budgets by suggesting proper civil service titles for new positions and by making any needed civil service adjustments which may be required. They will be especially useful to the commission in drawing up the requirements for original entrance and promotion examinations based upon their first hand knowledge of the department, thus aiding the commission in making examinations truly practical by relating them to the actual duties which incumbents must perform.

#### *Training for the Public Service*

Though the merit system aims to give government trained public servants, civil service commissions do not concern themselves directly with the business of training applicants for the duties they must perform. The commission assumes that a candidate who stands the test of its requirements is eligible for appointment to the place according to his standing on the list. The calibre of the successful candidates depends upon the standards of civil service tests.

Any other policy would subject the commission to the suspicion of favoring candidates who have taken the courses in the institutions which the commission approves.

The public schools, high schools, colleges, and universities can answer the needs of the civil service if they are alive to them. They have a rich opportunity to train for a public career and to establish courses based upon the practical requirements of the service. The commission can and does take cognizance of the kind of training a candidate has received in rating his experience. To this extent it encourages preparation for the service. The Municipal Com-

mission has taken even further steps, for it tries as far as practicable to coördinate its examinations with the work done in the service schools of the police department and the Fire College. It has freely given its advice to the responsible officials in charge of these service schools and has thus enabled them to give instruction related to the duties which must be performed in the higher grades for which promotion examination is taken. In addition the commissioners have advised, with representatives of the New York University, the College of the City of New York, and the public high schools, in their attempt to give instruction which will equip candidates for examinations to the higher professional service and even to the sub-professional and some of the other services.

The present administration of the government of the city of New York, recognizing the need of training for the public service, both for original entrance and for promotion, has coöperated with New York University and the College of the City of New York in a scheme of offering courses to city employees at a very nominal fee, which aim to equip them for the higher grades. They consist not only of theoretical training, but of practical courses, based upon the duties of the positions. The city has set apart certain rooms in the Municipal Building for instruction purposes. Courses are also given at these institutions. Fifty-one such courses have been offered. They cover a very large field from engineering, higher mathematics, English, philanthropy, chemistry, English composition, secretarial duties, advanced stenography, accounting, statistics, municipal government, and languages such as Italian, French, German, Yiddish, etc. In the language of Mayor Mitchel, "The courses were carefully prepared not only by the committee in charge, but by the Advisory Committee consisting of those technically qualified to suggest desirable lines of instruction in engineering and clerical subjects." The Mayor requested his department heads to call the attention of employees to these courses and to enlist their interest in them.

These institutions have established coöperation with some departments which will enable the students actually to do apprentice work under the supervision of a trained department specialist. Students of municipal sanitation and food inspection, for example, at the College of the City of New York, are given a chance to do field work under the guidance of an experienced official in the Bureau

of Food Inspection of the Department of Health. Students in municipal chemistry coöperate with the standard testing laboratory of the city.

The fees for the courses are kept low so as to enable every employee to take advantage of them if he wishes, without any great strain upon his financial resources.

This experiment of the Mitchel administration is, in my judgment, one of the most significant undertakings by the present government of the city. It is intended to offer the employees of the city every opportunity to improve themselves mentally so as to enable them to fill the higher positions as a result of a promotion examination.

The commission should as far as practicable remove the element of mystery in the civil service by publishing pamphlets and manuals which will give the public full and complete information concerning the requirements of examinations, both physical and mental, civil service procedure, lines of promotion, and any other information of use to the public. For this purpose the Municipal Civil Service Commission is now at work in the publication of a very elaborate manual which will be accessible to the public upon demand, and to institutions interested in training for the service.

The movement on the part of the urban universities throughout the country to coöperate with government is very encouraging. They offer to those interested in making public service a career all the resources of their plants, their trained instructors, and their technique of education. It is a sound application of vocational education. Until governments take the civil service seriously so as to enable employees to make a career in the public service, we shall never be able to have a trained body of public servants—a necessary condition of efficiency.

#### *Layoff, Reinstatement, Removal*

The vexing problem of layoffs, reinstatements, or removals will never be solved until a sound efficiency record system has been evolved which can be made a basis for this action. At the present time, the Civil Service Commission has not the data to assume the serious responsibility for governing the department head in this important matter. Theoretically, a department head ought to retain or dismiss employees upon their efficiency or seniority—I

have no sympathy with seniority as the sole basis of retention. This would result in the keeping of a routinier whose sole virtue was his length of service, performed in an average fashion. It would denude departments of young blood with enthusiasm, initiative and unusual ability. When a proper efficiency record system has been devised, the civil service commission should evolve a system of controlling layoffs and removals which will serve as a check upon the arbitrary action of commissioners.

An administrative court, under the jurisdiction of a civil service commission, coöperating with representatives of departments, and controlling a sound efficiency record system is the ideal method of handling the problem of removing employees. It is the constructive solution for the dilemma of court review, with its legal technicalities or the arbitrary power of an executive.

#### *Pensions*

A fiscally sound pension system is a desideration of every merit system. A pension for long and faithful service will help retain the best blood in the service, and partly check the allurements of the material inducements of private employment. It is an insurance to which every employee should look forward against the infirmities of superannuation. It is recognized as an essential insurance feature of the civilized governments of Europe, and its absence from the federal service as well as from the many state and city services of this country reflects no credit either upon our humanity or upon our foresight. In very few of the services where pensions are provided are they fiscally sound. In New York City the pensions systems of the police department, as well as the teachers' pensions are so financially unsound, that some pressing action by the legislature and the city government, placing them upon a proper foundation, is imperative. The Mayor's Commission on Pensions has been making a careful study of the entire situation and one of the most scientific reports ever issued in America is promised—action based upon this report's findings will, it is hoped, give to the city of New York a comprehensive and fiscally sound pension system for its employees.

According to Henry Bruère, the city chamberlain, who has actively supervised this important pension study,

On December 31, 1914, 8,200 pensioners were provided for out of eight separate pension funds, involving an expenditure exceeding \$5,000,000. Each of these funds was established on a basis of prodigality without reckoning future costs. It is proposed to establish a sound pension system for the entire city service, with rates actuarially determined and with reserves set aside to meet future liabilities after the manner of sound insurance financing.

When this is accomplished, one of the most important links in the merit system of New York City will be forged.

### *Independence of Commissions*

The independent status of civil service commissions must be firmly established before the public will be guaranteed an absolutely impartial enforcement of the civil service law. A commission created by an executive and subject to his removal even without a hearing is not, except in rare instances, entirely uninfluenced by his wishes. If the executive is in sympathy with the merit system he will appoint commissioners who will fearlessly enforce the law. If he is a spoilsman he will man the commission with men in sympathy with his political methods, who will in consequence interpret merit out of civil service rules, and undo the work of conscientious predecessors in a very short time.

The function of a commission is partly judicial, partly legislative and partly administrative. A weak commission will do the bidding of its creator in the important work of classification, and by exempting places in the service, throw them open to the executive's henchman to feed the grist mill of his political machine.

To insure conscientious allegiance to the principles and intent of a civil service law, the tenure of office of commissioners should be such as to make them, or the majority of them, independent of election results. They should be as untrammelled as judges, for their work requires the same quality of mind, in addition to a sound, practical judgment and a deep knowledge of civil service law, rules and procedure.

Whether commissioners themselves should be classified is debatable. I am inclined to believe that appointment for overlapping terms by which the majority of the commissioners remain and one commissioner is added during the term of an executive, barring unforeseeable vacancies caused by death, resignation or charges, is a solution in the right direction.



But until commissioners, like judges, are made independent of political influences in their selection and their tenure, the public will never be entirely free from the suspicion that political considerations enter into their determinations. To liberate the merit system from every vestige of political influence, and to insure commissioners freedom from political pressure, give them long terms and make their tenure secure, consistent with efficiency.

One of the practical advantages of this desirable reform is to retain in office men who are experienced in the complicated problems of civil service administration. Under the system by which the majority of commissioners are at present appointed, the public loses the benefit of their knowledge when they have become particularly useful and expert. For then their term of office expires, and unless the executive is politically friendly or in sympathy with the merit system, he is not reappointed on his record. The merit system does not in practice apply to those who are vested with the responsibility of enforcing it.

Fortunately public opinion in favor of the merit system is strengthening and growing, so that executives in sympathy with the spoils system dare not tamper too obviously with the civil service law. But we need a more aggressive and enlightened public opinion in favor of the merit system to secure such fundamental provisions in the various civil service laws of the country as will insure the appointment and retention of commissioners who are sound, expert, impartial, and fearless administrators.

When merit is intelligently applied to the service after employees have entered it, when efficiency records, promotions, classifications, sound pensions, a fair system of layoffs, reinstatement, and removals are established in full, when the back door is as securely locked to the spoilsman as the front door, and efficiency in government is maintained and developed—then will the newer problems of the merit system be finally solved. Upon their solution depends the reconciliation of democracy and efficiency.

## THE SHORT BALLOT MOVEMENT AND SIMPLIFIED POLITICS

BY RICHARD S. CHILDS,

Secretary, National Short Ballot Organization, New York City.

In foreign countries they talk about politics and politicians, but they do not mean what we mean. With us the world of politics is largely made up of an enormous mesh of mechanical detail in which the average citizen quite properly takes but little interest. He attends to his own business and leaves politics to politicians. The politician is not necessarily an office holder, and if he is, it is not this fact which makes him a politician. He may be an office holder, either appointive or elective, and yet not be a politician at all in our unique American meaning of the word. By a politician we mean a man who makes a business of citizenship and the duties thereof. He knows that the name of the state treasurer is Peter Jones, that his term expires next January, that the election for his successor will be held in November, that the primaries come in September, that Peter Jones will not be allowed to have the office again but that it will probably be bestowed upon Peter Smith who has been working hard for the party with this object in view and has won the favor of the politicians in the dominant party.

Of all this Mr. Average Citizen is entirely unaware. He does not even recall that the term of the state treasurer will expire, yet in due time when election day comes in November, Mr. Average Citizen will vote for Peter Smith because the magic word "Republican" stands opposite Mr. Smith's name on the ballot. Ask Mr. Average Citizen as he emerges from the polling booth whom he voted for for state treasurer and he will not have the slightest idea. He voted for the Republican, whoever that was. He expressed no opinion of his own for the simple reason that he had no opinion to express. Mr. Average Citizen is not a politician. Why should he know anything about the state treasurer?

The problem of democratic government is how to make Mr. Average Citizen substantially as familiar with politics as Mr. Politician is. The old remedy is to say that "all good citizens should go

into politics." Or "there should be a civic uprising of the people." Or, "it is Mr. Average Citizen's own fault for failing to take an interest"; but in spite of years of preaching, that remedy has never been adopted, except in occasional and temporary abnormal paroxysms of civic effort when some unusual scandal occurs.

The remedy offered by the short ballot advocates reverses the sequence. The short ballot demand is—make politics so simple that what the average citizen knows will be all there is to know, thus leaving nothing of importance to furnish an exclusive field for the activity of the politicians. Today politics is partly in the hands of the people and partly in the hands of the politicians. Abolish the politicians' end of the game and you may get popular government in reality.

Take for example the state government of New York! The people elect and select a governor. They also elect, but do not *select*, a lieutenant-governor, secretary of state, state treasurer, comptroller, attorney-general and state engineer and surveyor in the state administration. When the party leaders pick out a candidate for governor they anxiously consider the question "How will so-and-so take with the people?" When they pick out a man for state treasurer no such question comes up. It is not necessary for a state treasurer to take with the people. If they should nominate an experienced banker for the post, the fact of his superior fitness would not make him liable to win, and it will pay them much better to nominate somebody who is officially connected with labor or the farmers or with some region of the state which is politically important. And the state treasurership becomes in reality an appointive office, appointed by one or the other of the groups of party leaders, who have no legal or official responsibility for the results. Consult the tabulated election returns and you will find that he was elected by almost exactly the same number of votes that elected the comptroller and the state engineer and surveyor and the other minor officers. Often the total variation between the foremost and the hindermost candidate on the tail of a given party's ticket is less than 2 per cent, demonstrating incontestably that the voters did not pick and choose among the candidates for the minor offices, but voted blindly under the guidance of the magic word "Republican" or "Democratic." When the state treasurer is duly elected and goes into office, he does not issue his statement to the people thanking

them for the responsibilities with which they have entrusted him. No paper in the state would print such a statement except as a curiosity. He does, however, manifest his gratitude in less public ways to the coterie of men who are really responsible for his being there, *i.e.*, the party leaders and those other political friends whose persistent wire-pulling and intriguing with the party leaders, brought about his nomination.

That the administration of the treasurer thus chosen will be political goes without saying, unless the party leaders happen to have mistaken their man. Of course there is the civil service to protect some of the rank and file. And there is probably one deputy who has been in the department for many years and has become so indispensable to its operation that none of the transient amateurs who come and go above his head could get along without him. The state treasurer himself does not need to do much, and even if he is capable of learning all the possibilities of his office, he does not need to bother unless he wants to.

A state treasurer of New York committed suicide a few years ago. He was a far from brilliant man, but he was honest and his books were found correct. An investigation of his office was pending and the explanation given for his suicide was that he dreaded the humiliation which would follow upon the disclosure of his ignorance of the technique of his office.

So long as a little office like the state treasurership continues to exist on an obscure elective basis, two things are bound to happen. First, the state treasurer will be appointed by politicians. Second, politicians must continue to exist because there has got to be someone to appoint the state treasurer. Likewise, of course, with other minor offices in the state and city and county.

The short ballot remedy is to transfer the power to appoint the state treasurer from the politicians to the first citizen of the state, *i.e.*, the governor.

Now it is quite possible that the governor would appoint the same man that the politicians did and for the same political reasons. Nevertheless, there is an essential gain. The fight against inefficiency will be transferred from a jungle to an open field. The elective treasurer *must* be in politics; the appointive treasurer only *may* be. The politicians would rather appoint the state treasurer direct amid the hurly-burly of a popular election than be obliged to

importune the governor to appoint their man. For the governor may or may not be amenable to their reasoning. Quite possibly he had conferred a greater favor upon them by accepting their nomination for governor than they did upon him by offering it. He was elected at any rate largely because he found favor with the rank and file of the people. The politicians only helped and their hold on him is correspondingly weaker. Add to this the unpleasant fact that a governor becomes a popular hero every time he hits a politician over the head.

The change to the appointive or short ballot system thus cannot be guaranteed to take the administration out of politics and out of the hands of the politicians, but it can and does make the continuation of politicians and of their style of politics conditional upon the friendliness of a public officer who must accept conspicuous responsibility for his attitude. We can beat the politician on that battle-ground.

Braddock's army was helpless against the Indians in the natural ambush of the forest glades. It defended itself easily when George Washington had led it out into the broad meadow-lands.

## MAKING LEGISLATORS LAW MAKERS

BY JOHN A. LAPP,

Director, Indiana Bureau of Legislative Information.

### THE PROBLEM

*Representative Bodies.* The discussion of the problems of legislation has usually centered around the forms of legislative bodies. The problems of bicameral legislatures, the cabinet system of responsible government, and questions of apportionment have been quite generally discussed. These discussions of form have obscured the consideration of the workings of legislative bodies in their effort to translate the will of the people into workable statutes. The breakdown of our legislative system has, however, finally forced upon our attention the necessity of a thorough-going examination of our entire scheme of representation and of the workings of legislative bodies.

The effort to improve legislation first centered about the question of making legislators truly representative of their constituents. In many states that problem has been solved by the adoption of the initiative, referendum and recall which have, to a large degree, made legislators look to their constituents for guidance in making laws. This new method of insuring responsibility is in wholesome contrast to the old method of checks and balances whereby the people attempted to protect themselves against legislative bodies by shackling all legislatures with restrictions that prevented them from doing things which ought to be done as well as things which ought not to be done.

The people of this country inherited a fear of government through their experience with governments imposed on them from without. They feared their own representatives and lest they should do some harm by arbitrary action, their methods of doing business were narrowly restricted. "It is against the enterprising ambition of this department (the legislative) that the people ought to indulge all their jealousy and exhaust all their precautions," said Madison. "The legislative department is everywhere extending the sphere of its activity and drawing all power into its impetu-

ous vortex."<sup>1</sup> Throughout our history these fears thus expressed have found lodgment in the constitutions of our states and the effect has been disastrous upon the capacity and effectiveness of legislatures.

Having expelled the fear which has long been felt of the tyranny of legislative bodies, through the adoption of direct methods of action against legislators and the laws which they enact, it would seem that the time had come for a thorough examination to see that legislators who now have become, through the influence of popular control, more truly representative of the people, shall have the facilities for the performance of their function of law making. We have doubtless secured or are securing representative legislatures. Our present duty is to work for efficient legislatures.

Four distinct problems confront the legislator in his attempts at law making. First, he must express the will of the people. Second, he must express the intent of laws clearly. Third, he must keep within the constitutional limitations; and fourth, he must provide for enforcement.

*Interpreting Popular Will.* The purpose of the legislature being to translate the will of the people into laws requires on the part of the legislator that he give close attention to the economic and social conditions which inspire the people whom he represents to favor or oppose the passage of laws. He should not, of course, be entirely subservient to the views of his constituents because it is assumed that he may be able from greater knowledge and broader experience to interpret needs better than those to whom it has not been given to see the effects of the things which they propose in their broadest aspects.

There is not a very clearly established notion in this country as to the constituency to which the legislator is responsible. While it is accepted that a member of a legislature should represent the people of the whole state and approve acts which are for the benefit of the whole state, as a matter of fact, being responsible for his election to the people of his legislative district, he is compelled for political expediency to ignore the high standards of statesmanship which would set state benefits against local benefits, because he must ask his local people for their votes and his continuance in

<sup>1</sup>*Federalist*, No. 48.

public life practically depends, not on how he serves the state, but on how he serves his local community.

As a practical proposition, therefore, it is doubtful whether we can have legislatures which will look at questions from the standpoint of broad benefits so long as the members are compelled to look for their election to voters whose views and vision are entirely local. The legislator who can lead his people to see the righteousness of his course in supporting state interests instead of local interests, is of course the ideal legislator. Few members in any state, or in Congress, have a state or national conception of their work and few have such qualities of leadership as are necessary to overcome the influence of local benefits or prejudices. The legislator who is capable of analyzing economic and social conditions and of harmonizing state and local interests is the true representative. We cannot have the full realization of the benefits of representative government without such men. But we cannot have any great number of such men until one of two conditions prevails—first, the education of the people to a recognition of the supremacy of state or national, over local needs or opinions, or second, a rearrangement of representation so that a part or all of the legislators will be elected on a general ticket covering the whole state.

*Expressing Intent.* Among the problems of law making none is so difficult as that which inheres in the use of language. The difficulty of expressing the intent of a difficult law in exact words is very great. A single word or a misplaced comma may change the entire meaning of a law. Moreover, every law must be framed not merely according to the present conditions but as John Stuart Mill says: "every provision requires to be framed with the most accurate and long-sighted perception of its effect on all other provisions and the law when made should be capable of fitting into a consistent whole."

Of the use of words, Cooley says:

The deficiencies of human language are such that if written instruments were always prepared carefully by persons skilled in the use of words we should still expect to find their meaning often drawn in question or at least to meet with difficulties in their practical application. But when draftsmen are careless or incompetent these difficulties are greatly increased and they multiply rapidly when the instruments are to be applied, not only to the subjects directly within the contemplation of those who formed them but also to a great variety of new



circumstances which could not have been anticipated but which must nevertheless be governed by the general rules which the instruments establish.

Justice Stephens of England emphasized the same point in a striking passage in which he said that he

was not accustomed to use language with that degree of precision which is essential to everyone who has ever had to draft acts of parliament which, although they may be easy to understand, people constantly try to misunderstand and in which, therefore, it is not enough to attain to a degree of precision which a person reading in good faith can understand; but it is necessary to attain to a degree of precision which a person reading in bad faith cannot misunderstand. It is all the better if he cannot pretend to misunderstand it.

Any person who has had to frame even the simplest statutes where no other complications were present except the mere difficulty of expression of exact meaning, has had abundant proof of these statements. A change of the single word "or" to "and," which words in legislation are usually interchangeable, considerably weakened the Inheritance Tax Law of Indiana. The surreptitious change of the word "such" to the word "all" in enrolling a bill in the same state a few years ago, removed the teeth of an important law affecting railroads.

The California legislature had to be called in special session in 1911 to correct a single word in a constitutional amendment which had been passed. The Maine legislature of 1915 was also called in special session to correct a single word in a workmen's compensation act.

Experiences might be multiplied on this head all tending to prove the obvious facts that the most precise and far-sighted care must be taken to make any law effective.

*Constitutional Limitations.* The difficulties above mentioned confront the legislatures of all countries, but in addition there are supplementary difficulties in this country because the law must fit into and not exceed the provisions of the federal and state constitutions. The constitutions are the centripetal forces holding the law to certain limits which the centrifugal forces of progress always tend to exceed.

Four distinct matters must be considered in the state legislatures: First, is the power one which has been given to and exercised by congress? Second, is the power one which has been denied to the state by express terms of the federal constitution? Third, is the power one which has been denied to the legislature by the state

constitution? Fourth, has the bill been prepared and adopted in strict conformity to the rules laid down by the state constitution? Thus the inherent difficulties of correct expression are supplemented by the practical difficulties of conformity to state and federal constitutions and of enactment according to methods prescribed by the state constitutions. The bill drafter must know, not only the broad principles of constitutional law but he must be familiar with every detail of the state and federal constitutions.

*Enforcement.* Provisions for enforcement are no less important than the matters just mentioned. Enforcement requires attention to the economic and social basis, exact wording and constitutional limitations. Laws will not be enforced contrary to public sentiment; laws cannot be enforced which are uncertain in meaning; and laws contrary to constitutional provisions are null and void from the beginning. "Laws shall be expressed in plain language avoiding so far as possible the use of technical terms" declare some of the constitutions. Penal statutes are always strictly construed. Courts will not punish offenders under an uncertain statute.

Laws which are to be enforced by administrative officers are attended with peculiar difficulties. How to give the right measure of authority to administrative officials and how to secure government of laws and not of men without destroying efficiency are foremost problems in modern legislation. The attempt to prescribe exact details of administrative action by legislators ignorant of administrative law and practice, often destroys the efficiency of laws. Mill's strictures on legislative bodies are equally true today when he said that a popular assembly is not fitted "to administer or to dictate in detail to those who have the charge of administration. Even when honestly meant, the interference is almost always injurious. Every branch of public administration is a skilled business which has its own peculiar principles and traditional rules many of them not even known in any effectual way, except to those who have at some time had a hand in carrying on the business and some of them likely to be duly appreciated by persons not practically acquainted with the department."

#### THE MACHINERY OF LEGISLATION

*Qualification of Members.* The existing machinery of legislation is almost wholly inadequate to do the work which is required.

Representative government has not brought men of the greatest capacity into legislative halls. Legislators are universally elected from small districts. The influences surrounding them are too often local and provincial. Wide acquaintance with social and economic needs is uncommon.

Very few legislators have had experience fitting them for making laws. It is common in many states to find fully three-fourths of the members who are totally without legislative experience. A large percentage serve only one term. By the time they learn the first rudiments of legislation the session is over. Few members are familiar with the laws which they propose to amend or supplement. The statute book is so much Sanscrit to many. Yet these men amend old laws and pass new ones affecting the life, liberty and property of all the people of the state!

*Qualifications of Employees.* The lack of qualifications of the legislators themselves might be overcome by an efficient organization of clerical, legal and expert assistants. This has, however, not been very generally done in state legislatures. In almost every state the assistants are appointed solely on political considerations. It is a common practice to divide the patronage among the members of the dominant party—each member having one or more appointments. In consequence, legislatures are compelled to begin their work with crudely working machinery. Everyone; who has had anything to do with organizing forces of assistants, knows the difficulty of bringing together quickly a body of assistants who will work together. Under most favorable conditions the difficulty is extreme but under existing conditions in legislatures it become impossible. So, instead of being relieved of technical matters of legislation by a skilled body of assistants, burdens are added to the members. The usual legislative session is nearly over before the clerks and assistants actually learn their jobs.

Very little attention has been given to the higher grades of assistants. Legislatures seem to have been afraid of employing the man who knows thoroughly the work of legislation or the man of expert attainments in bill drafting or the constitutional adviser or the research man. The personnel of the legislative force seldom contains any assistants of this class.

*Limitation of Sessions.* In all but sixteen states, there is a limit to the length of sessions. This limit varies from forty to

ninety days. In most instances the limit was fixed years ago when the demands upon the legislature could probably be met during the period fixed. This is not the case, however, in any state at this time. The limitation of sessions assumes that the legislature is a necessary evil which must be curbed at every point and which must be got rid of just as quickly as possible. Such limitation fails to recognize that legislatures meet to consider and pass upon present needs. They ought to be free to spend as much or as little time as necessary to do their work efficiently.

*Special and Local Legislation.* Much of the valuable time of the members is spent in handling special and local acts about which very few of them can give any intelligent judgment. In the states where special and local acts are narrowly limited, the tendency to pass such acts by indirection is very great. The general statutes of the states are filled with exceptions which have been forced into the laws by local or special interests seeking advantages. At the same time, while it has not cured the ills of special legislation, the provision against special and local legislation adds immensely to the difficulties of keeping within the constitutional limitations.

#### THE REMEDY

The writer does not believe that there will be any decided improvement in the ability of legislators except as the whole mass of the people are improved by education. Such betterment, moreover, will be more than offset by the increased complexities of law making which each year adds. It is not to be expected that legislators will become expert law makers. It is out of the question that members will be able to investigate intricate subjects, examine legal technicalities, draft bills or pass upon details. That would imply a race of supermen. Such a body would not be representative of the people. So long, therefore, as we have representative government, we must expect the members of the legislature to be ordinary, intelligent men without expert knowledge. Indeed, true representation implies that all interests should be represented in the legislature. The legislature ought to be the forum where every class of our citizenship should have a hearing through representatives in sympathy with their ideas. Probably before we shall have such a legislature, some plan of proportional representation must be devised which will insure the representation

of minorities in proportion to their strength. By means of the initiative and referendum, legislative responsibility to the whole state is assured. By the recall, responsibility to their constituents is certain. If to these can be added such a scheme of organization as will relieve the legislators of the things which they are not fitted to do, and leave them the things to do which representative bodies should really do, there ought to be vast improvement in the quality of legislation.

*Improved Organization.* To enable the legislatures to do their work the first improvement must be in the organization of the assistants who are to do the detailed work. There must be some permanent, expert, non-partisan official, or officials, who makes of legislation a permanent business and who can bring to the representatives of the people an efficient kind of professional service. Legislators ought to be relieved of the details of law making so that they may be left free to decide upon general principles.

In any scheme of organization, attention needs to be directed to the committee work. This is the vital part of legislation. The legislatures justly rely upon their committees to sift matters referred to them and present back to the body suitable recommendations together with proper drafts of the bills favored. If the work of the committee has been done in ignorance or if the bills reported back have not had the attention which they should have received, the committee work is a failure. Committee work ought to be responsible work; thorough analysis of every bill should be made and every member should go on record in every action taken on the bill. Since the members of committees cannot give personal attention to all of the bills referred to them and since they are not qualified to frame statutes and pass upon their details, it follows that if any expert work is to be done by the committees, specially qualified assistants should be provided. Such assistants would serve the committees in the same way that the corporation lawyer or engineer serves a board of directors. Any committee which attempts to do its work with its own clumsy hands, will not give us the kind of legislation needed.

*Legislative Information.* A solid background of information is also imperative. Legislators ought to be guided by experience whenever experience will show them the way to success or point the way of failure. Every state may profit by the experience of

other states and foreign countries. There is nothing new under the sun, at least for all practical purposes, and the problem of efficient legislation is to utilize all the data of experience in formulating laws and deciding upon their enactment.

Until very recently nothing worth while had been done to gather the experience of states and countries and make it available for legislative guidance. In contradistinction to the failure to provide guides for legislation may be mentioned the extreme care and great effort extended in the gathering of judicial experience for the guidance of courts. Every supreme court has at its command every court decision rendered in this country and in English-speaking countries. Legal clerks are at its service to sift every case to the bottom to find out what interpretations have been put upon similar cases. The legislators have had no such efficient guides, although it is a far more difficult task to frame statutes than to interpret them. The legislative reference departments have made a good beginning in many states but their inadequate facilities do not make them compare favorably with the facilities for judicial interpretation. Vast amounts of information are being gathered by these departments. The light of experience is beginning to be thrown on law making but not until better methods are employed to translate intricate facts into material understandable by the legislators, will this agency solve the problem of legislative guidance.

*Legislative Drafting.* Closely related to legislative information is the subject of bill drafting. It is through the medium of a bill that the carefully collected information of the legislative reference bureau may be translated into concrete statements. Expert bill drafting is an absolute necessity in any plan of legislative reform. Members cannot draft bills and they ought not have that responsibility placed upon them. Nor should they as a body pass upon details.

It is impossible (said John Stuart Mill) that these conditions (accurate law making) should be in any degree fulfilled when laws are voted clause by clause in a miscellaneous assembly. The incongruity of such a mode of legislating would strike all minds were it not that our laws are already as to form and construction such a chaos that the confusion and contradiction seem incapable of being made greater by any addition to the mass.

What Mill would have thought of the utter confusion of the statute laws of American states can only be conjectured.

We Americans have made a huge joke of the expression that "ignorance of the law excuses no one" when we have allowed our laws to be in such a state of confusion that no one of ordinary discretion would assume to say what the law is on important subjects. An expert corps of draftsmen consisting of men of the highest legal attainments is a necessity which ought to strike intelligent minds forcibly. Why legislatures have failed to create agencies of this character is one of the mysteries unsolved. The best guess on the matter is that they have feared that it might take away the precious privilege of tinkering with the laws themselves. They have assumed that drafting is their function whereas it is not and could not be the function of a miscellaneous assembly. Only the highest grade of legal service should be employed if we are to redeem our laws from their present chaotic state.

Not less important than the drafting of bills is the matter of expert revision. Laws drafted with the greatest care and left to the tender mercies of succeeding legislatures are soon an intolerable mass of conflicting provisions. The drafting bureau ought, therefore, to become a revision commission which shall take up the laws subject by subject and after revising them into a state of consistency should be an adjunct of the legislature to which all future amendments must be referred in order that thereafter the law may be kept consistent. The scheme proposed by Mill for Parliament whereby a special commission was to be created to which should be referred every bill in order to make sure of its form and substance, would fit into the machinery of our state governments with great benefit. Under that scheme, the legislature would approve the principle of a bill and refer it to the commission with instructions to draft. The legislature would have no authority to change such a bill but would refer it back to the commission for any changes which were desired. How to get such a commission under the present extreme partisanship in American legislatures, is the practical problem confronting the states. Such a commission would necessarily be non-partisan. Ordinary lawyers would be of small value to do the work. Narrow technicians in the law would be fatal to the commission. Broad-minded lawyers who are not tied to formalism and who are thorough students of economic and social progress would be the ideal draftsmen. Such positions ought to rank in dignity with the judges of the supreme court.

The drafting departments of legislative reference bureaus may readily develop into this ideal. At present they are sometimes handicapped by unjust suspicions on the part of some legislators who seem to think they are usurping legislative functions.

*Other Reforms.* With the changes herein suggested some additional reforms must be effected or else the machinery will break down as the existing machinery has broken down. In the first place, time is the essence of careful legislation. Important laws hurried through the legislature in the closing days of a limited session are bound to be filled with defects and fraud. The time limits of legislatures must therefore be removed or greatly extended in order that legislatures may meet modern needs in deliberative fashion.

The burden of local and special legislation must also be taken off the backs of legislatures. Today the greater part of the time of legislators is taken up with the consideration of local and special bills. Such legislation cannot be successfully prohibited and ought not to be prohibited. There are many necessary local exceptions to general acts arising out of the differing conditions. We shall probably not successfully solve this problem until the restrictions placed in the constitutions upon local and special legislation are entirely removed and two conditions set up to relieve the situation—first, greater home rule for cities and counties; second, a local government board with power to make provisional orders subject to ratification by the legislature.

Since legislation is so intimately connected with administration, there must be established some direct connection whereby administrative experience may guide the legislatures in enacting laws which are to be administered or executed by administrative officials. Already there are movements to put the preparation of the budget estimates upon executive officials leaving the legislature free to reject but not increase. A responsible financial program is thereby worked out. Legislative draftsmen will necessarily be familiar with administration and an effective drafting bureau would eliminate many of the faults found at present. However, it will be necessary to make some more vital connection between the administrative division of the government and the legislative division in order to get responsive interaction between law making and law enforcement.



But above all and growing out of all of these considerations we need to recognize that the most important thing in making legislators law makers is to clearly establish the proper function of the legislative body and leave it to perform its legitimate functions. At present legislatures attempt too much. They try to do things which they cannot do well. They attempt too much detailed regulation and burden themselves with work which could be better done by properly chosen subordinate experts. Legislatures ought to be the controlling body and not attempt administration. Confined to this function, a legislature responsible to the people will lift itself out of the confusion and reestablish itself in the confidence of the people.

## TAKING JUDGES OUT OF POLITICS

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Over a large portion of this country the belief is prevalent that judges, in order to serve the public faithfully, must be chosen by popular vote and hold office for a comparatively brief term. This belief conforms to doctrine which has enjoyed overwhelming popularity in this country; it also conforms to the practical wishes of numerous lawyers who are ambitious to wear the ermine. The offspring of an era of dogmatic optimism, it is fitting that this easy doctrine should now be challenged by a principle which reflects the disillusion and skepticism of the present time.

The new principle denies the ability of the electorate to make wise selection for a highly technical branch of work. There can be no dispute of the claim that the work of the judge is exceedingly technical. The electorate broadly cannot correctly appraise the relative ability of lawyers, and much less can it estimate with accuracy the fitness of members of the bar to hold judicial office.

The conflict between the old doctrine, so firmly entrenched, and the new principle—new at least as a working proposition in American politics—is only now beginning. It will be interesting to observe the progress of this conflict.

There is no settled world practice with respect to the selection of judges, but appointment in some form is nearly universal. England learned long before our Revolution that judges must not be subject to removal at the pleasure of the appointing power. The difficulty was overcome by guaranteeing life tenure subject only to impeachment and trial for malfeasance. Under this condition the English bench has gradually become the tractable servant of democracy. Even in appointment, democratic forces control but without any sacrifice of the principle of expertness in selection. If any person be disposed to dispute the statement that the English bench is essentially democratic, let him consider the extreme caution observed by that bench not to usurp legislative functions; its will is always subjugated to the will of the people's Parliament.

In England the bench is recruited directly from that wing of the legal profession which is devoted solely to the trial of contentious issues. The theory governing this choice is that the experienced barrister, by his familiarity with judicial procedure and his expertness in analyzing issues, is able to decide causes more speedily and more correctly than any other type of lawyer. In that country the dissatisfaction with the present situation is directed to the alleged fact that the barrister-judge tends to exalt the principle of contentiousness, thus contributing to the high cost of litigation.

A certain equilibrium was reached long ago in Germany along quite different lines. The theory there has been that the work of the judge is so peculiar as to warrant special training. German judges are not taken from the ranks of successful lawyers; they are trained from youth for the bench, and are advanced step by step from the less responsible judicial positions to the highest. Such undercurrent of dissatisfaction as there exists is directed to the fact that judicial training of this sort produces a bench out of touch with the ordinary affairs of life, that it tends to exalt the academic at the expense of the practical.

In the formative period of American institutions there was present a dominant intention to escape historic evils of the judiciary. Because an English bench had proved at an earlier time to be subservient to royalty there was a disposition to view all judges in a skeptical light. In fact a considerable element of American political principle consisted of fortifying society against evils which had existed at some previous time in the parent state.

The first fifty years of the national life were years in which expertness was at a discount, especially in the newer communities. It is not hard to understand the change in all the newer states, and in some of the older ones, to an elective judiciary and short tenure.

Nor is it so difficult to appreciate the fact that for a long time the defects of the new dispensation were obscured. Ours was a rough and ready society and an elected judiciary seemed sympathetic with the aims of that society. Class divisions came later. The corruption of party, invisible government, and bi-partisanship, all came later.

Analysis of conditions in states which elect judges points to two seemingly divergent facts, both of which must be kept in mind.

We must realize that there have been a great many capable and

successful elected judges, enough in most jurisdictions to conceal in large measure the second fact, which is that the elected judiciary has, broadly, fallen short of a standard of reasonable efficiency. These conclusions are not inconsistent. A judicial system is, in a sense, no stronger than its weakest link.

While recognizing the fact that many elected judges have been satisfactory, and a few ideally qualified to judge, it must be added that the really competent judge has been the exception rather than the type. Nor is it difficult to account for numerous exceptions under this head. Even with a hit-and-miss method of selection it would be miraculous if some talent were not secured for the bench. A mere choice by lot would inevitably score some hits. The tremendous steadying effect of the judicial position must also receive considerable credit. We must remember that the beginner on the bench, if at all qualified, is in an ideal position to be educated.

No article of ordinary length could contain a full defense of the claim that the elective bench is on the whole unrepresentative of the highest talent of the legal profession. An observer may say that he knows this to be true of his own knowledge, just as he knows that there are occasional excellent judges who are elected term after term. The general public dissatisfaction with elected judges is evidenced by frequent dismissals; it is evidenced also by the origin and spread of the judicial recall doctrine; it is evidenced finally by numerous attempts to bolster up the system by improved methods of nominating and balloting. A most convincing arraignment of elected judges as a class will be found in the preface to the recent supplement to Wigmore's *Evidence*.

Just as the people broadly lack acquaintance with the qualities which make for judicial strength so do they lack precise knowledge of the shortcomings of their servants in a field so involved and technical. They have not been aware that their bitter struggle during the last two decades to socialize their law has been against elected judges. This has been compactly set forth in the notable report of the special committee on "Reform in the Administration of Justice" of the National Economic League, as follows:

The constructive work in American law, the adaptation of English case law and English statutes to the needs of a new country and the shaping of them into an American common law, was done by appointed judges while most of the technicality of procedure, mechanical jurisprudence and narrow adherence to eight-

ninth-century absolute ideas of which the public now complains is the work of elected judges. The illiberal decisions of the last quarter of the nineteenth century to which objection is made today were almost wholly the work of popularly elected judges with short tenure. Moreover, where today we have appointive courts these courts in conservative communities have been liberal in questions of constitutional law where elective judges, holding for short terms, have been strict and reactionary. For illustration one may compare the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States and of the Supreme Judicial court of Massachusetts on the subject of liberty of contract with those of the supreme courts of Illinois and Missouri. Also one may compare the decisions of the highest courts of Massachusetts and of New Jersey on the subject of workmen's compensation legislation with the pronouncement of the Court of Appeals of New York. So in procedure, the judicial application of the Massachusetts practice act should be compared with the fate of the New York Code of Civil Procedure of 1848. The later New York code attempted the impossible in the way of detail. But it would have been quite as easy to make technicality of procedure an end in Massachusetts as in New York. A liberal application of the New York code of 1848 by strong judges, resisting the attempt of counsel to use the code in the game of litigation, might have achieved a modern procedure half a century ago. Under our systems of making law through judicial empiricism almost everything turns on the strength, capacity and learning of the judge. We require much more of a judge than popularity or honest mediocrity or ignorant zeal for the public welfare can bring about.

The earlier elected judges found their work easier because the law had not yet entered upon its period of class stress. The typical American community of forty or fifty years ago was rural in character and the citizenship was comparatively homogeneous in aims and ideals. The divisions between capital and labor were yet to be. The stress due to the bending of an ancient individualistic philosophy of law to modern social needs was undreamt of.

These things came in the fullness of time. There is reason to believe that a more cultured type of judge would have understood this conflict better. It is plausible to hold that a more independent tenure would have permitted the judge to move gracefully from the old dispensation to the new for that very event is observable in states having life tenure and in the Federal Supreme Court.

The notorious deprivation of judicial power through minutely regulated statutory procedure, which resulted in making the trial judge little more than a passive moderator of a contentious proceeding, came after the "democratization" of the bench. This stripping the judiciary of the least powers for self-government has been a potent though subtle force to undermine the bench and pre-

vent a healthy, concerted and constructive movement for rendering justice efficiently.

The spread of the elective principle, if it did not directly encourage, at least did not interfere with the development of political supremacy in the supreme courts of the land. This has been due directly to the irresponsibility of legislatures and indirectly to the limitation of legislative powers in the later state constitutions. In typical states the supreme court virtually constitutes a third house with a fairly effective veto over legislation, but without power to shape and direct the evolution of judicial procedure. It would be difficult to imagine a more genuine departure from the theory of separation of powers.

There has been also, coincident with that development of classes which destroyed civic homogeneity, the growth of vast cities with the inevitable lowering of the average intelligence of the voter, and his reduction to the level of a pawn in the hands of party organizations. In these great cities litigation has been concentrated and an almost total absence of judicial organization and system has prevailed.

Observation of a broad field reveals the fact that judicial success is in inverse ratio to the massing of population and industry. Various expedients to improve the quality of the bench have been tried and projected. These fall roughly into two classes. One class comprises extra-legal expedients intended to bolster up an inefficient form of judicial selection. In the more enlightened communities there has been more or less success in departing from the spirit of the elective doctrine while retaining the form. These attempts constitute virtually an attempt to substitute a *de facto* method of appointment. The voters instinctively delegate their powers of selection to a more or less expert class. This phase of the subject is interestingly discussed in an article on "Methods of Selecting and Retiring Judges in a Metropolitan District" in the March, 1914, number of *The Annals*.

It is shown that the conservative citizenship of Wisconsin has achieved a measure of success by tacitly permitting the leaders of the bar to control nominations. The result has been on the whole better than in many states which could be named but it is not entitled to implicit faith. Being an extra-legal method, dependent upon continuity of tradition, it involves reflection of the sitting

judge regardless of his qualifications. It is true that Wisconsin has succeeded in this manner in banishing partisanship from the bench, but the reverse fact must be noted that the retention of unpopular judges has resulted in the establishment in about thirty counties of special municipal courts intended to permit suitors to escape the regular court in a majority of causes. The result is a lack of organization, a multiplying of agencies, and an increase of cost which is leading now to a movement for general organic reform. In North Carolina over one hundred special courts have been spawned for similar reasons and conditions there may properly be called chaotic.

In Colorado the organized bar has made a brave attempt to direct voters. A most complex system of bar primaries has been evolved. The outcome is still in doubt. If the result is permanent betterment it will be but another proof that reform of the popular election of judges comes about by a *de facto* abandonment of the principle. It is still an open question whether the attempt will not serve to rive the bar into two or more contending bodies, in which case actual harm will have been done without commensurate benefit, for the voter will be more mystified than before.

The other class of efforts to improve the situation is doctrinaire, in keeping with the idea of universal participation in the selection of judges. It goes upon the theory of curing the defects of democracy by a larger dose of democracy. It attempts in various ways to compel the electorate to assume all the powers of nomination and election and to ponder well the judicial ballot. In this class fall the numerous statutes providing for direct nominations and the less common but rapidly growing laws which result in placing the non-partisan list of judicial candidates in a separate column on the general ballot, or even better, upon a separate judicial ballot.

There has been in the past two years some experience under these forms. An attempt to get a scientific estimate of the results has brought interesting communications to the writer's desk. It is apparent that experience thus far justifies only pessimism. The testimony is conclusive from a number of states which are trying ballot reform that the tendency is to discourage legal expertness among judicial candidates. The judge seeking reelection finds himself without an organization to push his candidacy. He finds himself confronted by rivals who are virtually self-nominated and who do

not shrink from any detail of "running for office" because of modesty or delicacy concerning the traditions of the bench. He must meet these rivals on their own ground, which means a "glad hand" campaign throughout the district or state. He finds that the candidate who devotes all his time to his canvass, who belongs to the largest number of voluntary organizations and secret societies, who is most unblushing in telling of his own goodness of heart and promising faithful service, who is, in short, a "good mixer," has the best chance for winning as surely as the gullible voters outnumber the sophisticated. The sitting judge finds that it is largely a matter of advertisement, involving a disproportionate cost in time and money, and that he is handicapped from the outset through the impossibility of asserting his own best claims to the position. In a community not ideally discreet and sagacious, to put the matter plainly, genuine ability is penalized and demagoguery is put at a premium.

This does not mean that a useful judge is inevitably defeated at the non-partisan primary and election. There are some judges who combine popularity with judicial talent, judges of such fortunate temperament that they can cope with the new problem, but they are not common. It is easy to foresee a general cheapening of the personnel of the bench in the course of three or four terms. Activity out of office will weigh disproportionately in the contest for survival, and judicial position, already lacking in attractiveness because of uncertain tenure and low salaries, will come in time, even more than now, to be beneath the aim of the seriously ambitious lawyer.

It must be admitted that this movement, in so far as it is honestly directed *toward lessening partisanship* among judges, is successful. Partisanship cannot survive the non-partisan ballot. But in few localities has there been any serious defect of this sort. Convention nominated judges have been notably free from this evil, especially in the western states where the reform has been most prevalent. This is due in part to the pitiless publicity under which political decisions are rendered, for they must justify themselves to the existing law, and partly to the inherent decency of our judges in all but a very few jurisdictions.

But if partisanship is killed it is still impossible to say that the new method "takes the judge out of politics," and this is what



was really intended. For the reasons offered the new type of self-nominated and self-elected judge is far more the politician than the judge whom he succeeds. He must at all hazards keep his name before the public, and the methods to which he is often forced to resort are both disgusting and pathetic.

The broad and general faults of our elected judiciary have been due not to partisanship, but to lack of broad culture, to inexperience in the law, to dependence arising from uncertainty of tenure, to the restraint imposed by thousands of sections of minutely and inconsistently legislated rules, and above all, to a lack of simple business organization. The judges have not constituted a wieldly body able to react to the reasonable public demand for promptness and economy of effort. Specialization has been limited. The judicial body has not been permitted to avail itself of its own best ability. A system created during pioneer conditions has persisted under the formidable stresses of modern urban life and has notoriously lacked leadership and standards of accomplishment.

The widespread attempts to make popular election of judges successful by the two methods described, namely: the adoption of extra-legal measures to bolster up a defective system, and the larger dose of democracy implied by non-partisan ballots, prove that the subject is one of growing interest. The people will not rest until judicial processes are more simple and economical. If they do not accomplish the ultimate reform by steps now attempted, they will experiment further. Nomination by petition and election by handshaking appear to be the last word in attempts to make the old doctrine yield good results. Failure along this line will bring the constructive forces of citizenship directly to the new principle which is fundamental in short ballot reform. The futility of trying to compel voters to do what they are inherently incapable of doing must eventually be accepted. In the typical community of seventy years ago moderate success was attainable because of the comparative simplicity of the voters' duties and the relatively high order of civic ability. The voter of today who corresponds to his intelligent and high-minded grandfather, even if he is not outnumbered, is hopelessly ignorant of the qualifications of judicial candidates if he lives in a typical large city and is called upon to squander his limited political wisdom over a field of fifty or one hundred offices ranging from coroner to president. In one

city the various ballots aggregate one hundred and forty-four offices and judges to the number of seventy are elected at least every six years.

The doctrinaire cure of this evil by a larger dose of democracy is like multiplying ciphers. It has been better expressed as equivalent to holding a chicken's beak to a chalkline. The chicken is forced to concentrate its attention, but a cataleptic condition, not wisdom, is achieved.

The writer believes that the people of the central and western states are far nearer pregnant skepticism of the old doctrine than is generally supposed. In the state of California, a year ago, a first campaign for a better method of selection showed astonishing progress. The fight here was made on the proposal to permit the governor to appoint for the usual term subject to a popular ratification at the polls. In South Dakota leaders at the bar have started an interesting movement away from popular election of judges.

The matter is essentially difficult of discussion. We are all afraid of a doctrine which has so dominated our entire political thought. In most bar association meetings, even, it is difficult to discuss the subject of judicial selection except by beginning where an old-fashioned Fourth of July oration leaves off. Judges themselves are effectually barred from advising freely. Many judges prefer to adhere to a system which they feel they have mastered. Skeptics among them fear to criticize the system lest their words be used against them by jealous rivals. Former judges who have been summarily retired by the voters, however unjustly, have their lips sealed by their sense of good political sportsmanship. The subject is all the time complicated by the fact that we have some excellent judges. Our abounding faith in special providence encourages us always to hope that the next election will mark a revival of civic virtue and wisdom. In this respect we are in the same position respecting judges as were the people of the typical city a few years ago with respect to their aldermen. The hope of turning the rascals out springs eternal. But in scores of these cities the short ballot, as part of a simple, wieldy, responsible form of government, absolving the voter from the need for superhuman intelligence, has led the way out of the doctrinal morass.

No discussion of political reform can ignore the mighty revolution in municipal government, now finding its highest level in the

city manager-commission form of government. The secret of success lies in the fact that a workable delegation of political powers has been discovered.

One of the conditions which most militates against like discoveries respecting judicial office is the fact that it is almost universally assumed, even among graduates of political science courses, that there are but two ways of selecting judges; that we must either elect them for short terms or have them appointed by the Governor for life. We need most emphatically to realize that there are numerous ways of selecting judges. A number of variations on traditional methods are in use in this country. We have appointment for life by the executive, and appointment for a term. In several states the legislature makes the choice. It is conceivable that judges should be selected in a great variety of ways. The best results may be presumed to accompany a method which consists of selection by a thoroughly expert agent who is responsible for the due administration of justice. At the present time such a responsible judicial manager is just coming into being in the person of the executive head of an organized court, of which the municipal court of Chicago, and a number patterned after it, are examples. Such a judicial manager, whether styled chief justice, or president judge, or something else, is made responsible in large measure for the administration of justice within the jurisdiction allotted to his court. These courts constitute the bright spots in our judicial explorations. There is one way to increase the responsibility of the judicial manager and that is by permitting him some measure of freedom in finding the judges who are to man his branch courts.

Such a manager is far more competent to make a selection from among the lawyers practicing in his court than is the governor. His motive for selecting capable judges is higher than can be presumed in any other quarter, for his own success depends upon the personnel of his court.

It is difficult for us to conceive of a power of appointment not coupled with a ball and chain check. But if the proposed method is to realize expectations it must have a check quite unlike the kind we are used to. One of the most plausible proposals is that the chief justice (whose character of judicial manager must not be lost sight of despite the title) should be limited to selections from a public eligible list. This list should contain twice as many names

as there are possible vacancies. Names could be added to it by the judicial council, or governing board of the court, for every modern organized court should have such a judicial council, composed of the heads of the various divisions, of which the chief justice would be the executive officer.

In the chaotic condition of our bar such an eligible list would be like ballast in a cranky ship. At present we have no way to put the seal of authentication upon worthy lawyers. Such an eligible list, twice as large in number as the local bench, would constitute a roll of honor which lawyers would aspire to, and its members would be friends of the court in a very practical way.

We need to rid our minds of the notion that appointment and life tenure are inseparable. There is no reason why appointment should not be for a limited period. If the foregoing plan appears to afford a practical scheme for delegating political power—for curing the ills of democracy by a dose of more intelligent and practical democracy—there is no reason why it should not be instituted with appointment to a limited term, giving the electorate a right to ballot on the appointee at the end of a three-, or four-, or even six-year period of probation. The ballot should be limited to a yes or no vote on the proposition of retaining the incumbent. This would be infinitely more fair to the judge than the present mad scramble for position against the field. At the same time it would permit the electorate, if cause existed, to retire the undesired judge in a sober manner.<sup>1</sup>

Of course one has to admit that under an ideal form of appointment and service in a properly organized and directed court, the possibility of offense justifying retirement would be exceedingly small. And one vote of approval should permit a term of greater length than the probative term, say eight or ten years.

We are not done with experiment by any means. Dissatisfaction was never more widespread. Gradually the pragmatic spirit must overcome blind doctrine. But such glimmer of light as can be descried in the field of judicial selection is faint compared with the rosy glow betokening dawn in the field of judicial organization. In plainer words it now appears probable that before

<sup>1</sup> Bulletin IV A of the American Judicature Society contains these forms for appointment and retirement in legislative language. Copies are mailed free from the society's office, 38 S. Dearborn St., Chicago.

attaining perfection in methods of selection we will solve the problem of making our courts, first in our large cities, where chaos is least endurable, and finally in the states, efficient organizations, capable of employing specialization, responsive to economic demands, self-governing and self-conscious.

This tremendous reformation, lifting our judiciary out of one century into another, is already well started. Its influence is irresistible in spite of entrenched privilege and constitutional obstacles. The progress of reform is likely to be along this line: organization will give us responsible courts which will secure public confidence by earning it; and confidence in the judiciary once re-established it will only be a matter of time and readjustment to arrive at a more friendly attitude toward judicial servants as expressed in methods of selection.

If this prophecy proves true it will be substantially a parallel to the municipal reform already conspicuous. For more than a generation we undertook to clarify city politics by electing "good aldermen." We were always just about to attain this goal, and always short of attainment. Genuine progress came when the people changed the rules of a game which they could not beat. So in the judiciary the problem of selection will be solved, not by securing an electorate a little lower than the angels but by adopting a workable scheme of delegated powers.

Something must be added to avoid a serious inconsistency. It may be objected that since the typical state supreme court has been called virtually a third house there is every reason why the electorate should directly participate in selecting its highest judges. A revolutionary change is not to be expected so early in this field, it must be admitted. The writer believes that supreme courts will in time relinquish much of the political power now exercised. It came about because sovereignty took refuge with the more conservative and responsible power, for whatever criticism may be passed on the courts it must be admitted that they have been less erratic and irresponsible than legislatures. A change will come when legislatures become truly representative and responsible. Apparently this reform depends upon a considerable reduction in numbers and possibly a linking with the executive power to create a working partnership. Such a reorganized legislature, more cautious in operation, adopting scientific expertness in phraseology,

would in time develop self-respect to such a degree that it could cope with the usurpation of the judiciary. There is no doubt that ultimate political power resides in the legislative branch. It has been diffused by incompetence, but only for a time. Signs of change are not wanting. Readjustment, either with or without serious changes in constitutions, is likely to relieve the courts of their odious supervision, permitting them to work out their own salvation, and ultimately justifying the doctrine of separation of powers which we cling to in theory however we have departed from it in practice.

## CHILDREN'S CIVIC ACTIVITIES NECESSARY FACTOR IN THE NEW CIVILIZATION

BY WILSON L. GILL, LL.B.,  
President, American Patriotic League, Mt. Airy, Philadelphia.

While two-thirds of the world are in a death grapple between monarchy and democracy, our President declares that we, too, against our will, may any instant be drawn into the devastating conflict; he demands that we open our eyes to the fact that we are unprepared to defend our lives, our liberties and our homes, and that with all haste we must do whatever is within our power to save what we can from the calamity of invasion, should this befall us.

We can drill and we can arm—if there are enough arms for the purpose; lasting preparedness, however, goes back of all this. There is a civic weakness that must be eradicated, and strength built in its place. Let us who can see this, do what we can, and when we are fully successful, the United States of the World will guard every country from invasion, and the very object of war and invasion will have vanished.

Early in the last century when tyranny was trembling on its throne, the King of Prussia appealed to the great Baron von Humboldt, who replied "Whatever you want in the state, you must first put into the schools." The King acted on this advice, and every child was taught that he, his property and his life belonged to the King, and that he must drill constantly to make himself efficient to the last degree. Is it not possible for us to *see* as did the great scientist, and to *act* for the defense of our liberties as practically, resolutely, and persistently as the Hohenzollerns have done to extend their dominion? Our lives, our liberties and our possessions may be and are jeopardized and invaded whether a military army lands on our shores or not.

### *Two Civic Questions*

Large masses of men in Ohio, Massachusetts and other states, have, within the past few years, been convicted of selling their

votes for money. The great body of college graduates, with many individual exceptions, take no part in local civic affairs. The men who attend local primaries and local elections are chiefly those who left the schools before they reached the seventh grade, where they might get some instruction regarding the history of our country and the duties of citizenship, and consequently have no foundation on which to stand and defend themselves against grogshop or machine politics. Boss-rule in many of our cities and elsewhere is always in power or certain to be restored after a rare and brief interruption, like hazing and cribbing in some of our educational institutions. Our prisons and reformatories are crowded. Special privileges and race and sex distinctions in civic rights, with all their injustice and harm, have not yet been wiped out, after a hundred and forty years of independence of our great republic. The spirit and the form of government in our schools is that of monarchy. Our whole people, while they are forming their habits of thinking and acting, are trained to be irresponsible subjects of a monarchy, in which they have no part except to submit, with no appeal. This is not a mere negative, but a positive, corrupting evil. Democracy in America is not the full and unqualified success that we would be glad to acclaim it. What is the reason for these conditions? And what is the means of improving them?

#### *The Answer*

The process of growth of the Anglo-Saxon demand for liberty that resulted in the Magna Charta, and in America in our war for independence, came gradually to an end in the United States, following the Revolutionary War, as a result of the general introduction of the steam engine and machinery, which separated men from their families, during the active working hours of the day, and left the children more and more time not used in work with their parents.

Previous to this, ninety-seven to ninety-eight per cent of our people lived under rural conditions, the girls and little boys working with their mothers, and the larger boys with their fathers. In this continual close contact, the children took on their parents' habits, character, knowledge, religion, political creed and both social and civic activities. But this process came to an end, and the children's time has been absorbed by the schools.

Our statesmen and educators did not realize what was happen-



ing to our whole population through the schools. They made the fearful mistake of believing that knowledge is the price of liberty. They lacked the vision of thousands of years ago, that *vigilance* is the price of liberty. They were not sufficiently vigilant themselves, to discover that the ancient monarchical tyranny of school government, fastened on every individual from his babyhood till his schooling came to an end, made of him a subject of a government in which he had no part except to obey an arbitrary master, rather than to be a responsible citizen, learning to make and to enforce obedience to law, and to respect his own and others' rights, and to defend them.

In the schools we train our people in abject subjection to a monarchical government and confirm them in the habits and character of subjects and then expect them at the age of twenty-one to be and to act as free-born, independent citizens of a democracy. This is as outrageously stupid as if we were to scrupulously guard every person lest he should ever get into the water, and then, at the age of twenty-one dump him into the middle of Hudson River and tell him to swim for the shore. Here is the answer to that first question, "What is the reason for the present bad social and civic conditions of our country, and our state of unpreparedness to defend our lives, our liberties, our homes, and our sacred honor?" Does it not answer the question, "What must we do?"

### *Train for Citizenship*

Any vital, permanent improvement in civilization must rest on an improvement in the habits and character of the whole people.

It is utterly impossible to reform the habits of a great body of adults. But now that the public school system is rapidly developing throughout the world, it is entirely practicable to enable the children, from the very beginning, to form those habits of citizenship upon which depend the internal and international peace and welfare of the family of nations.

This work among the children cannot, however, be accomplished by the old-fashioned academic method. It must be by action, not by committing information to memory to pass examinations. The laboratory method must replace the academic, and the part of the teacher must be to point the way to action, rather than grill the child and stuff its memory. Democratic government

under instruction, must replace the monarchical school government. This does not mean that the teacher's responsibility and authority to maintain order and attention to the work of the school are in the slightest curtailed. However, the teacher's skill and tact will be exhibited by the extent to which the children's democracy succeeds in making an exhibition of the teacher's authority unnecessary.

It is a simple matter to conduct a school as a republic, training the pupils to solve the problems of their daily life and conduct, always guided by the Golden Rule, as they do the problems of arithmetic, guided by the correct rules of mathematics. The children like the responsibility, and it is pleasant for the teacher.

### *The School Republic*

The children of a school-room are made citizens of a republic, which may have the form of a village, town, county, city or other political unit. This little republic is given legislative, executive and judicial powers, all under instruction of the teacher, whose sanction is needed to validate the children's work. This does not in the slightest interfere with right action by the pupils, except that in some cases the teacher's judgment may be incorrect—this risk, which is not serious, we must take. The children legislate in relation to their own conduct, elect officers at short intervals to enforce their laws, and others to adjudicate difficulties. The plan is elastic, so that there are no two schools that make the application in exactly the same way. It may be exceedingly simple, with only three officers, or more developed, according to circumstances. Several school-room republics may be joined in a school state, several states in a national government, and several of these in an international government.

The pedagogical, moral and civic results of the school republic are excellent. The United States government has tested it on a large scale, and with most satisfactory results, in Cuba and elsewhere. After several years' test of it in Alaska, the United States Bureau of Education made it a necessary part of the curriculum of the government schools in Alaska, these being the only schools under the direct authority of this bureau.

The following testimony is conclusive as to the social and polit-

ical importance of this form of democracy as an educational force in the schools:

In 1913 Major General Leonard Wood wrote the following concerning his experience with the school republic in Cuba:

The results were most satisfactory; indeed they were so satisfactory that I unhesitatingly commend the idea as worthy of the most serious consideration. The results were far-reaching and valuable, and are fully set forth in my various reports as military governor of Cuba and the reports of the officials at the head of the public school system of the island.

This system would, I believe, be especially valuable in all schools, and would result in our children being much better equipped for the discharge of their civic responsibilities.

April 15, 1914, General Wood wrote the chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs:

I am confident it is a system well worth trying out in our insular possessions, teaching as it does discipline and being founded on a habitual submission to the majority, a mental condition which is absolutely essential to the establishment of any form of self-government.

On the same day (April 15) General Wood said to a group of officers of the General Staff:

If Mexico had had the school republic in all her schools for ten years, as we have had it for two years in Cuba, the present troubles would never have arisen.

Judge Ben B. Lindsey, than whom there is no higher authority in such matters, says:

I am one of those in a peculiar position to appreciate the value of the school republic. When this idea is properly presented and applied it at once becomes a wonderful contribution to good citizenship. I do not know a better wish than I could make for our children than to wish A New Citizenship the widest possible circulation.

Walter C. Shields, superintendent for the Department of the Interior of the northwest district of Alaska, wrote at Nome, October 27, 1913:

This winter I expect to see the school republic in operation in all the schools in the district. I wish you could see how splendidly it is adapted to our needs here.

The following is an extract from the official report received by the United States Commissioner of Education November 30, 1914, from Wainwright, on the Arctic coast of Alaska:

The school republic has done wonders for these scholars. They grew by leaps and bounds in self-confidence and overcame their false timidity and fear of being heard. Every Friday afternoon meeting was an improvement on the preceding one, until they would conduct their meetings in parliamentary order without my assistance. They made and executed their own laws, elected their own officers for a period of one month, salaried and paid them weekly. At first they had to be told every move to make and were afraid to speak in an audible tone, but by patient effort such difficulties were overcome.

I append the following rules and penalties, officers and their duties, etc., which will give you a general idea of our working basis. These could be profitably commented upon. Now, this, simple as it may seem, has accomplished wonders in this school this year in many ways. Industry, cleanliness, economy, good deportment, self-reliance, punctuality, neatness, obedience, appreciation, honesty, truthfulness, kindness, and kindred admirable traits have come to the front. In fact, it has straightened matters out in general. We don't see how we could well have gotten along without it.

In the commissioner's report on Alaska (Dec., 1914), appears, on page 36, the following:

District Superintendent W. C. Shields sent a pamphlet on self-government, by Wilson L. Gill, and said: "Adopt this for use and report your success." It was adopted. . . . Self-government had to be employed as a detail in school management. . . . The duties which the citizens were elected to perform were sufficiently numerous for each citizen to have a duty. . . . It was amusing to see a stubby little 12-year-old police officer bring to school a man-grown truant. The schoolroom was kept open from 9 a. m. till 8 p. m. every day; when school was not in session the schoolroom served as a sort of club-room. One or more of the police officers was always present, and the room was always orderly. Citizens might read, write, sew, play games, or do whatever they liked, but they must never be idle.

The school republic seems to be the problem of school management solving itself. It increases school efficiency, adds enthusiasm, and answers the teacher's question, How shall I do without an assistant?

On page 38 of same report another teacher writes:

The innovation was of material assistance to the teacher.

Another teacher reports, on page 47:

The children like this new organization very much, indeed.

Louis P. Nash, head master of a Boston school district, made the following statement, after thirteen years' use of this method:

My experience and observation of the school republic is that it is altogether useful and not at all harmful. Its intellectual advantages are many. Its moral advantages are more considerable.

David Snedden, Massachusetts commissioner of education, has written:

The miniature school community becomes a miniature state, and the children learn to appreciate self-made laws and to contribute to their enforcement. I am profoundly convinced of the rightness of these ideas, and of the fact that they are in line with the best sociological thinking of our time.

Every teacher ought to be encouraged to use the civic laboratory method. It should be clearly understood that training for citizenship is not simply a matter of educational detail—rather a matter of public policy, of nation-building.<sup>1</sup>

Preparedness has to do with the spirit of a people, not merely with arms and munitions. And when training for true democratic citizenship becomes part of the public policy of all countries, we may look for the old order to change. The advice is still good: whatever you want in the state you must first put in the schools.

#### *Children's International State*

The Children's International State, based on the practice of the Golden Rule, in all social, commercial, civic and international affairs is already in course of organizing. Those coöperating in this movement, are the Minister of Education and the Imperial Inspector of Schools of Japan; the Ambassador to the United States, the National Inspector of High Schools and other school men of Argentina; special Commissioners of Education from Sweden and from a central European government which we are not authorized to name; and a group of men and women in the United States, with good prospects in several other countries.

#### *Citizens' Pledge of the Children's International State*

We, the New Citizens, Builders of the World of Tomorrow, wish to have our world at peace. We wish for all people, health, happiness and intelligence; good manners, good morals and good fortune. We join hands from land to land and promise to do our best to serve the world, each in our own village, town, or city, each in our own dear country, and all together in the Children's International State.

<sup>1</sup>Literature on this subject may be had from The American Patriotic League, Mt. Airy, Philadelphia.

## PROMOTING AMERICANIZATION

By HELEN VARICK BOSWELL,

Chairman of Education, General Federation of Women's Clubs.

Women throughout the country have wakened up to the fact that, however we may feel as to the degree of coast defences and standing armies needed, we should recognize that quite as important as forts and submarines is our national attitude of mind. Quite as important as the standing army is that we have *one nation* instead of *many peoples*.

We have begun to realize that peoples living side by side do not necessarily constitute the nation, and that the factory and mine are not the only or necessarily the best medium for making citizens. It is being borne in upon our minds that in the efficient and harmonious union of many peoples in a common defense of any one nation there are at least three prime essentials: a common language with a minimum amount of illiteracy; a common citizenship, including similar ideals, beliefs, standards and customs, and symbolized by the oath of allegiance to America; and a high standard of living, which, in a democratic country, tends to diminish disaffection and disloyalty at critical times and at strategic points.

The organized women of the country seem to be looked to for the forwarding of what we might call the new citizenship movement; aiding that movement, we find the middle ground upon which members of defense organizations and members of peace leagues can whole-heartedly agree—the need of raising the standards of American citizenship.

There are in the country 5,439,801 foreign-born women of 15 years or over. When they arrive with their families, the husband goes to work and almost immediately establishes contacts which give him a view of America. His mind opens, he begins to master his American environments. The children are put in a public school—they form friendships with American-born children, they learn American ways and soon they are the arbiters in all family matters to be decided according to American standards. They, instead of the parents, become the custodians and sources of author-

ity, and family discipline breaks down. The mother is the slave of all work; she forms the dull old-world background of her American family—who often become ashamed of it and of her. She does not learn English: she gets the left-overs of America from her progressive family; she does not become Americanized; she does not absorb new ideals and ideas; she learns little about American foods and about ways for caring for her children in the new and very different climate. It is not unusual after fifteen years in this country to find English spoken by every member of the family but mother, and American clothes worn by all but mother. Even this superficial distinction closes many doors to her. Her grown-up daughter in a highly Americanized hat does not want to go shopping with her mother who still wears a black shawl over her head. It is not that the mother looks so ugly, but that the clinging to the old black shawl typifies to the daughter her mother's whole lack of understanding of the new world and the new ideas in which the daughter is living. The mother, far from being an aid in Americanizing her family, becomes a reactionary force. Sadly or obstinately as it may be, but always ignorantly, she combats every bit of Americanism that her husband and children try to force into the Southern European home. Yet when the husband passes tests entitling him to citizenship she becomes a full-fledged citizen also, as do her children—all prepared but the mother.

The United States Bureau of Education, the National Americanization Committee, the Bureau of Naturalization and other organizations interested in the immigrant—in the elimination of illiteracy and in the conversion of the immigrant into the fairly educated citizen—turn to the club women of the country for practical help.

What good those club women can do in the way of definite work to promote this real Americanization, especially among the immigrant women, can be placed somewhat in this wise: Find out how many immigrant women there are in the community. Do they speak English? Do their husbands? Are their husbands naturalized? Is the home a Southern European or an American home? Is the family American in its loyalty? Does it know enough of America to be loyal to it? Undoubtedly the children speak English; but what is the real nature of their Americanism? Did they learn it chiefly at school and at home—or on the corner and in the

pool room? Reach the immigrant woman. It is the only way to produce American homes. See that she learns English. Through it she gets her first American contacts. But immigrant women can rarely attend night school. Organize for them, as has been done in a number of places, classes from two to three in the afternoon.

Just as immigrant men are taught English successfully only when the instruction deals with the subject matter of their daily life and work, so the method of teaching English to women can best be associated with methods of housekeeping, cooking, sewing, etc. Moreover, many American standards and customs can be brought to the immigrant woman in this way. She can really be initiated into Americanism and the language at once.

Especially at first it will be very difficult to get immigrant women to attend classes in the public schools—and so at first, and perhaps later also,—there must be friendly visitors and teachers, “domestic educators” as they have been called, to carry the English language and American ways of caring for babies, ventilating the house, preparing American vegetables, instead of the inevitable cabbage, right into the new homes. The state of California has through its department of public education provided for these friendly visitors. Until other places with heavy immigrant population act with similar enlightenment, may not women’s clubs step in and blaze the trail for a public education policy? Can they not pay domestic educators, or meet local boards of education half way in so doing? They can organize mothers’ classes, cooking classes, sewing classes, classes for entertainment. Remember that immigrant women, if of different races, often know one another even less than they know Americans.

Make immigrant women good citizens. Help them make the homes they care for into American homes. Give their children American ideals at home, as well as in school. Make American standards of living prevail *throughout* the community, not merely in the “American sections.” Above all show the rest of the community that this work of Americanizing immigrant mothers and immigrant homes is in the highest sense a work of citizenship, a part of a *national* patriotic ideal.

The relationship of Americanizing the foreign-born women in their homes to all the aspects of the development of our industries



is tremendous, and will become more and more clear to us as being the work to which we should set our hands. American industry, of course, has made the population of this country what it is today—some one hundred million people drawn from many countries, about one sixth of them born in foreign lands.

The sign language in factories, the foreign language and the padrone in the labor camps, villages and colonies scattered throughout cities; several million non-citizens and non-voters living and working under laws in the making of which they have no voice, of which they have little knowledge, and for which they sometimes have little respect; thousands of naturalized voters, but with no real American contact or American understanding, marshalled and voted in companies by American bosses—all these conditions, now prevalent and typifying our failure to assimilate our immigrant population, are not chargeable to industry.

*But industry is the force in American life which has the remedy chiefly in its control. And only the organized assistance of industry can make it possible for this country within any reasonable time to unify the present heterogeneous factors in our national life, and substitute for a babel of tongues the English language; substitute for a half-dead loyalty to the familiar old country—and a half-alive loyalty to the unknown new one—an understanding and unequivocal American citizenship; for old country homes in American cities and mill and mining towns, American homes with American standards of living; for the vague mixture of memories and aspirations that characterizes these men without a country, a vivid and alert American patriotism.*

In the work of Americanization, so long neglected, now so urgent, industry has the strategic position. Many functions of government and society are concerned with Americanization—and are perhaps primarily responsible for it, such as our public schools, our employment systems, our courts, our social protective organizations. But most of these have no direct or influential or authoritative approach to the immigrant, unless he becomes a public charge. The employer has. The gist of the whole situation lies in this. And it is to the employer that the nation now turns for immediate aid and coöperation in the gravest task that the country has faced since 1861—the necessity of reinforcing our national unity, of making our many peoples one nation, marked from coast to coast by a

common language, a common acceptance of industrial standards, a common understanding of the rights and obligations of American citizenship.

But this fact remains: the Americanization of our foreign-born workmen, even so far as teaching English, merely, is concerned, is too vast a project for the individual industry. Industries vary in wealth, equipment, stability of labor, hours, and in a dozen other ways. Teaching the English language and citizenship to immigrant workmen is a *legitimate part of public* policy. It belongs to the public schools and the courts of every community, aided by every civic force. The greatest service the industries of any community can render to themselves, to the social destiny of their community, and to the cause of our national solidarity is to back their organized support solidly up against the public school system in its task of making English-speaking residents and citizens of every family in the community. Americanization is a civic matter. The need of it now is a national crisis.

The swiftest hope of Americanization lies in the active practical coöperation of employers, the public schools, the courts, and bodies of patriotic citizens. In this work of preparedness it will often be left to industries to take the initiative. It is their privilege to do so.

It is the privilege and it is the duty of club women to give their time, their powers of instruction and their enthusiasm to the work of getting our language and understanding of the principles of our common life into the hearts and minds of the foreign-born women. Once start these foreign women in the paths of learning and your task is not difficult; they believe in you, and after a little while will break away from their hide-bound traditions and will become plastic for your moulding.

It is always touching to attend a class of foreign-born women with wistful faces and childlike faith in the instructors, trying, oh, so intently, to follow the sounds of the letters and words, and to trace those letters and words from the blackboard. The progress made by hard-working housemothers, who slip away from their many duties for a half hour or hour in the afternoon on certain days of the week, to take advantage of the opportunities offered by school or other social center is simply marvelous. The reading aloud by them of the word or of the simple sentence, the struggle to get just the right inflection, the giving of themselves to this great

effort, is a tremendous thing to see. It is courage personified—it is the keen desire to keep up with their children, to know for themselves the things they are living in the midst of, to get to a point of writing and speaking a common language. And you never fail to see all this in any little class of foreign-born adult women.

Well circumstanced men and women of any community, to help in this development of citizenship is not an isolated piece of welfare work directed toward the alien group by the more fortunate of the community, but the sharing of rights and traditions and principles by Americans with Americans.

## TAXATION AFTER THE WAR

BY SIMON N. PATTEN,

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Few realize the changes in taxation that will be wrought by the war. Up to the present time no one of the warring nations has increased its taxation in such a manner as would permit their new obligations to be met. Each has piled up a huge debt, and all assume, or perhaps it is better to say, hope to be victorious, and that an indemnity will be obtained from their foes freeing them from taxation.

For the student it is not so much the question of who shall pay as it is the amount to be paid. The importance of this is increased by the fact that it is unlikely a decisive victory will be won by either party, or at least such a one as would allow them to demand huge indemnities from their opponents. Let us assume that the war continues for three years, and on that basis measure the burden that will be imposed upon the various European nations. It is generally assumed that at the end of eighteen months the total burden of the war had been \$40,000,000,000. This, however, does not include the guarantees the various nations have made, nor the losses in property in Belgium, Poland, Serbia, and other devastated regions. If all these are included at the end of the third year the cost of the war will be over a hundred billion dollars, which may be roughly divided as follows: England, 40 billion, France, 15 billion, Germany, 25 billion, and 5 billion to restore the devastated regions. This would leave 15 billion to be borne by Austria, Italy, or Russia. An important journalist recently said that such an amount could not be paid, but that the debt would be transformed into rentes of the character the French now use. Every creditor then would have a right to his interest, but have no right to the collection of the principal. Should this be done, the hundred billion dollars of indebtedness would at the present rate of interest demand an annual levy of 5 billion dollars a year. If the present amount of taxation that the people in the various countries in Europe pay is added to this, it will demand a quarter of the income of the people. What method of taxation could raise this vast amount?

Up to the present time only one theory of taxation has been proposed that has a rational basis. This theory is called the "single tax," and its most noted advocate was Henry George. The supposition on which it is based is that the income from land is a differential due to differences in the fertility of the soil; the revenue from land is therefore a surplus revenue, or as it is often called, an unearned income. The single tax proposes to appropriate this surplus income and thus meet the burden of taxation. Under the old conditions of taxation this might have been done, but when an attempt is made to raise 5 billion dollars a year from this one source the tax would prove insufficient. We must therefore revise the theory of taxation so as to obtain increasing revenue. The doctrine of surplus income from land is correct, and in this respect the theories of Henry George are unassailable; but George assumed as a part of his theory that men are born equal, and that income other than from land is distributed according to the ability and earning power of men. This, however, is not a fact. The equality of men is a political dogma and not an economic tendency. The differences in the productive power of men due to their heredity or social position give to certain individuals the same kind of an advantage over others that the owner of a corner lot in the center of a city has over one in the suburbs. If the income from a corner lot is a surplus and can therefore be described as unearned, the income of a man of better heredity, education or opportunity must also be regarded as a surplus income and therefore unearned. For the cause of the difference in men we should turn from economics to biology in which the laws of inheritance rest—the so-called Mendel law. The assumption of this law is that in the average family of four children one will be superior, two will be mediocre, and the fourth sub-normal. Then in the average family we would have one superman, two commonplace individuals, and one defective. The situation is worse than this because a large part of the population are for other reasons defective, or have come from foreign countries, and thus cannot take advantage of the opportunities that America affords. It is a modest statement to say that a third of our population belongs to this inferior class, and, if so, the proportion of the various classes would be one superman, two mediocre, and three sub-normal. The superman has an income, say, of \$3,000 a year; the two mediocre people an income of \$900 each; while

the three sub-normal people have \$400 each. This would mean that in an average community one person in six would have half of the income that the whole six have.

These differences are probably an understatement since investigators assume a different rate of increase for the different classes. The superior classes do not have more than two children to a family. The mediocre may be assumed to have three children to a family, and the inferior groups at least four children to a family. With these different rates of increase taken into consideration we would have our ratios of income changed from 1:2:4 to 1:3:8, which would make the superior class only one twelfth of the community, with more than half its total income.

In addition to these differences in heredity we also have marked differences due to ancestral conditions, since a great part of private property is inherited by a relatively small class. Adding together the geographical, the industrial, the ancestral advantages, the net result would be that one-tenth of the people have at least one-half of the national income, and the other nine-tenths less than the other half. This is a moderate estimate; the difference is often put much greater. It is claimed that 2 per cent of the population have half of the national income. Even at best these conditions are bad enough and illustrate the need of new methods of taxing surplus income.

The urgency of tax reform is not so great in America as in Europe, and yet the conditions are the same. The limits to old forms of taxation have been reached, and a large increase of revenue is demanded by city, state and nation. On top of these is the demand for large expenditures for national defense which a new group of alarmists has raised. The figures I give are therefore based on American conditions of which the facts are at hand. To apply them to Europe after the war demands that each figure be doubled, while the resources from which the taxes are to come are not half as great per man.

The amount of property in the United States is estimated by government officials to be 200 billion dollars. If this be correct, about 80 billion of this is surplus value—that is, a value that has no corresponding material wealth on which it is based. It is merely capitalized income due to some controlled advantage. Forty billion would represent land values; another 40 billion, the fixed capi-

tal; while a third 40 billion would represent circulating capital. These are rough estimates, but they probably come close to actual facts. The gross income of the nation is about 20 billion dollars. Ten billion of this comes from property which is a return at 5 per cent on 200 billion dollars; 5 billion would form the income of the superior class, while a second 5 billion would represent the real wage of the workers. The basis of this final assertion is that we have 100 million population. Of this, however, 10 million are either unemployed or partly employed. There are 8 million dependents; 2 million belong to the leisure class. This would leave 16 million working families and give them a minimum income of 300 dollars per family.

On this basis our annual income of 20 billion dollars would be divided as follows: Two billion dollars would go as ground rent, 3 billion to those who inherit wealth, 5 billion to the marginal laborers, while 10 billion, or half of the total national income, would go as a reward for opportunity and talent. It should be noticed that this method of division does not separate workmen from employers or the leisure class, but separates the earned minimum of \$300 from the surplus income which opportunity, advantage or inheritance gives to superior persons. If, for example, a trade union keeps its rate of wages at \$800 a year, \$300 for each person is credited to the minimum standard, the total of which is 5 billion dollars, and the other \$500 per man is credited to surplus income. The advantage of a trade unionist is not so great as that of a great author or inventor, but it is of the same class and should be regarded as part of the same fund.

If these are the facts, the basis of taxation should not be a single tax on land, but a *triple tax* on income, inheritance and land. Income from any of these sources is unearned income, as this term is defined, and is therefore a legitimate object of taxation. The revenue derived from these sources stands in the ratio of \$5 from income to \$3 from land and \$2 from inheritance. If the tariff is retained the proportion would be \$3 each from income and tariff to \$1 each from land and inheritance.

My conclusion is that the single tax would fail if it were used as a basis of taxation after the war. Surplus income is, however, just as legitimate a basis of taxation. From it the necessary increase of taxation can be derived without trenching on the standards of

the marginal workers. So large a sum, however, cannot be raised through schemes that would tax only the rich. The minimum would have to be as low as \$2,000 a year. Taxes on large incomes look attractive, but they do not yield large sums.

If the people of the United States desire to spend vast sums for national defense, or for any similar purpose, the real burden must be borne by families with incomes from \$1,500 to \$5,000 a year. And the tax must be largely in the form of an income tax. The tariff may be altered, but the sum it would yield cannot be greatly increased. The comforts of the great middle class will have to be foregone to meet the increased national expenditure. Whether or no the average family will make this sacrifice will be the final test of the movement now brewing to prepare for war instead of genial prosperity. Until the tax gatherer reaps his harvest we know little of what the American people will do, and still less of how the already hard-pressed nations of Europe will react when they become conscious of the great burden the war has imposed. There is a fascination about spending that few can resist, especially when they are spending other people's money. It seems a sad fate if all the material advantage of the nineteenth century is to go into the hand of the bond-owner and his heirs.



## TRAINING FOR EFFICIENT PUBLIC SERVICE

BY CHARLES A. BEARD,

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Those who have had occasion to follow the trend of opinion among university authorities of this country are well aware that the matter of training for public service is receiving some of the serious consideration which it deserves.<sup>1</sup> Even the great war in Europe, which overshadows everything else, has served to increase rather than diminish the interest in this subject, for it is patent to all thoughtful observers that the supreme public question of the hour is whether democracy and efficiency are inherently irreconcilable.<sup>2</sup> Everywhere, serious students of government are asking themselves whether it is possible to have thorough-going democratic control over the government and at the same time secure the efficient fulfillment of the great tasks which modern social and industrial conditions have imposed upon the state.

### *The Reconciliation of Liberty and Efficiency*

On viewing the remarkable achievements of Germany in the land campaigns, even the most grudging cannot withhold their admiration for the effectiveness and scientific precision with which her gigantic military enterprises are carried out. There is no doubt that the wonderful showing made by that country has been due to something more than the valor and skill of the soldiers on the battle field. The military authorities would have been impotent if it had not been for the masterful way in which the civil administration of the country has been conducted. If Germany had back of the firing line the kind of civil government which the United States had during the Spanish war—with its scandals of “embalmed” beef and inadequate supplies—administrative imbecility would have wrought more terrible havoc among her own men than all the high-power explosives which the Allies have mustered.

<sup>1</sup> *School and Society* for December 25, 1915, p. 905.

<sup>2</sup> See President Eliot's address before the National Civil Service Reform League, “Can the Civil Service of a Democracy be Made Efficient,” printed in *Good Government* for January, 1916.

It is a matter of common knowledge, of course, that the administration of Germany is not democratic in the American sense; that is, the public officers are not elected for short terms by popular vote and compelled to keep their attention fixed upon pleasing the public at every turn. It is not often that a ward politician in a German city can walk into the police commissioner's office and tell the commissioner to "let up" on his district, or appear before the judge of a police court and get a constituent off on the ground that he is "a good fellow." The city of New York has had thirteen police commissioners in fifteen years; the city of Berlin has had less than half that many in a century.

On contrasting the administrative conditions in the two countries, publicists of pessimistic temper are inclined to hold that efficiency and close popular control are incompatible; that only when we have autocratic power above can work be done well by the rank and file. Therefore, those who put efficiency above all forms of government advise us to surrender any cherished notions which we may entertain about liberty in order that the nation's work may be done with mechanical precision.

Such advisers, however, overlook other possible expedients. Nations as well as individuals may justly ask themselves whether it is not better to perish nobly for the sake of things that are worth while than to live miserably in mechanical bondage for the mere sake of living. But it is not necessary for us to choose between bureaucracy and suicide. It is rather for us to attempt seriously the reconciliation of strong and efficient government with democratic control.

It is false to say that the experiment has been made and has failed. The truth is the experiment has not been attempted. On the contrary, we are really in the preliminary stages of thinking about it.

Although to some the larger issues of statecraft here presented may seem somewhat remote from the question immediately before us—training for public service—in my opinion they are fundamental to any solution of the problems which such training involves. It is a waste of time for us to lay out perfect plans based upon the experience of Europe, if it is impossible to secure their adoption by American democracy, or if they mean the loss of some of our cherished political principles.

*Democracy and the Expert*

There can be no doubt that democracy distrusts the expert and there is no doubt also that much of this mistrust is well grounded and thoroughly justified. This is due partly to the air of unwarranted superiority which the expert too frequently assumes and partly to the fact that history presents a long record of self-constituted experts who have been discredited. The Stuart kings resisted the interference of the middle class in affairs of state on the ground that such matters were "mysteries"—this is the very word they used—to be mastered only by experts. In earlier times there was an expert class in theology that proposed to do the thinking for the human race in matters religious. There have been military castes, self-confessed experts who have succeeded more than once in imposing not only their professional but their class interests upon the civil population.

The theory upon which aristocracies have been defended is the theory of experts—of a class especially endowed and set apart for political government. The world's judgment on experts in state craft, in priest craft, and in military craft is so plain that he who runs may read. What the raw French levies, sometimes led by sons of butchers, bakers and candlestick makers, did to the "expert" generals of the old régime is well known to those who are familiar with the campaigns that followed the outbreak of the Revolutionary wars in 1793.

It is not mere ignorance, therefore, that leads democracy to suspect and distrust the person who sets himself up to tell it exactly how to do things. The only kind of an expert that democracy will and ought to tolerate is the expert who admits his fallibility, retains an open mind and is prepared to serve. There are many things in this world worse than very dirty streets, a very high death rate and a large percentage of crime. Anyone who is so overcome by passion for efficiency and expertness that he is willing to sacrifice everything else for the sake of securing any kind of mere mechanical excellence has no message for democracy in America.

Nevertheless, when the last word of criticism is uttered against the short-comings of the expert, it is not to be doubted that democracy also has much to learn; and the first thing is the fundamental principle set forth by Professor Goodnow in his work on *Politics*

*and Administration* many years ago, namely, that expert, scientific and technical service must be performed by those specially trained and not by those who are charged with responsibility for the determination of public policies.

Unquestionably, we are making great strides in this direction.<sup>3</sup> As Mr. M. L. Cooke, Director of Public Works of Philadelphia, said not long ago, we are really beginning to recognize that "a high bacterial count in a city's water supply remains a problem incapable of solution to the political office holder, even though he can carry every precinct in his ward." There is scarcely a session of a legislature in which an effort is not made to secure some contribution toward the improvement of the civil service.

#### *The Negative Aspects of Civil Service Reform*

In spite, however, of great gains that have been made toward such improvement, much remains to be done in creating new methods of recruiting for public employment, increasing the skill and loyalty of the personnel and retaining those of tested worth. The negative work of the civil service reformers in abolishing the grosser features of the spoils system has been fairly well done, but that is only a part of the task.

It is apparent to those who read the literature of civil service reform that the ideas of public policy expressed therein are frequently too restricted in character. One has only to examine the speeches made in the name of civil service reform and the reports of civil service commissions throughout the country to discover how inadequate, in many quarters, is the current conception concerning the function of a recruiting agency in modern government. We must develop more convincing ideas of constructive civil service reform as we ask democracy to put more faith in the doctrine.

"Keeping the rascals out," though undoubtedly important, is really not so important that one should be entirely satisfied with such an enterprise, when one considers the graver problem of how to get well-trained people into the service, keep them there after they enter, and train them for ever increasingly effective work in the service. It would be wrong, of course, to criticize all civil service reformers, for it would be possible to name here many leaders in that movement who have the widest possible outlook

<sup>3</sup> See *Good Government* for January, 1916.

upon modern questions of government service. But granting that excellent motives prevail and have prevailed and that excellent work has been done, we must say emphatically the time has arrived for giving more attention to lifting up the strong and wise than to holding down the wicked.

If one turns from the work of citizens' agencies concerned with civil service reform to the publications of the civil service commissions and authorities in the United States, one is not surprised to find that, generally speaking, these also reveal the existence of the negative notions of a generation ago. There is in this no criticism of public officers. Their duty is to execute the law, and the law reflects the thought of the citizens. The condition in the official civil service is quite well expressed in an order issued by President Taft on December 23, 1910, to the effect that "No officer or employee of the government shall directly or indirectly instruct or be concerned in any manner in the instruction of any person or classes of persons with a view to their special preparation for the examination of the board of examiners for consular and diplomatic services." Another example is afforded by the federal bulletin concerning the consular service in which it is announced that the government does not maintain a school for training the candidates for the foreign service, does not recommend any particular institution, does not suggest a list of books to be studied, and cannot furnish a course of study for any school.

No doubt the evils of favoritism against which these orders are directed are apparent enough. No objection can be urged against the government's desire to obviate those evils, but the solution of the problem is none the less ridiculous. Ridiculous is the precise word to employ. What our governments, federal, state and municipal, in effect say to young men and women looking forward to entering the public service is this:

We have no treatises which will give you accurate and adequate information about the matters with which you should be familiar. We will not allow you to get any instruction from anybody who is actually doing the work for which you want to prepare yourself. We will not give you any advice about how to prepare yourself. Although we spend millions on education in the United States, we cannot spend one dollar in preparing you to serve your country in a civil position. All we can do is to give you a list of sample questions which have been asked sometime in the past and may never be asked again. You must get your instruction and information in some haphazard, unsystematic, trust-to-luck scheme, which may by the skin of your teeth pull you through an examination.

Such a conception of the public service, which is undoubtedly the conception of the people at large, the politicians and even a few statesmen, would be truly comical if it were not fraught with such consequences to democracy.

It violates every canon of reason and every principle derived from sound experience in the efficient management of private enterprises. Imagine, for instance, a great railroad corporation or manufacturing concern conducting its employment agency on any such plans. Imagine an employing officer in a large corporation saying to an applicant:

We cannot admit you to our factory in order that you may see the nature of the work for which you are to prepare yourself. We cannot allow any employee of this factory to give you any instructions about what you are to do. We cannot give you anything but a list of questions which we asked someone two or three years ago. We cannot tell you where to go to get any information about how we do business. The thing for you to do is to go out and walk up and down the streets until you find a sign bearing these mystic words—"people crammed for any job on short order." Spend a few hours there and then trust to the benign Providence who watches over you to slip you past a long list of questions which a few examiners on the tenth floor of our building have prepared for novitiates.

If the private business of this country were conducted on any such program we should be back in the stage-coach days of civilization.

This is not, however, any criticism of those charged with the administration of our civil service laws—it is simply a description of the current American notions regarding the right way to recruit the public service.

Not until we have accepted the principle established in private business experience, that persons will not be regularly admitted to employment until they have demonstrated that they can *do* the work which is required of them, can we build our recruiting systems upon a solid foundation. This means that our civil service commissions should become less and less examining bodies and more and more training bodies. Unless we can endure this thought we might as well give up all notion of reconciling democracy and efficiency.

#### UNIVERSITIES AND TRAINING FOR PUBLIC SERVICE

While this notion is slowly taking hold of the public mind, those of us who are connected with educational institutions must be willing

to take stock of our own ideas and pre-conceptions and subject them to searching scrutiny. Certainly, we shall be doing the public service a lasting injury if we attempt to make it more academic in character. While not for a moment deprecating the value of mere book learning, while stoutly contending that democracy has too little respect for the wisdom which is founded on the recorded experience of the human race, we must not ignore the fact that *doing* and *knowing* are different things. We must acknowledge the educational value that inheres in *doing* things and add this art to the seven liberal arts so long cherished. Why, for example, should we give a student academic credit for writing a thesis based on the reports of probation officers and deny him credit for doing the work of a probation officer? This is in effect saying—"If you know how somebody else did a thing you are entitled to a degree, but if you can only do it yourself you are a barbarian."

*Academic Credit for Practical Work Is Necessary*

There is a practical aspect of this problem also. Life is short and our educational program is already too long. We cannot ask very many students to spend four years in a high school, three or four years in college, three years in a law, medical, or engineering school and then devote a year or two to unpaid and unrecognized field and laboratory work preparatory to entering the public service. The exigencies of time compel us to combine doing with learning and that which necessity dictates is endorsed by experience in sound methods of instruction. To speak more concretely, those of us in the universities and colleges who propose to help the public service by training students for it must be willing to count toward the academic degree a reasonable amount of work done in departments of government or in business enterprises of kindred character.

From an academic point of view this is undoubtedly a serious matter. It is already difficult enough to maintain high academic standards, and cautious teachers are justly afraid of lowering that which is already too low. This educational work of "doing" must be properly organized; it must be so laid out that it can be properly evaluated. Methods for recording time spent and results accomplished must be devised and adequate supervision and

control must be guaranteed.<sup>4</sup> When this is done there is no doubt that our institutions of learning will be glad to coöperate in the truly great work of training for the public service.

This function of organizing what may be termed the laboratory work in public service is, properly speaking, a public function. It should be undertaken by the municipality and the state and the federal government and by educational institutions, especially those supported by public funds. If this is not done, charges of favoritism may arise, which will disarrange the best laid plans. That it can be done by public institutions is demonstrated by the work of the College of the City of New York in organizing certain field courses in connection with several of the important departments of the city.<sup>5</sup> That it can be done informally by private institutions also is demonstrated by the four years experience of the Training School for Public Service connected with the Bureau of Municipal Research in New York.

#### *Academic Training for Public Service*

When public opinion is prepared for a trained service, and when the practical laboratory work for training is organized and duly accredited, the problem will be by no means solved for the universi-

<sup>4</sup> The following methods are used in the Training School for Public Service to control the so-called laboratory work of the students:

1. The work of the student is carefully planned and given to him in the form of assignments;
2. Each assignment is for a definite period of time and is an order to perform a definite task, either in research or in some department of the city government;
3. As far as possible merely clerical work is avoided, although there are few tasks which do not call for a large amount of clerical drudgery;
4. Each task to which a student is assigned is a part of a study or installation undertaken by the Bureau of Municipal Research;
5. A record of all assignments in detail is kept on file;
6. Each student is under the direction and control of a staff officer of the Bureau and the supervisor of the Training School;
7. Written reports on the progress in the assignment are required every two weeks and are graded and kept on file;
8. Special reports on set topics are required periodically, graded and kept on file;
9. Each student is required to turn in a daily record card showing the number of hours devoted to his work;
10. Periodical, oral statements of work done are required.

<sup>5</sup> See *Training for Municipal Service* published by the Bureau of Municipal Research, New York City. Price 50 cents.



ties. It will be necessary of course to give a substantial academic foundation for the laboratory work, in the form of organized instruction. This is no simple matter. Training for public service is unlike training for law or medicine. It is relatively easy to lay out the field of jurisprudence and to say that a student must have a certain amount of criminal law and civil law—so many courses on real property, contracts, etc.

The public service on the other hand is extraordinarily varied. In the municipal service of New York City there are no less than 371 distinct titles, and our state and federal services are scarcely less differentiated in character. A few titles selected at random from the general service will indicate how complex is the problem. Public service in this country calls for consular and diplomatic officers of various grades and titles, electrical, mechanical, civil and chemical engineers, physicians, pathologists, bacteriologists, physiologists, geologists, topographers, veterinarians, oculists, nurses, teachers, lawyers, statisticians, chaplains, accountants, inspectors of many varieties, sanitary officers, draftmen, librarians, dock masters, social investigators, to say nothing of the minor positions.

From the point of view of training for public service, these various positions may be divided into certain broad groups. Professor H. G. James has classified the foundational courses in the University of Texas as follows: legal, sanitary, financial, educational, engineering, and public safety, including in the last, police, fire, charities and corrections.

While in a way this broad classification is exhaustive, it is apparent on closer examination that great variation in detail must be worked out within each group; for example, engineering work in a municipality is highly diversified and specialized. Ordinarily, a man trained in mechanical engineering is not prepared to undertake the functions of a civil engineer, and a civil engineer does not have the training in chemistry which fits him to test materials purchased by a city.

It is not necessary to go into further detail to show that the university which undertakes a comprehensive program of training for public service cannot merely lay out a few curricula and announce to the world that it is graduating specialists in one of five or six particular sciences, when as a matter of fact the actual public

service calls for from two or three hundred varieties of technical specialties. While there may be certain underlying courses necessary to all branches of the service, still any institution that prepares for the service in general must be ready to give great flexibility and variation to the programs of its students. The enterprise, in short, calls for the coöperation of a large number of specialists in almost every branch of human knowledge.

*The New Science of Administration*

In addition to the technical specialties there is slowly being evolved also a new field of public service for which a somewhat homogeneous curriculum can be worked out. I refer to the field of public administration. Those who have watched the course of development in our engineering schools know very well that the higher grade institutions are tending away from the old technical instruction which savored of manual training, toward what is called efficiency engineering, or management. To speak concretely, the type of mechanical engineer for whom the world has the most need today is not the man who can simply run a lathe or put together the parts of a power plant, but the man who can organize and supervise hundreds and even thousands of men who are running lathes, drawing designs, and assembling plants.

Students of government who follow this trend are at last becoming aware of the existence of a science of public administration distinct from any technical specialty such as law or engineering. They are beginning to realize that the science of administration devised by the lawyers—the bare description of legal structures, powers and duties—is largely a science of administrative nihilism, whose function, all too frequently, is to render the government impotent and contemptible in the defense of private rights. This legal science is no science of management at all, but at very best the starting point for any genuine science of administration.

Inchoate though this new science of administration may be, it is none the less very real. A great deal of the literature already exists in scattered form, and many courses of instruction bearing upon the subject are already given in various schools in our universities. The immediate problem is to coördinate these courses and to supplement them by new programs of instruction, so as to create a curriculum of public administration which, when superimposed upon law, engineering, accounting, medicine, a college education

or business experience, will help to prepare students for responsible positions which do not call for technical and scientific performance, but for the organization, supervision and investigation of technical and scientific work. Such a program should consist, in part at least, of the following elements:

1. Administrative law;
2. Taxation, finance and budget-making;
3. Scientific management;
4. Public works management;
5. Methods of recruiting and maintaining an efficient personnel;
6. City planning;
7. Problems of departmental organization;
8. Preparation of reports;
9. Statistics and graphic presentation.

#### *The Direction of University Training for Public Service*

It must be understood, however, that this new administrative science must be built upon solid foundations and that it can be taken with success only by a select few of high grade students. The main work in training for public service will still be highly specialized and cannot be conducted by a single school of a university. It should be managed by a committee under a responsible director thoroughly acquainted with the requirements of the public service and closely in touch with the methods of examination and appointment. Such a director should have in his advisory committee representatives of the several schools of the university, who are competent to give advice as to the right training for the various positions in the public service thrown open from time to time. Such a general centralization of supervision was suggested in the *Report of the Committee on Training for Public Service* of Columbia University, published on March 27, 1915, from which the following recommendations are taken:

1. That a university standing committee on training for public service be established, the said committee to be composed of a chairman, and four additional members from the School of Mines, of Engineering and of Chemistry, the Faculty of Political Science, the School of Architecture, and Teachers College;
2. That it shall be the duty of the standing committee to continue the study of the problem of training for public service and present from time to time to the appropriate authorities recommendations relative to the organization of new courses, the adaptation of courses already offered, and such other matters as may be calculated to increase the efficiency of the university's work in training for official and unofficial public service;
3. That it shall be the duty of the chairman of the committee, in coöperation

with the present committee on appointments, to keep a record of all positions, federal, state and municipal, which may be attractive to college students, and the subjects and dates of approaching examinations, and to be prepared to advise students contemplating entering the public service as to the courses and methods to be pursued in preparation for such positions. It shall be the duty of the chairman to confer with civil service commissioners and chief examiners as to the relation between university instruction and civil service examinations, standards, and eligibility. The chairman shall also study the whole field of unofficial public service and be prepared to advise students desiring to enter that service;

4. That the announcements of the several divisions of the university shall contain a statement of the scope and work of the committee on training for public service in order that students may be encouraged to confer with the chairman as to courses of study leading to public service and the methods of entering such service.

#### *Reconstruction of Civil Service Commission Reports*

Finally, attention should be called to the fact that the work of colleges and universities in training for public service would be greatly facilitated if civil service commissions would prepare reports directed to those seeking admission to the public service as well as to the general public. Such reports should contain information on the following points:

1. The various types of positions in the public service classified according to function;

2. The number of positions in each functional class, the average number of appointments during the past few years, as a basis to estimate probable demand in the future;

3. The special training, qualifications and experience required for admission to the various classes;

4. Lines of promotion within classes and groups;

5. Promotions in the several classes and groups for the past few years, as a basis for measuring probable opportunities;

6. Brief statement of the training and qualifications of persons recently admitted to the several groups and classes, designed to inform probable applicants as to the character of persons actually admitted to the service.

With public opinion properly educated to appreciate a trained service, with our civil service commissions transformed into general recruiting and training bodies, with field and laboratory experience in public service well organized and recognized by institutions of learning as counting toward their degrees, with the new science of administration now in the process of making thoroughly constructed, with directors of public service training in all our large institutions of learning, we could look forward confidently to the solution of the problem presented at the opening of the paper, namely, the reconciliation of democracy and efficiency.

## A PRACTICAL GUIDE TO RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT

BY H. S. GILBERTSON,

Executive Secretary, National Short Ballot Organization, New York City.

The perfecting of democracy has already gone far beyond the experimental stage in no less than four hundred American cities. These communities have actually abolished "invisible government" and made the abolishment "stick." The old-time boss has disappeared even in Hoboken, N. J., where he is a responsible being now, having been elected mayor! The personnel of the government has not been revolutionized, but the people's servants have been surrounded with a new atmosphere. Into their hands have been placed more powerful instruments wherewith to enforce the people's will and responsibility has come with the power. The characteristic delays and postponements of former days have given place to quick decisive action. Wider undertakings have been entered upon but the cost of government per unit of service has usually been materially reduced. In short, government has been readjusted to life.

### *Models of Irresponsibility and Inefficiency*

The typical American city government prior to the commission government movement, was a more or less faithful copy of the nation and state. It was founded upon the same traditions of divided responsibility and the same ingenious mechanism of "checks and balances."

An analysis of such a city government throws a flood of light on the whole problem of responsible government. Picture a city organized on the general plan of Philadelphia, or Baltimore, or, until recently, St. Louis or Buffalo. Begin at the ballot box where the citizen officially does his thinking and expresses his desires or policies. Is it a simple issue that confronts him on election day? The powers that be have placed him in an arbitrary geographical compartment of the city. Without a sound reason, such as the unwieldiness of the city as a voting district, or the distinctive social make-up of his neighborhood, the municipality is divided according to the population figures and the voter is invited to make an issue

of alleged interests of his neighborhood as against those of the whole city—a false, artificial issue in most cities, but one which serves the local party organization ideally.

The case would not be so bad if the candidates for aldermen and councilmen stood squarely on the interests of the whole city or even of a particular corner of it. But not so. A second element of confusion is injected into the election: the voter is not privileged to select his councilman by the test of a live local question. He must choose with an altogether foreign consideration in mind. The Democrats perhaps have been in power in the country and the crops in the middle west have refused to grow. The voter, having a natural aversion to hard times, or having conceived in youth a life-long distrust of Democrats, has nothing to do but wreak his vengeance on the nearest visible object of his dislike that happens to have a nominal association with the national administration then in power. It is not simply that the city candidates are tagged with a national label. Worse than that, they are put at the bottom of the same long ticket with candidates for the national and state offices, so that the voter can hardly fail to drag his national party politics into the local contest.

#### *Diverting the Voters' Attention*

When the voter has finished with electing officials to interpret his wishes in the city governing body, that perhaps is the end of his troubles? No indeed! He must select the city's legal counsellor. Perhaps also he is required to pass upon the men who would file the city's records and manage a lot of clerical routine business—the candidates for city clerk. He may also be expected to vote upon an auditor. Now all these questions serve no other real purpose than to distract the voter's attention. The city's attorney is not the private adviser of the individual voters. He is no real issue to them. As for the city clerk, the only issue is that of office honesty and efficiency, which is scarcely a debatable question. And the auditor—his function is to keep accounts straight—a function for which he should be responsible to his direct superiors, the governing body.

But the end is not yet. The voter selects the chief executive. And the mayor looms up so much larger on the ballot; he is so much more conspicuous as a figure in the official community that in most

cities men have come to regard him as the one great local issue. They have come to regard the city as safe for at least another period if a "good man" was elected to the position. The mayor is not usually chosen on the merits of his policies. He is often simply a heroic figure set up to oppose some dark sinister person who is the particular outrage of the year. In the election campaign he is too busy dissecting his opponent's vices to seriously discuss any important local issue.

### *Watching the Sources of Public Policy*

So much for the individual voter. Now for the electors in the mass: the legislating branch of the government has been assembled and the mayor and the other minor officers have taken the oath of office. Are the voters' troubles over? No, the issues are further complicated. It would not do to have the people keeping their attention on a single spot of government. They might too easily control the sources of official action! And so, the government is constructed to present to the electorate not one face, or two, or even possibly three, for the council is split into separate houses, the mayor constitutes a third source of power and each of the minor elective officers is commissioned directly by the people and thereby authorized to operate in his own little sphere. Every one of these separate offices is virtually a separate government. Every one of them is a standing issue in the community (or would be if the theory of popular election worked out). For why should the people elect a city attorney or a city clerk or an auditor, if he is not an issue to them? Why hold an election when there is nothing to decide?

But the multiplication of issues is surely ended? Hardly! When one looks to the outward organization in the separate houses of the council, he has not seen the source of real power and activity. He must dig deeper, for the council is divided up in committees and the really important policies are already decided when they come before the official representatives of the people—and confusion is multiplied as many more times as there are committees in both houses of the council.

### *Mixing up Law-Making with Administration*

But let us keep going. The council surely will have the goodness to confine itself to the sort of things that councils are sup-

posed to do, *i.e.*, the framing of laws and giving of general directions to the operating departments of the city. But not so under the old order of city government. Such councils confuse their law-making functions and tangle themselves up with a lot of questions of detail which keep them from looking the policies of the city squarely in the face. They are obliged, for example, to pass upon the appointments of administrative offices made by the mayor under a beneficent "check" known as "confirmation." If it comes to a straight open issue as to whether Main Street is to be extended, that simple question has to be balanced against the appointment of the third assistant deputy of charities. If it is a question of restricting the number of saloons, that may be tangled up with the selection of a deputy wharfinger. The chances are also that the committees of the councils, instead of framing up the policies for the city, will actually try to act as the executive heads of the city departments. And this notwithstanding they are not elected on that issue or with any reference to their fitness to perform such specific services, but only to represent the wishes of one of the districts of the city.

#### *No Clear Executive Issue*

Turn now to the executive side of the government. The mayor is at the head. But at the outset we discover that the voters cannot make a clear issue with him of any bad piece of administration that is perpetrated. The mayor simply is not responsible for the duties which are legally conferred upon him. He undertakes a policy of retrenchment in the water department. But the "confirmation" clause in the charter dictates that any man he may propose for executing that trust must be satisfactory to the powers that control the council. It may be, too, that he will need legal advice before proceeding on a given course. But unlike any private executive, he has no choice in the selection of his own lawyer. The people (nominally) have decided that question for him in advance, as though the city attorney were *their* private lawyer. The mayor may even find the incumbent scheming to discredit his administration in the eyes of the people. The mayor may be blamed for the mismanagement of the finances. But he has practically no choice but to put his stamp of approval on the work of the council who, with precious little real executive knowledge of administrative needs, have framed the budget to their own liking. And so when the



mayor turns up for reelection and his record is under discussion, he can always say that he has not been given the proper where-withal to do the work entrusted to him.

Descending into the depths of city government, perhaps we shall find the issues clear at last. Physicians in the hospitals will be chosen for their skill in coping with disease; draftsmen in the engineering departments for their mechanical ability; inspectors because of their peculiar fitness to inspect public works. These would seem clear administrative issues. But everybody knows that the issues here, again, are clouded. Bricklayers are not selected for hospital work, but doctors who ought to be bricklayers are given preferment. Barbers, perhaps, are chosen as building inspectors and grocery clerks for foremen. The issue of skill and efficiency is obscured beyond all recognition by the issue of personal reward for party service.

#### *Parallel Conditions in State Government*

Now every American citizen knows that the foregoing is but a tame, conservative description of political conditions in American cities. He perhaps does not realize that while the 400 cities have been rescued from the deep dark jungle of confusion, state governments remain practically exact parallels in every detail of the system described. To summarize:

(1) State governments suffer from the confusion of jurisdictions (national, state and local) when state officers are elected on the same ballot with congressmen, United States senators and local officers.

(2) The artificial district plan (although more justifiable and perhaps even unavoidable in the state government) gives rise to petty localisms and log-rolling.

(3) Bi-cameral legislative bodies leave the state voter guessing as to where the source of the law-making power really is.

(4) The legislative committees often essay to exercise what amounts to executive power over the heads of administrative departments, especially in financial matters.

(5) The legislature elected to make laws, and properly on that issue alone (if politics is to be clear and simple) exercises a real appointing power through "confirmation."

(6) The election of minor administrative state officials drags administration into politics.

(7) The responsibility of the executive is obscured in the exercise of the appointing and budget making power.

(8) In all but ten states the clerical, technical and professional officers and

employees of the state are chosen without any definite examination of their fitness for their particular work, and probably in the majority of cases because of party service rendered.

### *How the Federal Government Suffers*

The federal government also is a sufferer from most of the confusion of issues which has done more than anything else to make city government "the most conspicuous American failure." Only three qualifying statements need be made in this connection:

- (1) The federal government has no elective administrative officials, not even an elective judiciary.
- (2) The merit system has been extended well down into the administrative service.
- (3) The federal government gets rather the best of it in popular elections by commanding the attention of the electorate as against state and local issues.

A significant point to remember is that these three exceptions from the general rule of American practice probably account for the reputation for superior efficiency which the federal government enjoys.

### *Cities Pointing the Way Out*

Now the cities of America have found the way out of former perplexities and difficulties by a sweeping process of simplification. We may take the new Dayton city government as a type.

When the voter starts to form his government he casts his ballot not as the denizen of an artificial geographical section of the city. He is expected to act as a citizen of the community as a whole and the ballot affords no encouragement for his being anything else.

When he places his cross opposite the name of a candidate he is not forced to bring to mind the state of the wheat crop in Kansas or the policy of the Democratic administration in Mexican affairs. It is a straight, unconfused local issue which is put before him.

On his ballot are the names of none but candidates for legislative or law-making offices—and only one set of these, all of equal rank and importance. He must think of his candidates not in terms of their executive or professional ability, but simply as to the degree in which they represent his general point of view on city affairs.

In voting for his candidates, since he votes for a group, it is

practically impossible for him to vote *against* anyone. He must vote *for* somebody. So that there would be no particular point in any candidate going about and throwing up a lot of dust in the eyes of the people by abusing someone else on the ticket and neglecting the vital question at issue.

Likewise, the whole body of voters are able to watch a single group of men at the city hall and know that by doing so they control the source of power, policy and activity all the way down the administration to the last office boy. They do not have to watch the city legislatures, plus a mayor, plus a number of independent elective administrative officers. There is one source of power and not half a dozen.

#### *Legislature Has Real Responsibility*

And when the council gets down to work the citizen knows that what he sees in the open council meeting is real business and not a lot of fake motions calculated and designed to fool him.

The council has been divested of the care over the details of administration and it is able to devote itself exclusively to the one purpose for which it has been chosen, the framing of policies. It makes only one appointment. There is no material for trades and deals. Its members do not attempt to act as heads of administrative departments.

On the executive side, the issue is equally simple. In the first place, the executive (city manager) is not selected for his oratory or for his wire-pulling proclivities. The only issue in his selection is his ability to fill a post whose duties are well defined.

As it is not his business to decide *what* the city shall do but only to execute orders and to *make suggestions* of policies, he is not chosen by the people but by the governing body, which in its turn is responsible to the people for getting its orders enforced.

#### *A Responsible Executive*

And having been appointed to do executive work he (the city manager) is given control over the tools with which to execute the job. He does not select his commissioner of public works or commissioner of finance from a list of men who have friends on the council or who have shown a particular *unfitness* for their duties, but from the men who are particularly qualified in the special lines.

The city manager also formulates the budget and he is the appropriate person to do it since he knows the financial needs of the city as no mere fraction of the council can. Since he represents the interests of the whole city and all the departments, he can view every request for appropriations in its relation to every other. But the city manager only recommends and suggests and the power of the purse is retained in the elective body where it belongs.

The responsibility of the executive, moreover, is facilitated by the "merit system," which enables him to sift the qualifications of candidates for administrative office, relieves him of the burden of the detail of selection and leaves him free to plan and execute the policies laid down for him by the city's governing body.

And so we have in Dayton and the other thirty or forty odd cities that are organized on the same plan, a complete disentanglement of the lines of responsibility. This is a process of making the citizens as well as the officers responsible. There is a complete clearing up of the issues, political, executive and administrative.

We therefore seem to have, in the example of city governments of the city-manager type (and to a less degree in the older commission government type), a suggestive program of constructive simplification for every unit of government. These cities have standardized the principle of responsibility as the key to the representative, responsible, efficient administration of public affairs.

## BOOK DEPARTMENT

### AGRICULTURE, MINING, FORESTRY AND FISHERIES

MORGAN, DICK T. *Land Credits: A Plea for the American Farmer*. Pp. xvi, 299. Price, \$1.50. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1915.

To the economist this book is more interesting as a specimen of the ideas underlying radical southwestern agrarianism than as a contribution to knowledge. It is the result of some nine months' work by an Oklahoma congressman fired with desire to relieve the oppressed American farmer—his constituents—from discriminatory interest rates.

The author starts with the thesis that lack of cheap credit, attended by discrimination by existing financial agencies against farmers, is the chief cause of the farmer's difficulties. He examines European policies briefly to find what they have in common, and stresses two points: long time and absolute security (the latter often associated with government aid). He next presents an interesting legislative history of the various land-credit bills, and urges objections to the following provisions of the three "officially endorsed" bills: private corporations, expense of administration, inefficiency (due to lack of concentration), no hard and fast regulation of the interest rate, no government aid to make bonds secure. The bulk of the book—chapters V to XII—deals with these objections, the largest share of attention being given to government aid (82 pp.).

The author himself favors (1) centralization in one powerful federal organization; (2) a uniform maximum of 5 per cent on loans; (3) a government guarantee of bonds, or, if that be impossible, a contribution to a large reserve fund.

A fundamental error is the failure to appreciate the reasons for the existence of different rates of interest in different regions.

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*University of Texas.*

### COMMERCE AND TRANSPORTATION

DUNBAR, SEYMOUR. *A History of Travel in America*. (4 vols.) Pp. li, 1529. Price, \$10.00. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1915.

The scope of this work is broader than is indicated in its title. It is a history of the development of facilities for transportation and their introduction and use in the United States. While of special interest to students of transportation the work is also of very great value to all who are interested in the story of the social and commercial development of America, particularly as that development has been the result of the increase in facilities for travel and trade.

The method of presenting the subject is fortunate in that it appeals not only to the trained scholar but to the general reader. As stated in the preface, "the sources for the text have been files of early newspapers; various collections of

manuscripts and documents in libraries, historical societies and elsewhere; diaries, letters and printed chronicles of pioneers; narratives in state and local histories." Carried through the volumes are some four hundred illustrations which in themselves are a pictorial record of the entire period covered by the text. These appropriately begin with the fashioning of a dugout and a pioneer carrying his family in a log canoe, and end with the flight of an aviator, June 13, 1910, from New York City to Philadelphia, overtaking a railroad train running at fifty miles an hour. In the choice of pictures as well as in the selection of illustrative stories or anecdotes from personal narratives, the author has shown discriminating taste, and the result is entirely pleasing.

The reader will be interested in the description of the wastefulness of the methods employed in the early days by those who were attempting to solve the pressing problems of transportation. The reason for the methods, however, is apparent and the waste was inevitable. It was a period of experiments and makeshifts. Much of the loss was due to the inevitable discarding of one instrument for a better one, as when the wagon gave way to the canal, and the canal to the railroad. Some of the loss, however, was unnecessary, the result of a shortsighted policy on the part of those who attempted to add to their own profits by the destruction of their rivals. Of one phase of this the author observes, "The fight by which the railroad overwhelmed the canals and destroyed many of them, instead of recognizing the ultimate value of the two highways to each other, was one outcome of the jealousy and shortsightedness engendered by those conditions under which the modern era in transportation began. So, also, was the similar hostility manifested for a time by the railroads—though less openly—to the improvement of wagon roads and to river traffic. Today many of the railways are systematically, and at large monetary cost, educating the people in the value of better wagon roads and are even beginning to suggest the resuscitation of the canal system and its extension, after the method used in France, in those parts of the United States to which that process is adaptable."

In the main Mr. Dunbar's work is a natural, orderly and well balanced account of his subject. He strays from the path, however, in his discussion of the relations of the white people and the Indians. His departure is less marked in his story of the unfriendly treatment of the Indians by the early settlers which resulted in the long confinement of the whites within the territory east of the Alleghenies and in greatly restricting travel and emigration previous to the time that Boone broke through the barrier and led a band of settlers to the neutral territory of Kentucky by way of his Wilderness road. But in dealing with the removal of the Indians of the northwest and particularly with the harsher eviction of the well civilized tribes of the South, the author consumes more than 200 pages. Though the chapters are of great interest, yet his explanation that "such were the methods used throughout the country—both North and South, for clearing the region east of the Mississippi for white movement and dominion, and that constitute the foundation on which the white race erected the unparalleled system of highways, canals, and railroads," hardly justifies the detailed account of Indian history. The same criticism may be made with respect to the story of the expulsion of the Mormons from Nauvoo.

The volumes are attractive in appearance and the paper and press work are

excellent. The history is worthy of a place on the shelves of every school and public library.

T. W. VAN METRE.

*University of Pennsylvania.*

HOUGH, B. OLNEY. *Practical Exporting*. Pp. 623. Price, \$4.00. New York: The Johnston Export Publishing Company, 1915.

A comprehensive discussion of the exporting business based on years of practical experience of the author as salesman, manufacturer and merchant. It explains in detail all the steps taken in marketing goods in foreign countries: selling, preparation for shipment, transportation, financing and insurance. The rapid increase in the quantity and variety of the exports of the United States has created a wide demand for a book of this character, and business men will undoubtedly welcome such an authoritative and admirably constructed work.

T. W. V. M.

SHARFMAN, I. LEO. *Railway Regulation*. Pp. vi, 230. Price, \$2.00. Chicago: LaSalle Extension University, 1915.

This volume is a well-balanced and clear statement of the problem of railway regulation in the United States and an account of the efforts which have been made both by the states and by the federal government to solve the problem. References to decisions of courts and commissions are given throughout the text, and a short but well chosen bibliography is appended.

T. W. V. M.

### LABOR PROBLEMS

HENRY, ALICE. *The Trade Union Woman*. Pp. xxiv, 314. Price, \$1.50. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1915.

The chief merit of Miss Henry's little book is the vision which it gives to the reader of the interrelationship and the social significance of the various efforts of woman along lines of concerted action. The economic forces which have thrust woman into industry are gradually teaching her the necessity for coöperation. The two chief manifestations of this collective activity on the part of the working woman are to be seen in the struggle for economic betterment, the trade union movement, and in the struggle for the tool of political power, the ballot. The result of the trade union movement has been a linking up of the interests of the working woman with those of her working brother; the result of the effort to gain the ballot has been the realization of a common sisterhood among women of all classes.

Four of the thirteen chapters of the book deal with the historical development of trade unions among women from the beginnings in 1825 to date. The remaining chapters are given up to specific problems, such as The Immigrant Woman and Organisation, Women and the Vocations, The Working Woman and Marriage, The Working Woman and the Vote.

The author pleads for technical education for the working-girl. "It is poor

policy and worse economy to argue that because a girl may be but a few years a wage-earner, it is therefore not worth while to make of her an efficient, capable wage-earner" (p. 186). Moreover, the working woman's life today is separated into three dislocated stages, and our educational system makes no attempt to bridge the gaps. Childhood, girlhood, and womanhood are unrelated, and "at no time is any intelligent preparation made either for a wage-earning or a domestic career" (p. 222).

The style of the book is popular, in conformity with the author's purpose of supplying answers in convenient form to questions that are constantly being asked. The book is admirably fitted to give to the general reader a sympathetic realization of the significance to the working woman of industrial legislation, judicial decisions, the right to organize, and the right to vote. The student, as well as the general reader, will be grateful for this concise treatment of the subject of woman and organization, though he will regret the almost total lack of reference citations in the book. A complete bibliography partially compensates for this deficiency.

ESTHER L. LITTLE.

*Simmons College.*

HUSBAND, JOSEPH. *America at Work*. Pp. 111. Price, \$1.00. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1915.

Can we personify material facts of modern industrial society? Must we always express material power in terms of horse power, or material bigness in terms of feet, or material amount in terms of bushels? Can we not better convey our sense of power, of bigness, of quantity, by personifying those things, and at the same time, prevent the endless crush of facts with which we deal from palling on our enthusiasm and imagination? Mr. Husband, in this little book of twelve chapters, has selected a number of commonplace, everyday phases of our industrial life and told them with a glamor and romance that makes us picture anew the semaphore, the fire damp, or the factory.

J. H. W.

JOHNSEN, JULIA E. (Compiled by). *Unemployment*. Pp. xl, 242. Price, \$1.00. New York: The H. W. Wilson Company, 1915.

Anyone who has taken up the study of unemployment appreciates how difficult it is to get in touch with the best modern thought about unemployment. Miss Johnsen has made a really valuable contribution, not only to debaters but also to any student of unemployment, in bringing together these carefully selected readings.

The first part of the book consists of a brief both for and against a national system of public labor exchanges and an extensive bibliography, which is particularly complete in its references to labor exchanges and public work. The main portion of the book consists of selected readings on unemployment.

Miss Johnsen may be criticised, along with most other students of unemployment, in that she has not given sufficient attention to the articles dealing with the steadying of employment by employers.

J. H. W.



## MONEY, BANKING, AND FINANCE

HAIG, ROBERT M. *The Exemption of Improvements from Taxation in Canada and the United States*. Pp. 291. New York: Published by the Committee on Taxation, 1915.

POST, LOUIS F. *The Taxation of Land Values*. (Fifth Edition.) Pp. 179. Price, \$1.00. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1915.

Dr. Haig's timely study is an important contribution to the literature on taxation of land and improvements. It is the first (and the more valuable) of two reports<sup>1</sup> which he has prepared for the Committee on Taxation of New York City, and presents the results of a field investigation carried on in the summer of 1914. The report is divided into two parts. Part One (pp. 11-258) is "an effort to state concisely all the available facts which may aid in understanding the system of taxation in force in the various cities or throw light upon its effects." The experience of cities of the United States with exemption of improvements calls for but brief treatment (pp. 241-58), this being mainly a consideration of Tax Commissioner Pastoriza's extra-legal actions in Houston, Texas, in under-assessing improvements and personal property (which the courts forbade in March, 1915). But in the Canadian provinces of Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia, practically all the municipalities tax improvements at a lower rate than land, and many, including the cities of Vancouver, Victoria and Edmonton, do not tax them at all; also there are special provincial land taxes. Dr. Haig has aimed to show the place of these land taxes in the scheme of provincial and local finance, and, as a result, his report is a valuable compendium of the fiscal systems of the Canadian West.

Part Two (pp. 261-80) is entitled *Generalizations and Conclusions*. The more important of these may be summarized as follows. Exemption of improvements in western Canada, though "not the primary cause of building activity" (p. 270), has stimulated it; indeed, real estate men have favored the policy because "they are eager to encourage anything which promises to assist in increasing land values and nothing seems to be more effective for this purpose than the rapid construction of buildings" (pp. 275-76). Land speculation has not been hindered greatly in the larger cities because of the low tax rates, but it has become profitless in some of the smaller towns, where tax rates have been high. The land taxes have not been adequate revenue producers under all circumstances; in some Alberta towns rates as high as 8½ per cent were found necessary (p. 142), with over-assessment of land as an alternative. The steps toward exemption were free from undesirable results only when land values were increasing so rapidly that neither a lessening of the tax base nor an increase in the rate was involved. The effects of exemption upon general prosperity cannot be isolated because of the complexity of economic forces, and because nearly all the cities possess "exclusive characteristics of greater importance than their tax systems" (p. 264). Finally, it is significant that "the Canadian experiments have been confined to young cities" (p. 280).

<sup>1</sup> The title of the other report is, *Some Probable Effects of the Exemption of Improvements from Taxation in the City of New York* (pp. 254). Both reports were presented in the fall of 1915.

Mr. Post's book is the fifth edition, but slightly revised, of a work which ranks as one of the strongest presentations of the single tax argument. Mr. Post was one of the earliest of Henry George's converts and was intimately associated with him for many years, hence he is able to speak with authority on the subject of the single tax. Here Mr. Post treats exclusive land value taxation (1) as a tax reform, and (2) as an industrial reform. The argument is the familiar single tax argument, with particular stress upon two ideas: that land taxes conform to the benefit principle, which is the true principle of justice in taxation; and that no permanent amelioration in economic conditions can take place until society, rather than private individuals, receives the income from land, the source from which labor produces wealth.

The book is divided into three parts: the argument proper (pp. 1-53); "Answers to Typical Questions" regarding the single tax (pp. 54-81); and "Explanatory and Illustrative Notes" (pp. 85-179). Some of the material in the latter part is so important that it might better have been incorporated in the argument proper.

ARTHUR N. YOUNG.

*Princeton University.*

#### SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS

CONKLIN, EDWIN G. *Heredity and Environment*. Pp. xiv, 533. Price, \$2.00. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1915.

For many years it has been my custom to begin a course on social institutions by a brief survey of the concept of evolution and a sketch of modern biology. It often has been difficult to find books for collateral reading which would cover in broad and suggestive fashion this field, and yet not be too technical for non-biologists. For this purpose I have found Dr. Conklin's book of great value. His discussion is thorough and accurate, yet is popular in style. He does not ignore disputed points, neither does he dwell on them to the confusion of the reader. The many illustrations are well chosen.

In reality the author has given us a study of heredity with special reference to man. The volume is divided into six chapters. The first, Facts and Factors of Development, describes the growth of the organism from the egg to maturity, including the development of the mind, and a survey of the theories of the causes of such growth. In the second chapter, Cellular Basis of Heredity and Development, we are given a very complete résumé of what is now known about the cell and the mechanism of heredity. The third chapter, Phenomena of Inheritance, describes the inherited resemblances and differences, the statistical and the experimental methods of studying inheritance and gives an excellent account of Mendelianism. Beginning with chapter four, Influence of Environment, we enter the vexed field of the interaction of internal and external elements. Without taking a dogmatic position, the author outlines the questions involved and shows what is now known as to the power of external stimulants to cause changes. He makes clear that normal growth must take place under favorable conditions and is thus able to emphasize the necessity of Euthenics in social life. In chapter

five, *The Control of Heredity*: Eugenics, is treated. We are shown that artificial selection in animal breeding has *produced* nothing but has merely made new combinations of elements thought desirable. There has been in historic times no improvement in human heredity and there is no likelihood that any program of eugenics will greatly change the situation. Nevertheless negative eugenics, the prevention of the reproduction of the defective is to be commended.

The title of the last chapter is Genetics and Ethics. In this we have a survey of the attempts to explain human conduct, a discussion of fatalism, free-will, determinism, etc. Professor Conklin believes that with the evolution of the higher centers there has come increasing freedom in the sense at least of power of inhibiting reaction to stimuli. Man is freer than other animals. Normal men may respond to higher stimuli than animals, stimuli social in origin and nature, not chemical and physical. Hence comes responsibility. In this response to social stimuli men are not equal and the inequality is in part due to differences of heredity, in part to differences of life. Hence society has many duties to the individual. The present civilization is not the highest to which we may attain, nor are we as individuals as highly developed as might be.

This brief sketch indicates the general ground covered by the author. In my opinion he has given us a timely and valuable book which will be of greatest value to those who want to know what modern biology has accomplished and what its problems are, particularly those which relate to human development.

CARL KELSEY.

*University of Pennsylvania.*

HOARE, H. J. *Old Age Pensions*. Pp. xi, 196. Price 3s. 6d. London: P. S. King and Son, 1915.

This is one of the first volumes to reach America which gives an account of the actual working of the old age pension system adopted in England in 1908. The method of the author is to discuss the treatment of cases of applicants showing the interpretation put by the authorities upon the questions of age, residence and nationality, income, assistance from private or public relief agencies. Though he may thereby make the discussion "practical and human," as he claims, he greatly minimizes its value for the foreigner who is not so much interested in administrative details which naturally turn largely on purely local conditions. In the ninth chapter he considers the statistics and shows the distribution of pensioners in England, Ireland and Scotland, the second named having an undue percentage. The statistics are not complete and the author says it is impossible to get complete returns from the authorities. On the whole, he is much pleased with the results of the system. Though he sees occasional injustices he thinks these may be easily remedied, and in the last chapter he makes a few suggestions as to changes.

C. K.

HURRY, J. B. *Vicious Circles in Sociology and their Treatment*. Pp. 34. Price, 80 cents. Philadelphia: F. Blakiston's Son and Company, 1915.

Barring the "vicious" use of the term Sociology in which the author hopelessly confuses Sociology which Social Pathology, he has given us a very suggestive

little monograph, showing how causes produce results which in turn become causes *ad. inf.* "For example, poverty often leads to insufficient nourishment, to malnutrition, to impaired physical and mental vigor, to diminished earning power and thus to a perpetuation and aggravation of poverty."

A large number of such "vicious circles" are presented. The remedy lies in our ability "to effect a breach at the point of least resistance, thus averting the ordinary sequence." This is the task of the social "physician," however, and not that of the sociologist.

J. P. L.

JACOBI, MARY PUTNAM. *"Common Sense" Applied to Woman Suffrage.* (Second Edition.) Pp. xv, 236. Price, \$1.00. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1915.

At the New York State Constitutional Convention of 1894, Mary Putnam Jacobi, one of the first woman physicians in the world, delivered a powerful address for the enfranchisement of the women of the state. This address, in expanded form, we find in the book, *Common Sense Applied to Woman Suffrage.*

The protest against political inequality of women first arose when women abolitionists were forbidden to speak in public for the freedom of the slave. Since that time the revolution in the industrial, educational and governmental position of women has removed the suffrage argument from the realms of abstract theory, and has made it a question of practical politics. After considering the arguments against the enfranchisement of women, Dr. Jacobi points out the benefits of such a step—these being (1) the psychological effect upon the women themselves, through giving them a consciousness of power, and (2) the uplifting effect upon the government as a whole through the liberation of the practical social enthusiasm characteristic of women.

Although twenty-two years have elapsed since Dr. Jacobi presented this address, the abstract rights of the matter as she gave them are as pertinent and all-inclusive today as they were at that time. The book is well worth reading, for it gives a masterly argument for the ever-advancing cause of woman suffrage.

J. M.

SCHAEFFER, HENRY. *The Social Legislation of the Primitive Semites.* Pp. xiv, 245. Price, \$2.35. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1915.

A somewhat more appropriate title for this volume would have been Property Rights among the Primitive Semites. Social legislation as such is scarcely referred to. On the real subject of the thesis the author has done a valuable piece of work and has made a real contribution to economic and social literature. He has compiled existing information from widely scattered sources on the subjects of slavery, interest, security, land tenure and kindred topics among the ancient Hebrews, Babylonians and Arabians. Incidental to the purpose of the book he has discussed the metronymic and patronymic types of the family, the principle of agnation and the duties and responsibilities of the next of kin. The only social contribution made by the book is a generalization not even made by the author but one which arises out of the comparative studies, viz., that social customs and

institutions among different peoples assume common forms under like environmental conditions.

J. P. L.

WALD, LILLIAN D. *The House on Henry Street*. Pp. xii, 317. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1915.

In as significant a contribution to the literature of the settlement movement as Miss Addams' similar work, *Twenty Years at Hull House*, another leading woman of America has told the absorbing annals of *The House on Henry Street*. The author lays no claim to any theoretic interpretation of industrial society. There is lacking, perhaps, the sympathetic comprehension of modern life, the yearning idealism of the well-loved writer of the earlier settlement story. Yet the successful executive, as she comes to write, puts many a literary artist to shame by virtue of the vividness of her experiences and the lucid directness of the telling. There is here in this book the calm understanding, the tempered practicality of an energetic mind set to the solving of definite problems, to the high end that the means of fuller life be provided for the East Side multitude. And fuller tribute might be paid the uniquely intellectual people, so responsive, and eager for self-help.

Miss Wald's fascinating human document gives substantial proof of the accomplishment of the settlement in economic and social reform. Like Miss Addams, she has never been content with the idea of the settlement as a neighborhood house, a center of sweetness and light in the dreary tenement waste. Naturally, there is the splendid record of the work of clubs and classes, educational and dramatic organizations, summer homes and camps, made possible by the devotion of Miss Wald's supporters and helpers, who have spared no expenditure of wealth and personal service; and the precious end has been the safeguarding and directing of youth, and the interpretation of America to the adult immigrant.

But Miss Wald's vision has been wider. She has ever seen the larger need of socializing the adjustments and experiments which she has made, the immense gain of multiplying her achievement by enlisting school and state in social service. For instance, the Settlement had its humble beginning—Miss Wald tells us—in the desire to bring nursing-care to the poor; this practical aim gave her service the assurance of immediate civic worth. We learn how the way was gradually opened for the incorporation of the nursing work in the schools of the city, effecting an epoch-making advance in public health administration.

So The Nurses Settlement, under Miss Wald, became the center of movements which fostered the extension of civic functions in education and recreation. Her vigorous leadership aided the organization of the garment trade workers, especially the Jewish girls, and helped to achieve that unique experiment in industry, The Joint Board of Sanitary Control. Her interest extended to political reform and to state innovations such as The Factory Investigating Commission and The Bureau of Industry and Immigration, which sought the protection of the woman-worker and the immigrant. The establishment of the Federal Childrens' Bureau, we learn was in no small measure due to her persistent effort. Even a cursory perusal of the book cannot but impress the reader with the record of

social achievement by *The House on Henry Street*, a record of which both Miss Wald and the city of New York may be justly proud.

FRANCIS TYSON,

*University of Pittsburgh,*

### POLITICAL AND GOVERNMENTAL PROBLEMS

BEMAN, LAMAR T. (Compiled by). *Selected Articles on Prohibition of the Liquor Traffic*. Pp. liv, 168. Price, \$1.00. White Plains: The H. W. Wilson Company, 1915.

BURGESS, JOHN W. *The Reconciliation of Government with Liberty*. Pp. xix, 394. Price, \$2.50. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915.

In this book Professor Burgess considers the fundamental problem of political science, the adjustment of authority and freedom, whose extremes, despotism and anarchy are equally undesirable, and traces throughout the historical development of the state the various methods by which the solution of this problem has been attempted. Asia, which contributed the world's religions, made little contribution to politics, the Mohammedan states, which contain the most promising elements, excluding non-Mohammedans from equal rights. Traces of legal protection for individual liberties are found in Greece and Rome, the Ephors and Tribunes acting as conservators of custom against arbitrary governmental encroachment. No guarantee of personal liberty is found in the much-praised system of the early Teutons. Their contribution is stated to be along the line of political rights, the share of individuals in governing authority.

The church is praised, perhaps unduly, for standing throughout the greater part of history as the protector of individual rights, although the fact is pointed out that the church, like other devices which at first served to check the government, later became a part of the government and thus lost its original function of checking arbitrary authority. The Reformation, favoring monarchy at first, as the national monarchs assumed church headship, later helped liberty through its philosophy of individualism. On the other hand, the spirit of the Renaissance led to anarchy, going too far in its reaction against authority. On this basis a generalization is made concerning the rational nature of the democratic revolutions in England and Germany, under the guidance of the theory of Reformation freedom, and the radical revolutions in France and Italy under the theory of Renaissance freedom. The outcome of these revolutions, the supremacy of representative legislatures, while extending political rights to many, left the government unchecked and supreme; and in the opinion of the author all-powerful legislatures are potentially more dangerous than the monarchs which they displaced.

The great danger, therefore, in the states of modern Europe is the legislature, especially where one of the two chambers becomes predominant. This breaks down the separation of powers existing in bi-cameral equality and, by means of the Cabinet system, subordinates the executive and prevents the checks and balances which indirectly safeguard liberty. For a satisfactory adjustment of

authority and freedom, the author demands the following factors: "the organized continuing sovereignty back of, separate from, and supreme over the government, the full declaration of the constitutional immunities of the individual against all governmental power, the balance of the governmental machinery in so far as to prevent autocracy on the one side or parliamentary absolutism on the other, and the constitutional judiciary, permanent and non-political, and vested with the power to protect the individual against governmental encroachments." Switzerland alone, with its popular referendum on constitutional amendments, properly distinguishes between state and government, and organizes the former for the guarantee of civil rights. In South America, Argentina alone has the constitutional machinery for safeguarding civil freedom, and is called "the light and hope of South America." The United States, while falling behind Switzerland in its failure to provide for popular constitution-amending, is otherwise most advanced in its public law. Its constitution is not amended by the ordinary government, a Bill of Rights is found in the Constitution, an independent judiciary protects individual liberties, and extensive checks and balances prevent the undue strength of any governmental organ.

Several recent tendencies in American politics give the author much concern and seem to him to be dangerous encroachments on freedom. Among these are the decisions of the Supreme Court in the Insular Cases, by which it was reasoned that the provisions of the Constitution do not extend over our dependencies, the Income Tax amendment, which gives Congress a dangerous power of unlimited taxation, the initiative, referendum, and recall, which seem to break down the author's theory of a sovereign people distinct from the government, and the general increase of paternalistic governmental activities.

While this book is a valuable and suggestive study, one cannot but resent the author's far-fetched historical interpretations, and especially the constant attention to the formal legal organization of the state rather than to the way in which its system actually works. A book that praises the civil liberty of Bulgaria or Venezuela and condemns that of England, because of the nature of technical constitutional provisions, loses sight of the spirit that determines the actual nature of states. The writer also disagrees with the author concerning the location of sovereignty and has never been able to find any sovereign organized behind the government. To the writer the organ that amends the constitution is always a part of the government, and nothing more, having that specific function to perform and no further power. Sovereignty is, therefore, exercised by all the organs that share in expressing the state's will, including electorate and Constitution-amending body, and no organization of the state behind the government is possible. The statement that the organ which amends the constitution should not govern, and that which guarantees civil liberty should not ordinarily make or administer law is, however, sound political science. The expression "two-thirds" (p. 300) should obviously read "three-fourths."

RAYMOND G. GETTELL.

*Amherst College.*

COKER, FRANCIS WILLIAM. *Readings in Political Philosophy*. Pp. xv, 573. Price, \$2.25. New York: The Macmillan Company.

This book gives practically 600 pages of excerpts from the readings of the following political theorists: Plato, Aristotle, Polybius, St. Thomas Aquinas, Dante, Marsiglio, Machiavelli, Calvin, Vindiciae Contra Tyrannos, Bodin, Hooker, Grotius, Milton, Hobbes, Harrington, Locke, Montesquieu, Rousseau, Paine, and Bentham. The excerpts are along the lines on which governmental matters have been traditionally discussed. In a brief introductory note preceding each selection Mr. Coker states in concise form the leading facts as to the life of the author and indicates what he regards as the author's important contributions to the development of political theory. Following each selection is a citation of works in which the author and his theories are discussed. These select references as a rule are well chosen. There is a fair index. In his general bibliography the author gives the texts and editions from which he selected the readings and a list of critical and historical works.

C. L. K.

GARBAUD, R. *Traité Théorique et Pratique du Droit Pénal Français*. (2 vols.) Pp. ii, 1664. Price, 12 fr. ea. Paris: Librairie de la Société du Recueil Sirey.

HILL, DAVID JAYNE. *The People's Government*. Pp. xiv, 236. Price, \$1.25. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1915.

"Beginning with the state as the embodiment of force," the author's purpose, as stated by himself, is to "trace its development as a human ideal. Long dominated by law regarded as a sovereign decree, this conception has been, in some parts of the earth at least, superseded by the idea of law as a mutual obligation. We shall witness the apparition of a wholly new phenomenon, the citizen—the self-conscious and responsible constituent of the state—no longer mutely receiving commands from a being of a different order, to whom he stands in the relation of a subject; but as law-maker, himself voluntarily determining the limits to which law may extend, and, as subject to law, accepting and respecting the principles which he himself has adopted. 'And thus we shall find, it is hoped, in the citizen the solution of the problem of human government, and also of the coördination of human governments in the world organization of humanity; for human rights are not the gift of governments, and governments need to be so organized as to furnish a complete security and guarantee for human rights. Upon this basis, and upon this basis alone, is it possible for all governments to submit their own conduct also to the rule of law.'"

As historian and diplomat Dr. Hill drew upon large and scholarly resources for the illustration of these theses. His style is clear and devoid of sensationalism, but the space which he allotted to himself permits only the most general discussion of many controversial points. In his attitude toward our recent radicalism one is reminded strongly of President Nicholas Murray Butler's *Why Should We Change Our Form of Government?* Social justice legislation would not seem to be so inherently anti-constitutional as Dr. Hill assumes, nor does his characteriza-



tion of its advocates (as for example on p. 218) impress one as altogether fair. On the other hand, the reader finds himself devoutly wishing that the author might expand the application of his principles to international relations into a volume at least as large as *The People's Government*.

R. C. B.

HOLT, LUCIUS HUDSON. *An Introduction to the Study of Government*. Pp. x, 388. Price, \$2.00. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1915.

This book is based upon literature long extant and contributes no particular point of view. As a rule, the facts submitted are accurate but the conclusions and judgment throughout the text are uninformed or relatively useless. Thus the author states that: "The constitutions of the leading states in the world today have been drawn with the essential truth of the theory of the separation of powers in mind." Again on this same page (37): "Government today in democratic states, whatever its historical origin may have been, is practically a mutual contract between the people and their governors, and exists under such recognized conditions that political tyranny has become an anachronism." The author divides the functions of government into two classes: the necessary (or essential) and the optional (or unessential). Among the latter are included public works, public education, public charity, industrial regulation and public safety regulation. There are three necessary functions of government: financial, civil and military. "The military function of the government was the original, and is still the chief function of the government."

C. L. K.

MUNRO, WILLIAM BENNETT. *A Bibliography of Municipal Government in the United States*. Pp. xiii, 472. Price, \$2.50. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1915.

Dr. Munro has made every student of municipal government his debtor. For many years the lack of anything approaching an adequate bibliography of municipal affairs has been a serious handicap to the systematic study of municipal problems. Since the publication of the excellent bibliography by Professor Brooks nineteen years ago, a great mass of literature relating to municipal progress has appeared. This material has been carefully systematized by Professor Munro and, as a result, students of municipal affairs are now in possession of a bibliography which will be an invaluable aid to special investigations. Furthermore, this bibliography will be of very great service to the average citizen interested in municipal affairs. Whatever may be the subject in which he is interested, he will have ready reference to the most valuable and trustworthy material. The author has shown rare judgment in discriminating between the important and the unimportant publications relating to municipal affairs. This work should be placed in a prominent position in every public library for the purpose of stimulating citizen inquiry into municipal problems.

L. S. R.

STONE, HARLAN F. *Law and Its Administration*. Pp. vii, 232. Price, \$1.50. New York: Columbia University Press, 1915.

It is a hackneyed formula of reviewers to state that a book ought to be in the hands of every citizen who is alive to the duties and the powers of his citizenship, but this statement so well applies to Dr. Stone's recent work that one cannot forbear using it. Amidst the welter of new works devoted to current problems, most of which either aim to attract attention by startling the reader with sensational views or else display a narrow, partisan spirit and a blind passion for some pet theory, it is a welcome relief to find in Dr. Stone's work a sane, impartial treatment of a subject which is usually approached with prejudice or prepossession.

The eight lectures which make up Dr. Stone's book were delivered at Columbia University. They are written in an easy, flowing style, and are well adapted to the ordinary layman's understanding. Nevertheless, they deal satisfactorily with many of the most important problems in the administration of the law, besides giving a clear general outline of its history. It requires no little experience and ability to give a technical subject such a simple, thorough presentation as is found in these lectures.

Many false notions regarding the law and its administration which have gained currency through the muck-raking press receive a calm, well reasoned refutation in Dr. Stone's work. It forms a notable contribution to the popular literature on the subject.

J. J. S.

#### INTERNATIONAL QUESTIONS

CLAPP, EDWIN J. *Economic Aspects of the War*. Pp. xiv, 340. Price, \$1.50. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1915.

As is indicated by its title, this volume by Professor Clapp of New York University concerns itself solely with the economic phases of the European war. It contains a forceful statement of how "the international lawlessness" of the belligerents is affecting the commerce and industry of the United States. "From the very beginning this war went beyond the limit of military and naval actions. It became an 'economic war'; namely, a process of interrupting the flow of commerce between neutrals and belligerents and even between neutrals themselves. The purpose was to deprive the interrupted belligerents of necessities of military material and civil life and so bring upon the enemy nation 'pressure' sufficient to end the war."

Professor Clapp shows in detail how the international rights of the United States have been repeatedly violated throughout this economic warfare. He outlines categorically how the various orders in council of Great Britain gradually increased the list of self-defined contraband goods, and how these orders as well as the so-called "blockade" of Germany finally ended the trade between the United States and Germany in non-contraband as well as contraband goods, and also interrupted trade between the United States and the neutral countries of Europe. He bases his views as to what manner of trade may legally be conducted largely upon the Declaration of London; yet much of the evidence pre-

sented by him is equally effective when viewed in the light of the notes of protest which the State Department has forwarded to the British government. Since August, 1915, when the book was written, other occurrences have taken place but these tend to strengthen rather than to weaken the story of economic lawlessness which began early in the war.

The book contains specific chapters on the various orders in council, the Wilhelmina case, the "blockade," trade in cotton, copper and breadstuffs, the practicability of starving Germany, and the import and export situation. The grouping of exports into eight groups—(1) munitions, (2) materials for making munitions, (3) war supplies, (4) textiles, (5) hides, leather and footwear, (6) foodstuffs, (7) forage, and (8) all other exports—shows in an effective manner how the country's increase in exports during the first part of the war, was based upon a war demand.

The remedy which is suggested by the author is the effective use of the economic power which the war orders of the belligerents give to the United States. While stating that "the German government cannot well call upon either international law or its own practices to contest our right to ship arms to belligerent nations," he regards a temporary embargo as an effective remedy for the manner in which the economic rights of the United States have been systematically denied by Great Britain. "Neither Great Britain nor any other nation of the world could blame us if we laid an embargo upon the exportation of arms for the purpose of enforcing our right to trade unhindered with Germany and the neutral nations of Europe in all but contraband (as defined in a reasonable contraband list) with German destination. Our rights and the rights of neutral nations are that international law be observed, international law as codified and recognized by civilized people in the Declaration of London. Now in the middle of the conflict there is no time to frame a new code. The Allies have placed with us somewhere between \$500,000,000 and \$1,000,000,000 of arms and equipment orders. That is the precise measure of the power which we have over them. If the United States had set out in October to secure a means to force belligerents to return to the realm of international law it could not have proceeded more wisely than to publish its October 15th proclamation assuring this country and others of the legitimacy of our arms trade."

GROVER G. HUBNER.

*University of Pennsylvania.*

DAWSON, WILLIAM H. *Municipal Life and Government in Germany.* Pp. xvi, 507. Price, \$3.75. New York: Longmans, Green & Company.

"Germany has given her municipalities that freedom of life and action that stamps them unmistakably the most progressive in the world. Of 329 salaried officials belonging to these ranks (mayors and salaried members of the magistracy) in 33 large towns of Germany in 1911, 235 were jurists, 54 technical experts, 22 philologists, 3 doctors, 3 political economists, and 12 other men with some other special training." The causes of the type of city government described by Mr. Dawson in the first quotation are probably to be found very largely in the second quotation. The first quotation is typi-

cal of the spirit and sympathetic criticism with which this able English author has examined municipal life and government in Germany; the second is typical of the care with which he has done his work. The volume redounds with valuable material, interlocked with judgments based on a thoroughgoing knowledge and appreciation of municipal institutions in Germany. The book is quite up to the high standards set by the author in his *Evolution of Modern Germany*.

Within the pages of the book are discussed the tradition of self-government, administrative powers of the city, the constitution of the town councils, the distribution of administrative powers, town planning, housing policies, public health, trading enterprises, poor relief, social welfare work, intellectual life, municipal finance, municipal income and expenditures and taxation, with a final chapter giving a survey and comparison, the comparison being essentially with English cities.

One of the observations in the closing paragraphs is that there is a growing belief on the part of municipal workers in England "who have seen the German system in practice that we shall before long be driven by the force of circumstances to adopt some such arrangement as that of the permanent mayor and executive." It is also noted that English cities are beginning to copy "German example in town planning," the author adding: "but we are at a great disadvantage in so doing, for the mischief resulting from the past unsystematic and haphazard development of our urban areas is to a large extent irreparable."

This sympathetic study of German municipal institutions by an eminent English author, published just as the war was starting, should serve as a good corrective of the many misconceptions afloat about "German tyranny" and "autocracy."

CLYDE LYNDON KING.

*University of Pennsylvania.*

ELIOT, CHARLES W. *The Road Toward Peace*. Pp. xv, 228. Price, \$1.00. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1915.

HUMPHREY, A. W. *International Socialism and the War*. Pp. vii, 167. Price, 3s. 6d. London: P. S. King and Son, 1915.

*The Road Toward Peace* is a loose compilation of addresses and letters produced at different times both before and after the outbreak of the European war. The earlier ones deal with a general consideration of the causes of war and the possible means of preventing it. The later ones take up the causes, issues, and possible outcome of the great war, as well as a discussion of America's duty in regard to it.

The author cites the famous "agreement of 1817" between Great Britain and the United States limiting armaments on the Great Lakes and suggests that along this line progress towards lessening European armaments, and hence European wars, might be made. Force, he says, must always remain an element in government, but should be reduced to policing force. He thinks that a court of arbitral justice should be founded to direct this policing force.

Mr. Eliot says that the prime source of the present war "is the desire on the part of Germany for world-empire"—a world-empire which was to be achieved

by force of arms—and the consequent cult of valor which glorified courage and ruthless will-power. Hence the predominance of militarism, and the inevitable outbreak of war.

The author makes the statement that "Austria-Hungary, even with the active aid of Germany and Turkey, cannot prevail in Serbia against the active or passive resistance of Serbia, Russia, Roumania, Greece, Italy, France and Great Britain." In the light of recent events, such a statement may cause one to be a bit dubious of Mr. Eliot's military opinions.

*International Socialism and the War* is a defense of the Socialists against the charge of apostasy, which has been made because they are fighting each other in the various armies of Europe. The author says that they were never wholly pacifists. The concept of nationality has always had a place in their idea. The Socialist doctrine was that the proletariat was to get control within the different national units; then war would cease, but nations would continue. The protection of the nation against aggression was not precluded by such a doctrine.

Mr. Humphrey shows in successive chapters on the German, Austrian, Italian, French, Russian, Belgian and British Socialists' attitude towards the war, that all worked untiringly for peace and that all of those that finally fell in with the war party did so upon the conviction that their various governments were waging a defensive war. He makes a very creditable effort to be fair in judging that the majority of German Socialists rallied to the government only because they were convinced that they were fighting a defensive war against Russia. The Russian Socialists have never supported their government; the French and Belgians only after distinctly declaring that they had no quarrel with their German brothers and that they were fighting only against the aggression of despotic governments. In England, he claims, that Socialist opinion wished British neutrality. Although the majority of the Labor Party is now supporting the government in its efforts at recruiting and has adopted the government statement that the violation of Belgian neutrality was the cause of British entry into the war, there is a strong minority which denies the latter and discourages the former.

It is interesting to compare the Socialist Peace Proposals suggested in Humphrey's book with those which Mr. Eliot desires. The Socialists want (1) national divisions to determine frontiers of states, (2) self-government to be granted to subject peoples, if a plebiscite shows that they prefer suzerainty to complete independence, (3) balance of power policy to be superseded by that of a Concert of Europe, (4) parliaments to have a real control of foreign policy, (5) reduction of armaments, and (6) foreign policy to have as its ideal a United States of Europe with all seas neutral and navies supplanted by an international police. Mr. Eliot says: "There can be no secure peace in Europe until a federation of the European states is established." He urges an international police backing up the decrees of an international tribunal and an ultimate reduction of armament. He also says that the war has already demonstrated "the inexpediency of artificially dividing such (national) units or of forcing national units into unnatural associations." In another place he says the world will rejoice when British control of the seas "is replaced by an unlimited international control" and he urges that canals and straits be made neutral. He would have secret diplomacy abolished, treaties publicly discussed and sanctioned. Thus it is clear that,

although he has nowhere formulated his ideas, Mr. Eliot is in essential accord with the Socialist platform.

PAUL LAMBERT WHITE.

*Fellow, University of Pennsylvania.*

HAUSRATH, ADOLF. *Treitschke: His Doctrine of German Destiny and of International Relations*. Pp. xi, 332. Price, \$1.50. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Nearly the first half of this perhaps most interesting interpretation of Treitschke accessible in English is given to a very sympathetic account of his life and work by his close friend Adolf Hausrath. In this translation the influence of the man on the political conceptions and ambitions of modern Germany is shown with a force and clearness unequalled by any of the attempted expositions that have so far come from Englishmen. The selected discussions by Treitschke, comprising the second half of the volume, disclose his now well known philosophy on war, a national army, international law, freedom, German colonization, Germany's attitude toward neutral states, and other topics, with a remarkable present day significance.

J. C. B.

STOWELL, ELLERY C. *The Diplomacy of the War of 1914*. Pp. xvii, 728. Price, \$5.00. (First vol.) Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1915.

Dr. Stowell has attempted a very difficult piece of work and carried it through with striking success. The body of the volume is devoted to an analysis of the official documents issued by the belligerent governments, which by a system of modified quotations the author has been enabled to weave into his text, thus adding greatly to the force and vividness of the narrative. In tracing the successive stages of the negotiations some repetition was necessary, and at times the logical rather than the chronological order is followed, but those who have attempted to thread their way unaided through the labyrinth of documents will count this a virtue rather than a fault.

But the signal achievement of the author lies in the judicial impartiality with which he has handled the questions upon which there has been such heated conflict of opinion. The circumstances leading to the mobilization of Russian troops and the consequent ultimatum from Germany, which were the immediate causes of the war, are viewed from every angle; it is conceded that Russia after much patience threw away the last chance of peace by her premature mobilization, while Germany is shown to have risked the peace of Europe by backing her ally in an act of aggression upon Serbia. The entrance of Great Britain into the conflict and the German plea of necessity as justifying the violation of the neutrality of Belgium are treated with similar exactness and impartiality. The value of the volume is increased by a brief review of European history in the opening chapter and by a wide range of documentary evidence in the form of pertinent treaties and illustrative extracts from writings and speeches, as well as by a careful chronology in the appendix. Altogether Dr. Stowell has set a stand-

ard which will insure a welcome for the two succeeding volumes that are to deal with the diplomacy during the war and the negotiations attending its close.

C. G. FENWICK.

*Bryn Mawr.*

WAXWEILER, EMILE. *Belgium, Neutral and Loyal*. Pp. xi, 324. Price, \$1.25. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1915.

BIGELOW, POULTNEY. *Prussian Memories, 1864-1914*. Pp. xiii, 197. Price, \$1.25. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1915.

It is perhaps too much to expect that out of the mass of literature resulting from the European war we should at this stage of the catastrophe find any single work with an impartial view; but, among the partisan accounts there is a difference, and we can call attention to the best and fairest views. To this class belongs the work by Professor Waxweiler. With a view to enlightening events in Belgium from August 2 to December 1914, the author shows how the "permanent neutrality" of Belgium was created and what problems Belgium faced at the outbreak of the war. He defends the position of Belgium taken during the war, discredits German imputations of Belgian disloyalty, and describes the German rules of war and their application to Belgium. While avowedly a vindication of his fatherland, the work throughout bears evidence of an honest attempt to discuss the issues fairly.

So much cannot be said for Mr. Bigelow's volume; it is written in a captious spirit, and the twenty chapters which comprise the book contain little, if any, solid information. In all of his memories and in his wide range of experience the author sees but little virtue in any German individual or institution. So far as there is any purpose to the volume, it is to portray the Germans in the worst possible light and to exhort the United States to prepare against the German invasion. Containing no important information, and inciting race hatred, it is to be hoped that this masterpiece of garrulity and discursiveness will have few readers.

K. F. G.

*Oberlin, Ohio.*

WILSON, GEORGE G. *The Hague Arbitration Cases*. Pp. x, 525. Price, \$3.50. Boston: Ginn and Company, 1915.

It would be difficult to imagine a more appropriate time for the publication of this important collection of cases. The European conflict has created the impression that the system of international law has broken down, and that chaos has taken the place of order and settled rule. An impression so erroneous cannot but do great harm in undermining faith in law and order. In this work Professor Wilson has compiled the decisions in the fifteen important cases presented to the Tribunal of Arbitration of the Hague since its establishment in 1899. While the author has not included the arguments of counsel, he has given the terms of submission of each case together with the decision of the tribunal, furnishing a complete history of the case, and a full exposition of the principles governing the decision. This volume shows probably more clearly than any publication

that has appeared in recent years not only the possibilities of international arbitration, but the real achievement of the past seventeen years. The record is one that may well strengthen the faith of those who believe that the judicial settlement of international disputes must supplant our present plan, if civilization is to be preserved. The value of Professor Wilson's volume is greatly increased by the publication of an appendix containing the Hague Arbitration Conventions of 1899 and 1907.

L. S. R.

#### MISCELLANEOUS

CUNNINGHAM, WILLIAM. *Christianity and Politics*. Pp. xi, 270. Price, \$1.50. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1915.

In this work, the Lowell Lectures for 1914, the Archdeacon of Ely sketches the influence of Christianity on politics in England from the Reformation to the present. The book is learned and dignified; the style clear though monotonous to the point of dullness; the faults are those inseparable from the attitude of an orthodox and loyal prelate of the Church of England. The two chapters on the Presbyterians and Independents give an utterly inadequate treatment of Calvinism. John Wesley and Methodism receive barely three pages. The constant emphasis of the Church as the mouthpiece of England's beneficent rule, the dutiful provider of divine sanctions for a "naval greatness" that "holds such a place in the designs of Providence" makes one wonder whether the Christian God of Providence has not degenerated into a Pitt or a Palmerston writ large. The fundamental thesis of the book is hardly convincing. It is that government with its obligations "is for the most part indifferent to religion" (p. 219, see pp. 124, 229f). Christianity cannot "lay down principles. . . . applicable to the circumstances of any community, at the precise stage of development which it has reached" (p. 5). Its appeal is personal (p. 6), and "it is by consciously endeavoring to foster the sense of personal obligation that the Church can best coöperate with the State" (p. 240). The political and social reformer may contend that if religious loyalties have no more direct or vital relation with actual life than this implies they can very well be neglected entirely. Mr. Lloyd George, whom the author quotes only to repudiate (p. 190ff), is far nearer the truth when he says: "The Churches of Christ in this land guide, control and direct the conscience of the community."

JNO. M. MECKLIN.

*University of Pittsburgh.*

GRAS, NORMAN S. B. *The Evolution of the English Corn Market*. Pp. xiii, 498. Price, \$2.50. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1915.

This study of the English Corn Market was designed to afford a basis for a more adequate analysis of economic growth. Careful students long have been aware of the inaccuracy of the descriptions of medieval organization in terms of village and town economics that were presumed to be "isolated" and "self-sufficing." Dr. Gras shows conclusively that such conditions never prevailed in England. The manors were grouped even in the earliest period, and entered



into many relations with the outside world. By the middle of the thirteenth century production for a market was common; produce was sold either in a manor belonging to the same lord or in a nearby town. The latter connection was more important and ultimately prevailed, entailing the abandonment of the more characteristic features of the manorial system.

After the decay of the manor, notable groupings of towns and villages in territorial areas developed. These arrangements are traced in price statistics. Finally, London began to acquire preponderant influence as a metropolis. The process of integration is traced in price statistics, derived largely from Thorold Rogers but with some additional material and an entirely different system of presentation. There are chapters on municipal granaries, on middlemen, and on the general regulation of imports and exports, all of which add considerably to our knowledge.

The analysis of the local market is less satisfactory than any other part of this study. It may be that the sources do not afford much evidence of the precise nature of the relations of markets to each other, but Dr. Gras attaches more significance to averages of prices than one can properly assume. The existence of a rough correspondence in price level in a particular region may be due to systematic trading or to similar conditions of culture and production. The phrase "territorial area" does not exactly describe these early conditions. Early market systems were so irregular in form and their influence so restricted that descriptions in terms of territorial area are hardly adequate.

ABBOTT PAYSON USHER.

*Cornell University.*

HOWE, FREDERIC C. *Socialized Germany*. Pp. x, 342. Price, \$1.50. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915.

If one is in quest of the real meaning of *Kultur*, let him turn to this timely and interesting book of the United States Commissioner of Immigration. The reader quickly perceives that those who object to spelling *Kultur* with a K are silenced unless they coin some new word to take its place, for the English language has as yet no word that is its equivalent. "Kultur is not limited to educational and aesthetic things. Kultur includes history and traditions, politics, statecraft, and administration; it includes state socialism, social legislation, the conservation of human life, and the promotion of the well-being of the people. All of the individual and collective contributions which Germany has made to the world form part of Kultur as the German understands the word."

The book is not, as the author states, an *apologia pro Germania* but rather an attempt to understand the nature of the forces that have been at work by which "an agricultural state, only emerging from eighteen century feudalism a half century ago," has been "raised to a position of commanding industrial, commercial, and agricultural importance." The author cites three influences of paramount importance, in the making of modern Germany: first, "the persistence even down to present times of the feudal idea of the state with its eighteen-century relation of classes;" second, "the complete ascendancy of two powerful individuals who have dominated the life of the nation for over fifty years" (Prince Bismarck and William II); and third, "education—an education which begins

with the cradle, that is compulsory, and is open even to the poorest, who are able to make their way through the secondary schools, the academies, technical colleges, and the university, if they have the ambition and the ability to do so." "All of these influences," in the author's judgment, "combined to make the mind of modern Germany what it is, to create a psychology quite different from that of two generations ago, quite different from that of any other nation in Europe."

The major part of the book presents a picture of how Germany is meeting its social and economic problems. Transportation, conservation of natural resources, unemployment, social insurance, education, sanitation and health, municipal socialism, town planning, etc., are each treated in turn.

The author is not blind to the fact that the German method of handling these problems, as efficient as that is, is not without faults, chief of which is a caste system which "runs through the very fibre of the state. . . . The individual child is educated for the station in life to which he is born" and he "is moulded by the state, to the state's idea of what is best for the state, and only incidentally what is best for the child." However, it is the author's belief that the defect of a caste system is not inherent. "The institutions which Germany has developed and the efficiency that has been achieved are in no way inconsistent with democracy." Even an ardent believer in Democracy wonders whether in making so unqualified a statement, the author has not let the wish be father to the thought. Whether or not Democracy and Efficiency now or may at some future stage of social evolution, go hand in hand, we are indebted to Commissioner Howe for a very readable and understanding account of the life of modern Germany. He has made one understand why the German loves his Fatherland, for, as he says, in summing up, "No other country has so greatly improved the well-being of so large a portion of the people." He has given us in this the real explanation of Germany's power, for it is this which lies back of her military achievements; it is this which explains her advance in trade, the growth in her over-seas commerce, and the rise of her merchant marine. This it is, as he says, that has "largely made Germany what she is, a menace and a model, a problem to statesmen of other countries, and a pathfinder in social reform."

FRANK D. WATSON.

*Haverford College.*

JORDAN, DAVID STARR and JORDAN, HARVEY ERNEST. *War's Aftermath*. Pp. xxxi, 103. Price, 75 cents. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Company.

This inquiry into the eugenics of war as illustrated in a part of the theatre of the American Civil war and by the late wars in the Balkans is most suggestive and valuable as a preliminary study of an important topic. By an intensive investigation carried out in restricted and typical war areas, certain counties in Virginia and Georgia, the authors have attempted to reach somewhat definite conclusions on the social cost and biological consequences of the scourge of war in the regions studied. Whether results as to racial hurt are clear or not, the loss of one million efficient men, North and South, outweigh the estimated property loss of some five billions of dollars for each section.

J. C. B.

LAUT, AGNES C. *The Canadian Commonwealth*. Pp. 343. Price, \$1.50. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1915.

If one may judge by the appearance of recent articles and books relating to the history and government of Canada, the rejection of the reciprocity treaty has led the citizens of the United States to take a greater interest in Canadian affairs. This volume, prepared as one of the series on *Problems of the Nations*, gives a clear impression of the people, the political problems, and matters of interest relative to the Canadian commonwealth. The book is full of facts, statistics, and material gathered from government reports as well as from observations as a result of a first-hand study of conditions in every part of Canada. The style is somewhat informal and the treatment rather sketchy, but on the whole the author is to be commended for the preparation of a volume which is readable, entertaining, and highly instructive as to the motives, peculiarities, and the modern issues of interest to the Canadian people. Among the important chapters of the book are: National Consciousness, Americanization, Why Reciprocity Was Rejected, The Coming of the English, Foreigner and Oriental, What Panama Means, How Governed, The Life of the People, Immigration and Development, Defence, and Finding Herself.

C. G. H.

TAUSSIG, F. W. *Inventors and Money-Makers*. Pp. ix, 138. Price, \$1.00. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1915.

In connection with the celebration of the 150th anniversary of the founding of Brown University, Professor Taussig delivered a series of lectures in which he pointed out "the significance of certain human instincts for the purposes of economic analysis." These lectures now appear in book form under the title *Inventors and Money-Makers*.

This is an excellent study of the motivation of the gifted inventor and of the successful business man in capitalized industry. The first half of the book, devoted to the inventor, is keener in its analysis than that devoted to the money-maker, is more interestingly written, and abounds in well chosen illustrations from the lives of famous inventors. The tendency or instinct to invent, for which the author adopts McDougall's term "contrivance," is more or less generally present in all human beings, but is especially developed in the inventive genius. It is far less specific than the dam-building instinct of the beaver or the nest-building instinct of the robin, often leading to results which have no economic value or scientific interest. This instinct is fostered in the workman who uses tools to manufacture a finished article from raw material, but tends to become submerged in the workman who merely feeds the raw material into an automatic machine. The latter may do his work very efficiently, but there is little or no premium upon intelligence, and his specialized share in the industrial process is likely to become monotonous drudgery because there is no play for this instinct of contrivance.

The "money-maker," on the other hand, who is intelligent enough to use the efficiency of the highly trained workman in specialized industry, not only has opportunity for the full play of his own instinct of contrivance, but also finds

his motivation in those instincts to which the terms "acquisition," "domination," "emulation" and "altruism" have been applied. It is to be regretted that the author does not make more use in this connection of the word "competition," since this term is common both to economics and to psychology, including what he prefers to call the "instinct of domination" as well as the primitive instinct of pugnacity, and to some extent, the instincts of play and emulation.

The money-maker fares well in the author's analysis and is given credit for a spirit of altruistic devotion as well as the desire for domination and social emulation. His desire for acquisition is only incidental to these other tendencies. Practically no reference is made to the play of sex instincts, nor is any attempt made to analyze any of these general tendencies of human behavior into terms of this primitive and socially fundamental motivation. Even in dealing with the instinct of contrivance his analysis is too restricted. Though he speaks of this tendency in the money-maker, his discussion of it centers about the originator of mechanical devices, industrial processes, and the like, whereas he should at least point out that the man who, like Newton, formulates new statements of physical law or the chess expert who contributes a new problem each week to a Sunday magazine are both examples of this same tendency. It is not the inventor alone who contrives. So may also the artist, the prophet, or the scientist.

FRANCES N. MAXFIELD.

*University of Pennsylvania.*

THAYER, WILLIAM ROSCOE. *The Life and Letters of John Hay*. (2 vols.) Pp. x, 904. Price, \$5.00. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1915.

These two volumes upon the *Life and Letters of John Hay* are intended by the author to be "a personal biography and not a political history." The task which the author set himself was "to let John Hay tell his own story wherever this was possible," and at the end of volume two Mr. Thayer states that Mr. Hay "has truly described himself." In carrying out this purpose the author has devoted a large share, probably more than half, of the space to Hay's letters. This plan has much to commend it, because of the charm of the letters, and, indeed of everything that Mr. Hay wrote; but the result is an incomplete and fragmentary biography. Some periods of Hay's life, notably the years from 1888 to 1895, are hardly considered at all, nor does the reader obtain a satisfactory account of Mr. Hay's activities from 1872 to 1888.

While Mr. Thayer has not written a political history, he has passed judgment upon numerous public men, and in the judgment thus passed, the author shows a strong bias. Nearly all of the numerous references to Horace Greeley, Whitelaw Reid, Mark Hanna and Mr. McKinley are disparaging in tone. One feels that the author has gone out of his way to express his feeling in regard to the work of these men. There was no especial occasion in writing the life of John Hay for the author to give an estimate of the work and character of other men conspicuous in public life. Colonel Roosevelt's personality and his great work as President secure the author's highest praise, and, very properly, a full account is given of the friendship of Mr. Hay and Colonel Roosevelt and of their coöperation in handling various important international questions.

On the whole, one gets from the two books a clear impression of Mr. Hay as a man of versatility and of strong character, one who accomplished a really great work. Mr. Thayer seems to have been strongly impressed by the obligation he felt to present a true picture of the life and work of the subject of his biography, and the author was evidently from start to finish on his guard against undue laudation. In living up to this obligation, the author at times, doubtless unconsciously, has gone so far as to overstate Mr. Hay's limitations. Those who knew, appreciated and admired Mr. Hay must feel annoyed by some of Mr. Thayer's remarks, particularly regarding Mr. Hay's relations to the Senate. Unquestionably, Mr. Hay was disappointed by the refusal of the Senate to approve certain of his proposals, and it is also true that the action of the Senate in amending the first draft of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty resulted in the final adoption of a better treaty than was first submitted to the Senate. The Senate assisted the Secretary of State in securing a more desirable treaty, just as on other occasions the Secretary of State was of the greatest assistance to the President and to the Senate.

It would have added to the value of the volumes had the author included a concluding chapter reviewing, summarizing and estimating the public services of the man who ranks among the three or four greatest Secretaries of State. On the whole, however, Mr. Thayer has done his work well. The volumes will take their place among the important biographies of American statesmen and will help the people of the United States to appreciate the work of John Hay.

EMORY R. JOHNSON.

*University of Pennsylvania.*

THOMPSON, ROBERT ELLIS. *The History of the Dwelling House and Its Future.* Pp. 172. Price, \$1.00. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company.

The greater portion of this little book deals with the evolution of present-day types of city dwellings. In explaining the development of the modern dwelling, the author has picked out certain movements which, in his judgment, are significant, and has treated these selected topics in an interpretative and popular manner. Thus, the reader is carried along without any effort on his part, his interest being sustained because of the absence of dates and technical details which might prove difficult reading.

After reviewing the development of artificial habitation from the caves of prehistoric times, the author devotes considerable space to an account of the introduction of the chimney in Normandy, leading up, in the later chapters, to the beginning of town houses and the gradual evolution of dwellings suitable for town life. Attention is also given to the introduction of street lighting, sewerage systems, public water supply, etc.

This sketchy, historical treatment covers two-thirds of the book. The last chapters are given up to a study of *The House of Today*, *The House That is to Be*, and *The Street of the Future*. This portion of the volume is disappointing. Many recent developments in city planning have evidently escaped the attention of the author, or did not fit in with his plan of treatment, for they are nowhere mentioned.

T. C.

REPORT OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS, YEAR ENDING  
DECEMBER 31, 1915, AMERICAN ACADEMY OF  
POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE

I. REVIEW OF THE ACADEMY'S ACTIVITIES

The past year has demonstrated, as has never been demonstrated before, the importance of the national service which an organization such as the Academy is called upon to perform. In these moments of world conflict, when some of the most fundamental concepts of law and order seem hanging in the balance, it becomes the solemn duty of a national scientific organization, such as the Academy, to concentrate its efforts in maintaining the standards that make for advancing civilization. Organizations such as ours must hold up to the nation a picture of its permanent as distinguished from its petty and transient interests, and must assist in keeping before the people a high concept of the part which they are called upon to play in the conduct of the world's affairs.

It is but natural that the widespread interest of our members in the European conflict should have reflected itself both in the sessions held and in the volumes published during the year 1915. The task confronting our Editorial Council has been no easy one. Dr. King and his immediate associates have placed every member of the Academy under a deep debt of obligation for the very important services which they have rendered.

It is gratifying to know that in spite of the generally unsettled business conditions which prevailed during the greater part of 1915 the membership of the Academy has suffered but a slight loss.

We still face a problem which has been before the Board for some time, namely that of developing local Academy centers in various parts of the country. The demand for such centers is increasing with each year, but your Board has felt that the inauguration of such a plan would mean a totally different organization of the Academy, and that the Academy is not yet in a position to take such a step.

## II. PUBLICATIONS

During the year 1915 the Academy has published a series of volumes which have brought together the best thought of the country on the important problems with which these volumes deal:

January—Public Policies as to Municipal Utilities.

March—Readjustments in Taxation.

May—The American Industrial Opportunity.

July—America's Interests as Affected by the European War.

September—America's Interests after the European War.

November—Public Budgets.

## III. MEETINGS

During the year 1915 the Academy has held the following meetings:

March 20th—Common Sense in Prison Management.

April 30th-May 1st—(Nineteenth Annual Meeting) America's Interests as Affected by the European War.

October 28th—Police Administration of a Great City.

November 20th—International Relief in Time of War.

## IV. MEMBERSHIP

The membership of the Academy on the 31st of December, 1915, was 5,522, with a subscription list of 860. Of the 5,522 members, 1,219 are residents of Philadelphia, 4,071 are residents of the United States outside of Philadelphia, and 232 are foreign members. Of the 860 subscribers, 4 are from Philadelphia, 781 from the United States outside of Philadelphia, and 75 from foreign countries. Compared with the membership on the 31st of December, 1914 we find that in the Philadelphia membership there is a loss of 4, in the membership in the United States outside of Philadelphia, a loss of 9, and in the foreign membership a gain of 18, or a total loss of 5. In the subscription list there is a gain of 75 in the United States outside of Philadelphia, and a loss of 1 in the foreign subscriptions, making a total gain of 74. The total gain in the combined subscription and membership lists, therefore, is but 69.

During the year the Academy has lost through death 74 of its members, one of whom was a life member.

*Foreign*

Tong Kaison

<sup>1</sup> C. Wilkinson*Philadelphia*

Caldwell K. Biddle

Donnel Hughes

W. Atlee Burpee

Sophy Dallas Irwin

Henry E. Busch

Katherine Kollock

Samuel Dickson

George S. Ligget

James Mapes Dodge

A. Marquis

F. H. Duckwitz

Benjamin Miller

Otto Eisenlohr

Edward P. Moxey

John P. Elkin

M. Richards Muckle

Joseph L. Greenwald

Herman Wolf

C. F. Huch

Anna Yarnall

*Outside*

Charles F. Adams

W. R. Nelson

J. W. Adams, Jr.

Alfred Noble

W. F. Allen

E. T. Parsons

Luther S. Bent

Edward Bunnell Phelps

James Bickbell

Albert Plaut

Samuel Barker

V. M. Porter

John Y. Boyd

J. E. Quigley

J. H. Brock

Charles G. Rapp

Franklin P. Burch

Louis Rosenzweig

John C. Clyde

Clement W. Shoemaker

Grace H. Dodge

Charles E. Slocum

Henry R. Emmerson

Alexander H. Small

James C. Fargo

Samuel G. Smith

H. H. Foster

Edith D. Steele

E. R. L. Gould

Edmund J. Steere

Paul Fuller

B. F. Thomas

John C. Gray

J. S. Barbour Thompson

J. K. P. Hall

James P. Tolman

D. R. Henderson

S. E. Vincent

C. A. Hooper

Michael I. Weller

Albert Lloyd Hopkins

F. H. Wheelan

R. S. Joron

Peter White

C. A. Locke

Charles Whitney

H. B. Lord

Addison R. Wright

Lee McClung

Abraham Gruber

John Muir

Thomas D. Walsh

<sup>1</sup> Life member.



The death of these members has deprived the Academy of some very warm friends and enthusiastic workers.

During the year the Academy has lost by resignation 548 of its members and 39 subscribers, while 617 members and 113 new subscribers have been added to the list.

#### V. FINANCIAL CONDITION

The receipts and expenditures of the Academy for the fiscal year just ended are clearly set forth in the Treasurer's report. The accounts were submitted to Messrs. E. P. Moxey & Company for audit and a copy of their statement is herewith appended.

In order to lighten the burden of expense incident to the Annual Meeting a special fund amounting to \$1,165.00 was raised. The Board takes this opportunity to express its gratitude to the contributors to this fund.

#### CONCLUSION

Your Board desires again this year to impress upon the members of the Academy that the success and influence of our organization must in the last analysis be dependent on the interest and coöperation of the Academy members. There is evidently a tendency in certain quarters to regard the membership obligation as fully discharged with the payment of the annual membership fee. This is a point of view which the officers of the Academy have been steadily endeavoring to overcome. We can only make of the Academy the great national influence in the guidance of public opinion if every member will feel his and her responsibility for the Academy's welfare. It is true with each year we are securing in different parts of the country enthusiastic groups of members who are giving time and thought to the furtherance of the Academy's interests, and to them we desire to extend our deep and sincere appreciation. Your Board also desires to take the opportunity to express the special debt of gratitude to those men and women who have contributed to the publications of the Academy.

January 14th, 1916.

CHARLES J. RHOADS, ESQ., TREAS.,

*American Academy of Political and Social Science, Philadelphia,  
Pa.*

*Dear Sir:*—We herewith report that we have audited the books and accounts of the American Academy of Political and Social Science for its fiscal year ended December 31st, 1915.

We have prepared and submit herewith statement of Receipts and Disbursements during the above indicated period, together with statement of Assets as at December 31st, 1915.

The Receipts from all sources were verified by a comparison of the entries for same appearing in the Treasurer's Cash Book with the record of Bank Deposits and were found to be in accord therewith.

The Disbursements, as shown by the Cash Book, were supported by proper vouchers. These vouchers were in the form of cancelled paid checks or receipts for moneys expended. These were examined by us and verified the correctness of the payments made.

The Investment Securities listed in the Statement of Assets were examined by us and were found to be correct and in accord with the books.

As the result of our audit and examination we certify that the Statements submitted herewith are true and correct.

Yours respectfully,

EDWARD P. MOXEY & Co.,  
*Certified Public Accountants.*

Balance Cash on Hand January 1st, 1915..... \$14,070.44

*Receipts*

Annual Subscriptions.....	\$20,144.57	
Life Membership.....	100.00	
Special Contributions.....	1,165.00	
Subscriptions to Publications.....	3,824.72	
Sales of Publications.....	2,766.30	
Income from Investments.....	3,875.00	
Interest on Deposits.....	172.32	
Miscellaneous Receipts.....	46.07	
	<hr/>	32,093.98
		<hr/>
		\$46,164.42

*Disbursements*

## Office Expense:

Office Salaries .....	\$7,920.94	
Special Clerical Service .....	63.00	
Supplies and Repairs .....	545.30	
Stationery and Printing .....	201.05	
Telephone and Telegraph .....	65.68	
Postage .....	482.23	
Freight, Express and Carfares .....	15.06	
General Expenses .....	80.08	
		<hr/>
		\$9,373.34

## Philadelphia Meetings:

Hall Rents .....	\$310.00	
Stationery, Printing and Engraving ..	827.76	
Clerical Services .....	33.00	
Expenses of Speakers .....	594.28	
Postage .....	214.59	
Telephone and Telegraph .....	63.03	
Carfare, Newspapers and Sundries ..	5.20	
		<hr/>
		2,047.86

## Publicity Expense:

Pamphlets, Cards, Letters, Circulars and Advertising .....	\$368.67	
Postage .....	435.79	
Stationery .....	391.25	
		<hr/>
		1,195.71

## Publication of Annals:

Printing .....	\$9,718.27	
Reprints .....	991.24	
Binding .....	370.50	
Postage .....	1,151.44	
Advertising .....	47.50	
Stationery and Supplies .....	444.21	
Carfare, Expressage and Sundries ...	205.84	
Telephone and Telegraph .....	62.58	
Storage and Insurance .....	239.06	
		<hr/>
		13,230.64

## Investments Purchased .....

Interest, Premiums, etc., on same ...	\$14,630.77	
	92.00	
		<hr/>
		14,722.77

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\$40,570.32

Balance, December 31st, 1915 .....		<hr/>	\$5,594.10
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## ASSETS

*Investments*

\$5,000.00	Baldwin Locomotive Works 1st Mtg. 5's, 1940, M. & N.....	\$4,975.00
10,000.00	Canadian Pacific Railway Equipment Trust 4½'s Ser. T, 1928, J. & J.....	9,701.25
5,000.00	Chesapeake & Ohio Railway Equipment Trust 4½'s Ser. H, 1922-1924, J. & D.....	4,929.52
5,000.00	Choctaw, Oklahoma & Gulf R.R. Co. Gen'l. 5's, 1919, J. & J.....	5,000.00
5,000.00	City of Macon, Ga. Water Works 4½'s, 1932, J. & J...	5,000.00
5,000.00	Lake Shore & Michigan Southern Ry. Co. Deb. 4's, 1928, M. & S.....	4,801.25
5,000.00	Lehigh Coal & Navigation Co. Coll. Trust 4½'s, 1930, M. & N.....	5,000.00
5,000.00	Lehigh Valley Transit Co. 1st Mtg. 4's, 1935, M. & S.	4,387.50
3,000.00	Market Street Elevated Passenger Ry. Co. 1st Mtg. 4's, 1955, M. & N.....	2,786.25
3,500.00	Mortgage Note, C. R. McFarland, Tampa, Fla. 3 yrs. at 6% dated Dec. 15th, 1909.....	3,500.00
5,000.00	New York and Erie Railway 2d Mtg. 5's, 1919, M. & S.	5,000.00
4,000.00	New York and Erie Railway 3d Mtg. 4½'s, 1923, M. & S.....	3,955.00
5,000.00	New York Central & Hudson River R.R. Deb. 4's, 1934, M. & N.....	4,640.00
3,000.00	Penna. & New York Canal & R.R. Co. Cons. Mtg. 4½'s, 1939, A. & O.....	3,000.00
3,000.00	Pittsburg, Bessemer & Lake Erie Cons. 1st Mtg. 5's, 1947, J. & J.....	3,000.00
3,000.00	St. Louis & Merchants Bridge Co. 1st Mtg. 6's, 1929, F. & A.....	3,000.00
3,000.00	St. Louis, Iron Mountain & Southern Ry. Gen'l. Mtg. Land Grant 5's, 1931, A. & O.....	3,000.00
5,000.00	West Chester Lighting Co. 1st Mtg. 5's, 1950, J. & D.	5,000.00
5,000.00	William Cramp Ship & Engine Bldg. Co. 1st Mtg. 5's, 1929, M. & S.....	5,000.00
		<hr/>
		\$85,675.77

## Cash:

In Academy Office.....	\$200.00	
In Treasurer's Hands:		
Centennial National Bank.....	200.00	
Girard Trust Company.....	5,194.10	
	<hr/>	5,594.10
		<hr/>
		\$91,269.87

## LIABILITIES

None

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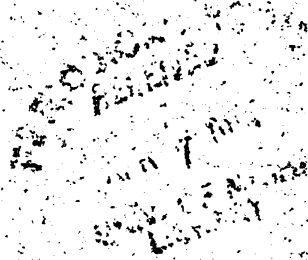
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SUPPLEMENT TO  
**The Annals**  
OF  
THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL  
AND SOCIAL SCIENCE

MARCH, 1916



*Twenty-Fifth Anniversary  
Index*

PHILADELPHIA

*The American Academy of Political and Social Science*

## THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE

**Origin and Purpose.** The Academy was organized December 14, 1889, to provide a national forum for the discussion of political and social questions. The Academy does not take sides upon controverted questions, but seeks to secure and present reliable information to assist the public in forming an intelligent and accurate opinion.

**Publications.** The Academy publishes annually six issues of its "Annals" dealing with the six most prominent current social and political problems. Each publication contains from twenty to twenty-five papers upon the same general subject. The larger number of the papers published are solicited by the Academy; they are serious discussions, not doctrinaire expressions of opinion. The Academy publications, now approaching one hundred and fifty in number, give the most comprehensive account anywhere obtainable of the political and social questions that have been before the American people during the past quarter century.

**Meetings.** The Academy holds five scientific sessions each year during the winter months, and it also has an annual meeting in April, extending over two full days and including six sessions. The papers of permanent value presented at the meetings are included in the Academy publications.

**Membership.** The subscription price of THE ANNALS is \$6.00 per year. Single copies are sold at \$1.00 each. THE ANNALS are supplied to all members of the Academy. Membership in the Academy may be secured by applying to the Secretary, 36th Street and Woodland Avenue, Philadelphia. The membership fee is \$5.00; life membership fee, \$100. Members not only receive all the regular publications of the Academy, but are also invited to attend and take part in the scientific meetings, and have the privilege of applying to the Editorial Council for information upon current political and social questions.

# The Annals

## Twenty-Fifth Anniversary Index

BEING AN INDEX TO ALL PUBLICATIONS OF  
THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL  
AND SOCIAL SCIENCE FROM JULY, 1890, UP  
TO AND INCLUDING JANUARY, 1916



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THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE  
36TH AND WOODLAND AVENUE  
PHILADELPHIA  
1916





# THE ACADEMY'S TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY

## REVIEW OF ACTIVITIES BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE ACADEMY

Late in 1889 a group of public-spirited citizens<sup>1</sup> assembled in Philadelphia for the purpose of establishing a national center for the discussion of the economic, social and political problems confronting the country. The partisan treatment of such problems had created such confusion in the public mind that the need for such an organization had become a pressing national necessity.

Under the original plan of organization the Academy's activities were divided into two broad classes: the Publications and the Meetings. With each year the national influence of the Academy has been strengthened until today there is no other organization exerting the same far-reaching influence on the public opinion of the country.

The publications have become reference works for civic associations and other public organizations, and are also used to a considerable extent as text-books in university classes. The sessions of the Academy, especially the annual meeting, have assumed the character of National Conferences, attended by national delegates from every section of the Union.

Members of the Academy may view with real satisfaction the progress accomplished during the last quarter of a century. This progress, however, involves heavy responsibility for the future. An organization like the Academy must constantly broaden its activities in order to meet new national needs.

L. S. ROWE,  
*President.*

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Edmund J. James, Mr. Joseph G. Rosengarten, Mr. Henry C. Lea, Dr. Simon N. Patten, Dr. Roland P. Falkner, Mr. Stuart Wood, Mr. W. C. Scott, Mr. W. R. Swift, Mr. Victor L. Conrad, Mr. C. H. Thurber, Mr. F. H. Giddings, Mr. William P. Holcomb, Mr. George Henderson, Mr. Clinton R. Woodruff, Mr. John L. Stewart, Mr. Henry Willis, Dr. H. L. Wayland, Mr. E. P. Cheyney, Mr. William D. Lewis, Mr. S. M. Lindsay, Mr. R. S. De Bow, Mr. John S. Durham.



# THE ACADEMY'S PUBLICATIONS

## AN ANNIVERSARY REVIEW

This index will reveal the intrinsic worth and merit of the Academy's publications throughout the first twenty-five years of its history. The subjects discussed, and the authoritative, scholarly, well supported and scientific method in which these subjects are discussed, speak in their own language of the contribution the Academy has made to the public opinion making forces of the country.

It was the Editor's intention to set down the names of some of the prominent social workers, professional men, public officials, etc., who have repeatedly contributed to *THE ANNALS*, but the list proved too long for wise selections. An examination of the index will reveal that all American leaders of thought in every field, and the leaders of thought in foreign countries as well, have been frequent contributors to the Academy's publications. It is not too much to say that among the contributors are all the leading economists, sociologists, political scientists and social workers of the country.

But it is not solely from these groups that the most of the Academy's publications have been built up. The one source of strength to the Academy has been the wide extent to which business men, labor leaders and public officials have presented their own point of view, and their literature, to the readers of the Academy's publications. Thus, we have, at various times, numbered among our contributors presidents, senators, members of the House of Representatives, governors, mayors, leaders in national and international affairs, labor leaders, pioneers in industrial reorganization, public utility experts, public service commissioners, educators, and eminent jurists and publicists.

In evaluating the publications of the Academy, full credit should be given to the men who as editors and assistant editors or members of the Editorial Council, have given so freely, though gratuitously, of their time and capabilities to forward the standard and worth of the Academy's publications. As editors of *THE ANNALS* have been Edmund J. James (1890-1895), now president of the University of Illinois; Roland P. Falkner (1895-1900), of Hamilton Institute, New York City; Henry R. Seager (1901), Professor of Economics, Columbia University, and Emory R. Johnson (1902-1914), Professor of Transportation and Commerce, University of Pennsylvania. Among the assistant editors have been Chester Lloyd Jones, Professor of Political Science, University of Wisconsin, and Ellery C. Stowell, Assistant Professor of International Law, Columbia University. In the Editorial Council have been James Harvey Robinson, Professor of History, Columbia University, Franklin H. Giddings, Professor of Sociology, Columbia University, and Walter S. Tower, Professor of Geography, University of Chicago. For a term of

years, the following men have served on the Council: Carl Kelsey, Professor of Sociology, J. P. Lichtenberger, Professor of Sociology, S. N. Patten, Professor of Political Economy, and S. S. Huebner, Professor of Insurance and Commerce—all of the University of Pennsylvania. Prof. Roswell C. McCrea, Dean of the Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania, and Prof. Frank D. Watson, of Haverford College, have been among those in immediate charge of the Book Department. At all times, back of the Academy's publications have been the guiding hands of its able presidents, Edmund J. James, Samuel McCune Lindsay and L. S. Rowe.

If any one criterion could be chosen as indicative of the effectiveness of the Academy's publications in shaping the public opinion of this country on vital social, civic, economic and international matters, it would be found in the extensive use made of these publications in books dealing with such questions. The most casual reference to the foot-notes and other source material in books of this kind, whether American or foreign, will reveal the wide extent to which the Academy has been looked to for leadership in these matters. The several score of foreign libraries and the hundreds of American libraries that have always been subscribers to *THE ANNALS* likewise testify to the worth-whileness of the matter therein published. More important still in this respect are the several thousand leading business and professional men of the country who are its sustaining members.

In the preparation of this index, Dr. L. S. Rowe, Dr. T. W. Van Metre and Mr. Joseph H. Willits are among those on the Editorial Council who have given largely in time, effort and constructive assistance. It need not be said to those who are familiar with the tedious and careful work necessary to make a thorough, comprehensive index of this character that all possible credit should be given to the employees of the Academy who have given to this work so much time and effort.

The index was put out with the hope that it might make the material in the Academy's publications more available to scholars everywhere. And it is sent out with the invitation to all to join in suggestion and assistance in making the Academy's publications ever more worthy and helpful.

CLYDE L. KING,  
*Editor.*

## TYPE DISTINCTIONS, PAGE AND VOLUME REFERENCES, ORDER OF TOPICS AND ABBREVIATIONS

The following distinctions in type have been made throughout the index:

Titles of volumes and supplements are set in **BLACK FACE TYPE**.

Titles of articles in **REGULAR CAPITALS**.

Names of authors in **REGULAR CAPITALS**.

Volume number in black face numerals (**32**).

Page numbers in regular numerals (32).

The page reference follows immediately after the volume reference. In volumes 1 to 38, inclusive, each volume included more than one issue. In addition to the paging of the separate issues, there was a consecutive paging for the entire volume. The page references in the index, therefore, refer to the paging of the volume as a whole. In volumes 39 to 63, inclusive, each volume comprised only one issue. Hence, in referring to these volumes it has been necessary to give only the volume reference. In the case of Supplements, however, a separate paging was followed. Hence it has been necessary to indicate in each case, in addition to the volume reference, the date of the particular issue to which the supplement appeared. When there are a number of articles bearing on any given topic, the key word is followed by all page references, arranged alphabetically as to sub-topics; then follow the articles arranged alphabetically. Each author's name is followed by the article, or articles, he has written.

### ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations have been used throughout the index:

J.—January

F.—February

Mch.—March

M.—May

Jy.—July

S.—September

N.—November

Sup.—Supplement

The years have been indicated as: '90 (1890); '00 (1900); '15 (1915).

## DATES AND VOLUME NUMBERS OF THE PUBLICATIONS OF THE ACADEMY AND SUPPLEMENTS THERETO

From 1890 to 1902 the issues of *THE ANNALS* were devoted to various topics. Since 1902, however, each issue has been devoted to a particular subject. Since 1912 each issue has been numbered as a separate volume. These changes were necessitated by the growing volume of the material published by the Academy.—THE EDITOR.

- Vol. I: July, 1890 to June, 1891  
 Supplements: February, 1891, "Public Health and Municipal Government"  
 March, 1891, "History, Theory and Technique of Statistics"  
 April, 1891, "Handbook of the American Academy of Political and Social Science"  
 May, 1891, "History, Theory and Technique of Statistics," Part II
- Vol. II: July, 1891 to June, 1892
- Vol. III: July, 1892 to June, 1893  
 Supplements: January, 1893, "Constitution of the Republic of Colombia"  
 March, 1893, "Constitutional and Organic Laws of France, 1875-1889"
- Vol. IV: July, 1893 to June, 1894  
 Supplements: September, 1893, "Inland Waterways"  
 March, 1894, "History of Political Economy"
- Vol. V: July, 1894 to June, 1895  
 Supplements: July, 1894, "Theory of Sociology"  
 September, 1894, "Constitution of the Kingdom of Prussia"  
 November, 1894, "Constitution of the Kingdom of Italy"
- Vol. VI: July, 1895 to December, 1895
- Vol. VII: January, 1896 to June, 1896  
 Supplements: January, 1896, "Theory of Social Forces"  
 May, 1896, "Constitution of the Kingdom of Belgium"
- Vol. VIII: July, 1896 to December, 1896
- Vol. IX: January, 1897 to June, 1897  
 Supplement: May, 1897, "Handbook of the Academy"
- Vol. X: July, 1897 to December, 1897
- Vol. XI: January, 1898 to June, 1898  
 Supplement: May, 1898, "Handbook of the Academy"
- Vol. XII: July, 1898 to December, 1898
- Vol. XIII: January, 1899 to June, 1899  
 Supplement: May, 1899, "Foreign Policy of the United States"
- Vol. XIV: July, 1899 to December, 1899
- Vol. XV: January, 1900 to June, 1900  
 Supplement: May, 1900, "Corporations and Public Welfare"
- Vol. XVI: July, 1900 to December, 1900  
 Supplement: July, 1900, "Selected Official Documents of the South African Republic and Great Britain"
- Vol. XVII: January, 1901 to June, 1901  
 Supplements: January, 1901, "Massachusetts Labor Legislation"  
 May, 1901, "Handbook of the Academy"
- Vol. XVIII: July, 1901 to December, 1901

1902

- Vol. XIX: .  
 January—"Commerce and Transportation"  
 May—"Government of Dependencies"

- Vol. XX:  
November—"Finance"

## 1903

- Vol. XXI:  
January—"Current Labor Problems"  
March—"Current Political Problems"  
May—"Problem in Charities and Corrections"
- Vol. XXII:  
July—"The United States and Latin-America"  
September—"Southern Educational Problems"  
November—"Business Management"

## 1904

- Vol. XXIII:  
January—"Tariff Problems—American and British"  
March—"Municipal Problems"  
May—"Philanthropy and Penology"
- Vol. XXIV:  
July—"The Government in its Relation to Industry"  
September—"Some Problems of Organised Labor"  
November—"Insurance and Commercial Organization"

## 1905

- Vol. XXV:  
January—"Business Management and Finance"  
March—"City Life and Progress"  
May—"Child Labor"
- Vol. XXVI:  
July—"The United States as a World Power"  
September—"Insurance"  
November—"Federal Regulation of Corporations"

## 1906

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January—"Municipal Ownership and Municipal Franchises"  
March—"Child Labor"  
May—"The Improvement of Labor Conditions in the United States"  
Supplement: "Pan-American Conferences and Their Significance"
- Vol. XXVIII:  
July—"Business Professions"  
September—"Woman's Work and Organizations"  
November—"Municipal Problems"

## 1907

- Vol. XXIX:  
January—"Child Labor"  
Supplement: "Child Labor Legislation"  
March—"Railway and Traffic Problems"  
Supplement: "Our State Constitutions"  
May—"Tariffs, Reciprocity and Foreign Trade"
- Vol. XXX:  
July—"American Colonial Policy and Administration"  
September—"Bonds as Investment Securities"  
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- January—"American Waterways"
- March—"Lessons of the Financial Crisis"
- May—"Control of Municipal Public Service Corporations"
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- July—"Federal Regulation of Industry"
- Supplement: "Child Labor and Social Progress"
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- January—"Industrial Education"
- March—"Labor and Wages"
- Supplement: "Child Workers of the Nation"
- May—"Conservation of Natural Resources"

Vol. XXXIV:

- July—"Race Improvement in the United States"
- Supplement: "Consumers' Control of Production"
- September—"Chinese and Japanese in America"
- November—"American Business Conditions"

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- January—"The New South"
- Supplement: "Development of Germany as a World Power"
- March—"Public Recreation Facilities"
- Supplement: "Child Employing Industries"
- May—"Stocks and the Stock Market"
- Supplement: "Significance of the Woman Suffrage Movement"

Vol. XXXVI:

- July—"The Administration of Justice in the United States"
- Supplement: "Commercial Relations between the United States and Japan"
- September—"Settlement of Labor Disputes"
- Supplement: "The Work of the National Consumers' League"
- November—"Banking Problems"

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Vol. XXXVII:

- January—"Electric Railway Transportation"
- Supplement: "The Need for Currency Reform"
- March—"The Public Health Movement"
- May—"Political and Social Progress in Latin-America"
- Supplement: "The Living Wage of Women Workers"

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- July—"Risks in Modern Industry"
- Supplement: "Uniform Child Labor Laws"
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- <sup>1</sup> In February, 1914, a revised edition of the Commission Government Volume (issued in November, 1911) was printed. A particular section of this revised edition was devoted to "The City Manager Plan." Following is a list of the new articles which appear in that section: "The Principles underlying the City-Manager Plan," by Richard S. Childs; "A Proposal for a School of Municipal Administration at the University of Texas," by Herman G. James; "The City-Manager Charter of Dayton," by L. D. Upson; "Adoption of the City-Manager Plan," by Ernest S. Bradford; "The City-Manager Plan and Expert City Management," by H. S. Gilbertson. The following articles not in this section were also prepared for this revised edition: "Some Commission Government Accomplishments and Deficiencies," by Henry Brubere, and "Securing Efficient Administration under the Commission Plan," by Frederick W. Donnelly.
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**The Annals OF**  
**THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL**  
**AND SOCIAL SCIENCE**

*Vol. LXV*

*MAY, 1916*

*Whole No. 154*

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**Personnel and**  
**Employment Problems**

*Issued Bi-Monthly by the American Academy of Political and Social Science at Concord, New Hampshire.*  
*Editorial Office, Woodland Avenue and 30th Street, Philadelphia, Pa.*

*Entered as second-class matter May 3, 1915, at the post-office at Concord, New Hampshire, under the Act of August 24, 1915.*



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# PERSONNEL AND EMPLOYMENT PROBLEMS IN INDUSTRIAL MANAGEMENT

## The Annals

VOLUME LXV

MAY, 1916

EDITOR: CLYDE LYNDON KING

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THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE

36TH AND WOODLAND AVENUE

PHILADELPHIA

1916

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#### EUROPEAN AGENTS

ENGLAND: P. S. King & Son, Ltd., 2 Great Smith St., Westminster, London, S. W.

FRANCE: L. Larose, Rue Soufflot, 22, Paris.

GERMANY: Mayer & Müller, 2 Prinz Louis Ferdinandstrasse, Berlin, N. W.

ITALY: Giornale Degli Economisti, via Monte Savello, Palazzo Orsini, Rome.

SPAIN: E. Dossat, 9 Plaza de Santa Ana, Madrid.

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## FOREWORD

Considerations affecting the interests of the personnel are more and more being accorded their proper place in industrial management. The correctness of this policy is accepted by the more progressive and thoughtful employing concerns, not only because social opinion requires that employers should squarely face the human problems in industry, but also because scientific study and attention to the selection and development of, and coöperation with, employees furnish one of the most fruitful present sources of increasing business efficiency.

In order properly to study their own personnel problems, employing concerns are increasingly establishing functionalized departments, similar to other functionalized departments such as that of mechanical engineering in a factory. To do its work properly this division of human engineering should be on a par in importance with the financial, sales or mechanical departments, and its head should be of equal calibre with other executives.

The employment office is usually selected to become this personnel department because its work necessitates such close relationship with the working force. Cases where the duties of the employment office are interpreted thus broadly are rare. Wherever they do exist, however, such departments have supervision over all questions touching employees from the time the employee is hired through all of his career in the plant. It should establish permanent relationships with the sources of supply, frequently suggesting ways of improving them. It should carefully select employees, scientifically fitting them to their jobs, whose requirements they shall in each case have studied. In every way it should seek to stabilize the working force and regularize employment. The physical examination of new and old employees as well as questions dealing with physical conditions in the plant and at the homes of the workers will occupy its attention. This department will have to do with following up the employee after he is at work, increasing his efficiency by adequate training systems and supervising the system of promotions. Social service work, profit sharing, group activities of employees are examples of other phases of its scope. Out of the labors of such an

employment department improved industrial relationships should grow, to the mutual advantage of employer and employe.

This attention to the human problems has emphasized the need for the development of a science of employment and personnel management. This need has manifested itself within the last five years in the formation of at least seven Employment Managers' Associations,—in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Detroit, Chicago, Minneapolis, and San Francisco. The object of these Associations is to bring together the personnel executives to discuss and pool experiences about their common problems so that some of the wastes experienced both by employers and employes may be eliminated and the personnel function raised to its proper place in industrial management. It is highly important that, as this movement develops, the voice of the worker and the social agencies be prominently heard so that it may fulfill its best possibilities to industry and society.

It is with the idea of describing the development of this movement and assisting the employment managers' associations as well as the many employers who are developing this work, that this volume is devoted to a description of some of the more significant and practical efforts that are now being carried on in this field. Obviously the expressions of individual opinion in these articles may not always agree in every detail with the opinions of the Editors.

MEYER BLOOMFIELD

AND

JOSEPH H. WILLITS,

*Editors in Charge of Volume.*



5. 7



## THE EMPLOYMENT MANAGER<sup>1</sup>

BY ERNEST FOX NICHOLS,  
President of Dartmouth College.

The greatest problems in business today compared with the business problems of fifty years ago have arisen from combinations in business and the enormously increased scale of business operations. The growth of system and material efficiency, with better organization, the standardization of plants, of machinery, of processes, of operations, and of products, have everywhere brought increased efficiency and economy of production; everywhere save at the one vital point, namely: the more efficient handling of labor. Personal and human relations between high officers in the management and labor have practically ceased in times of industrial peace. The continuous personal relations possible fifty years ago between men at the bottom and men at the top of the organization are at an end. Sympathetic understanding of one another as human beings, each seeing industry from a different angle, each entitled to a different point of view and opinion, is well-nigh lost.

In the same interval labor, at least skilled labor, has developed in average education, in average intelligence, and in the power to think, in aspirations and workingmen have become ambitious to live fuller lives in cleaner homes, to educate their children better. The value of this change to society and industry is and should be equal. Yet business has been more and more tempted to regard labor as a commodity, and a most vexatious and recalcitrant commodity. Moreover, labor has become highly organized, not for coöperation with capital, but in self-defense against capital, to fight capital. Capital in the past has in some instances taught labor selfishness and certain forms of tyranny. Labor has learned its power to threaten and even to paralyze industry. Indefinite and irresponsible ownership, expansion in scale of operations, failures in handling of men—these have set modern commerce and industry their present greatest and most pressing problems.

<sup>1</sup>An address to the Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America, Washington, D. C., February 8, 1916.

Mistakes due to the loss of control of business by the owners, mistakes frequently due to faulty expansion and combination leading toward monopoly, mistakes in handling men, have all led to one form or another of public interference. Attempts to regulate business by statute, commission, or inspection are becoming more frequent, and yet another phase of this public interference is the organization of labor for defensive and offensive purposes. Every law, and every labor organization, points to somebody's blunder, lack of foresight or sense of justice. Every law and labor union stands for a lost opportunity by some owners or managers. Laws and organizations are born of real needs. If business could have foreseen these needs, and met them, we should have been spared a huge volume of awkwardly conceived and often more awkwardly executed legislation and much industrial strife. Business must not only find firmer footing, but it must regain a lost prestige and get back into a better strategical position. Business has grown so rapidly that it has at times exhausted its highest intelligence in the mere processes of growth, and has frequently failed to face and to analyze fundamentally all the factors in its highly complex relationships to labor and the public interest.

The largest problem in business today is not a material problem, not sales or financing, or a further standardization of products or processes of manufacture. Wonderful progress and systematization have been developed in all these material concerns and interests.

The greatest business problem today is the human problem of labor and the wise handling of men. Here lies the greatest opportunity, and also the greatest danger confronting modern business. On the one hand, lie the possibilities of steady production, coöperation, contentment and good will; on the other, the possibilities of strife, of organized social revolt and even the wrecking of the present organization of industry. Syndicalism and socialism, I may remind you, are more than empty shadows. We must look to the future as well as the past.

The failure of many of our industries to deal wisely, humanely, and considerately with labor is shown in various ways. For instance, the United States Census statistics for the calendar year 1904 show in all industries the maximum number of people employed was something over seven million; the minimum number, at another

time of the year, was 4,600,000. At the minimum only 65 per cent of the maximum were employed. That means that 35 per cent were compelled to be idle for part of the time. If we take into account overtime and part time, even greater fluctuations of employment and unemployment occur.

There are some industries, as we all know, that are working only about five months in the year. Think of the waste of capital! Think of the human waste of labor! The hard part of the showing of the census is that the minimum number were employed in January. The largest number were out of employment,—35 per cent, in the cold weather. There are few such demoralizing combinations as poverty and idleness. They will break character, they will break proper habits of living, they will ruin labor. There is only one combination that is more deadly, and that is idleness and riches. We have all of us seen the mischievous work of the destruction of men and women due to both of these groups of conditions.

To work part time is extravagantly wasteful. To employ overtime is to pay more per hour, and each hour is worth less than in regular time. The loss is a double loss shared by the industry and by society, and thousands upon thousands of men and women are wrecked every year in this country through the annual fluctuations of employment.

In this way the industries, in one sense, are killing the goose, and the only goose, than can lay the golden egg. They are making people who should be helpful, helpless. They are making people who should produce for industry and for the state, charges on the state.

The best way to examine the industrial condition of any business is by examining what we call the labor turn-over. The labor turn-over technically means this: If you have an average of 100 employees steadily in your work, and in order to maintain that average you have to employ each year fifty new employees, your labor turn-over is fifty in a 100, or 50 per cent. That, by the way, is a very moderate labor turn-over. It has been known to go as high as 1,000 per cent.

Many men with large responsibility in commerce and industry have not yet reached the point where they know what their labor turn-over is. Yet that is the key to their business.

But the labor turn-over tells you very little unless you analyze it, and you have to analyze it with skill, with judgment, with vision, with trained powers. In short, there should be a man whose profession it is to be able to analyze the labor turn-over, and to find remedies and ways for decreasing it.

Let us see what some of the problems are that are involved in the labor turn-over.

Seasonal fluctuations, or seasonal industries. How can that be met? It may require a different sales policy; it may require coöperation between buyer and seller. But, as long as employment is managed as it is now managed in most industries, there is no hope of bringing that about. Too many of our industries are governed by their sales force. It is a different problem in every industry and in every group of surroundings. There is no general cure for all these things. There must be someone of trained powers on the ground studying constantly and steadily.

The large labor turn-over may in part be due to the wrong selection of employees. How are employees selected in each of the businesses in which you are interested, or of which you are in control? What is the intelligence? What are the human sympathies? What is the type of man or men who hire new employees, and to what extent are they examined for their fitness for this important and particular business?

Another thing which may lead to a large turn-over is fickle reasons for discharging, or discharging on arbitrary grounds. There is more of that done than you would realize until you looked into it very carefully.

Another cause of labor turn-over is unsatisfactory wages; another, hours of work; another, failure to develop employees for fitness; failure, after the employee has been hired, to follow up that employee and see that the fitness which is in him is developed. If there is one operation at which he is put at which he does not succeed, see if you cannot find another; see if you can conserve that man or that woman and bring out of what seems unpromising material a productive worker.

One other cause is the lack of standardization and separation of jobs, so that the employee at the time of his employment does not clearly understand, and cannot be given to understand, exactly what his duties and responsibilities are, and where they stop and

where they begin. Uncomfortable working conditions, crowding, ventilation, light, heat, may lead to an increased labor turn-over if they are faulty. Sickness due to unsanitary conditions of employment is a frequent cause of a large turn-over, and when illness begins, it is not only those who are ill who leave the employment, but others leave with them.

There is illness of a natural sort for which the conditions of employment are not responsible; but if the illness could be found out, could be looked into, if there were medical service in connection with the factory, if there were a trained nurse, if, whenever an employee did not report for work, the employee was looked up at home, it would make a great difference.

Wrong personal methods of handling employees, not treating them with the respect due to men and women, may cause a large turn-over. General discontent, discouragement, distrust or suspicion of the management, lack of a feeling of *esprit de corps*, lack of a friendliness between the employees themselves, failure of the management to show recognition or advancement, or wage increase for better work, are causes. Then there are certain local causes. Such are just a few of the things that enter into the labor turn-over, and a man must be of great talent and judgment and human sympathy and feeling, who will devote his whole time, the whole time of a highly trained and sympathetic intelligence, to go through and analyze and find out what is wrong and how it can be bettered.

Let me give you the results of one employment manager. Fortunately, in this case the man who took upon himself the employment function was a member of the firm, so that nothing stood in the way of the policies which, after due examination and study, he settled upon. The business concern is one in the clothing trade where there has been seasonal employment, where in other shops there is now seasonal employment. In this case the sales policy has been changed. Customers and sellers have agreed to certain modifications of delivery, to their mutual advantage. Certain operative policies have been changed because of the study of the employment manager of the conditions of employment, and this is what he accomplished. In five years he cut down the annual labor turn-over from 150 to 33 per cent. He raised average weekly wages by 37 per cent. He reduced working hours from fifty-four

to forty-eight per week. He cut down his average force from 1,044 to 865. He increased production 42 per cent.

~~That sort of thing is not charity.~~ It is not sentimental uplift. It comes out in the balance sheet. The man of that quality, with that standing and authority, whose word will be heard in the management, is the man who can not only improve the industry immediately, almost immediately, but he can actually increase money earnings, can provide a fixed and steady personnel, he can so change conditions that work goes steadily forward with only small seasonal fluctuations, so that the whole plant is used every day and there is no overhead charge carried when nobody is at work.

In addition to all that, he has saved to the industry hundreds of laborers and working people. He has saved the state and society from the wreckage which comes from unemployment. The same talent applied in your business could do something of the same sort. Perhaps not so much, perhaps conditions are different. But something could be done. That is an extraordinary showing. But some such showing will be possible if it is taken hold of in an intelligent way, and if the man who is entrusted with the function of employment is given a place comparable to the production manager, or the sales manager, and has direct access to the general manager or the president, and sits in council with the highest administrative officials, so that he has a chance to counsel changes in operation, policy, changes in sales policy, changes in whatever stands in the way of the greater common good of the industry and the employee alike.

This is a new profession. Let me give you one other instance of another kind. Mr. Magnus Alexander very carefully analyzed a group of industries employing all grades of labor. He very carefully inquired into every one of them, the processes of employing, the processes of dismissal, and everything connected with employment in them. These were the conditions that he found. In those industries during the year in which he studied them the total number of employees increased from 38,000 to 46,000. But to get that 8,000 increase, 44,000 people were taken into the business as employees to maintain the staff and to get an 8,000 increase.

Mr. Alexander makes every possible deduction for labor turnover due to unavoidable causes, sickness, death, and all the other things that cannot be prevented, but can only be minimized. He

took into account every item involved, and he comes out with a result that 22,000 of those employees were unnecessarily taken on; and as many left for preventable causes; that is, these changes of employment showed faults in the employment policies of the business. He also computed, after a very careful reckoning—and I am sure that he did not put it too high—that those combined industries, in the employment of those 22,000 unnecessary people, expended \$775,000. That is a conservative figure.

We have this new profession, this employment manager. What should be his duties? What should be his qualifications? What should be his training? His work is difficult. You will admit he must not only know how to deal with the present situation, but he has more against him than that. He must allay mutual suspicion and hostility already aroused by winning confidence in his fair dealing with both labor and management. Let me give you something of the qualifications that have been drawn up by Dr. H. S. Person, one who has given this problem more study than I. What sort of things ought an employment manager to do and to be? Dr. Person's answer is found in his article in this volume.<sup>2</sup>

How shall such men be produced in a new profession? There is only one place in the world, the Amos Tuck School of Administration and Finance, where there has been any attempt, as yet, to lay out a course of study which would be helpful to the school training of such an executive. He must get, of course, most of his qualifications in practice. But that he may start out with the proper foundation, courses have been devised, which have been in operation for only half a year. There is no background of experience. We do not as yet know anything more than we have been able to reason out in an *a priori* way, experience will doubtless teach us much as to what to do and how to do it, and what not to do and how not to do it.

But the future of society and industry alike is vitally concerned with the job for the man, as well as with the man for the job. We have heard the cry of business and industry for the man for the job, and now in a quieter voice, but one of growing insistence, which will go on growing, we must find the job for the man; we must discover and develop in the man the fitness for the job.

<sup>2</sup>See pp. 118-21. (This quotation was originally a part of Dr. Nichols' article but has been omitted by the Editors since Dr. Person's complete article appears in this volume.)

How can the Chamber of Commerce of the United States use its very great influence to forward this great movement, equally vital to the success of industry and the success of society? May I make one suggestion, though not a member? The Chamber can do a very great deal by appointing a special committee to study and report on the employment manager, his function, his training, his rank in business. The Chamber can further use its great influence to help to educate business men to an appreciation of the necessity of the functionalized employment head who has to deal with the greatest problems that now concern both commerce and industry.

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## THE EMPLOYMENT PROBLEM IN INDUSTRY<sup>1</sup>

BY WILLIAM C. REDFIELD,

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In a recent conversation with an employer who had under his care over 4,000 men and women in the large factory he directed, he said in substance that when expenditures were made for machinery or materials they were given care that was too much neglected when the matter was one of employing men and women. In buying machines thought was given to the question whether each machine was that which was best suited to its work, whether it had strength sufficient, and whether it was in all ways suited to do what was to be required of it. Experts were employed to advise upon the matter, and much time and money were spent as a matter of course to determine all the facts in order that the investment in the machine might be made wisely. The same was true, he said, as regards materials. They were bought from carefully prepared specifications and thorough tests were made to determine whether the goods were as represented. The specifications themselves were the result of long study to find that material best suited for the purpose.

The gentleman then proceeded to point out that in employing men and women these various things were conspicuous by their absence; that nothing like the same amount of care was usually given to securing the man that was bestowed upon buying the machine or the materials upon which the machine was to work. My acquaintance thought the whole process was incomplete and that we had stopped with one of the most important things left quite undone. He felt that the art of employment was worthy of thought and study as truly as the business of buying, and that there was the same sound reason for having an employment manager that existed for having a purchasing agent and at least as great need for care in the performance of the duties of the one as of the other.

In the business with which I was myself long connected, I was

<sup>1</sup> Revision of remarks before the Employment Managers' Conference, Minneapolis, January 20, 1916.

a spectator of, rather than a participant in, the process of employing, for my own work lay chiefly in the selling department of the business. The head of the house, however, considered it of importance to give his personal care so far as was possible to the matter of employment. He did not like to discharge men. It was his policy not to do so, and therefore he would say the more care was needed in employing them because he hoped not to let them go. This policy was carried out with remarkable success. The force so employed was in many respects a picked one. The changes in it were relatively few, and rarely was a man discharged for cause. The business grew from a small to a large one, and the definite policy of giving special care to the matter of employment proved in every respect successful.

I have always felt that the last concern in the world with which I should want to compete would be that which paid high wages, which sold the best quality of goods, and which had such management as to lead its men upward all the time. I have never found any difficulty, as a salesman, in competing with a cheap shop. The product of a cheap shop is likely to include a large quantity of seconds, and is not usually as large as where men are well paid.

I think I can give you an example of the economy of good wages and good treatment in the case of a factory employing women which I have in mind. In it there are a thousand working girls, 500 each in two rooms. They earn as a minimum wage about one half more than the girls in other mills nearby employing women. As a maximum they earn almost or quite double what other mills pay girls. The conditions of employment are such that the ladies here might wear their white dresses going through the factory, without danger of soiling them. I took my wife there to see it. As a result of those conditions, and of careful selection in employment, with much attention paid to the human value in the shop, that factory sold its goods before the war against the competition of Germany, England and France, in fifty countries all over the world.

My feeling about the fundamental policy of employment is that we often stop short in our thinking. We buy a machine, you and I. We are, as I have suggested, very careful about that machine. In the first place we do not buy the machine unless we understand it. There is not one of us here who would think of

putting an apparatus into our office or shop that we did not understand. That means that we have given attention to the laws of that machine. We know what it can do. We should consider ourselves very, very absurd if we put into our factory any apparatus about which we could say that we had not studied its laws, and did not know how it operated, what its capacity of output might be, to what extent it would bear overstrain. You would not run a paper machine in a dusty place. A man would be considered foolish, to say the least, to do that; and there are other delicate machines which you are especially careful to keep dry, and in other respects to keep guarded and cared for. How many of us apply the same kind of thinking to the man or the woman we take into our shops, so infinitely more complex a machine than the loom or the shaper or the planer or the paper machine, an infinitely more complex thing with all sorts of qualities to which most of us pay no attention. In fact, there is a word we use in that connection which by its very use shows the limitation of our thought. We say we employ so many "hands." The very use of the word shows that we do not appreciate the situation. We are not employing "hands"; we are employing brains and hearts and dispositions, and all sorts of elements that make for personality—we are employing them all.

Now, if there is one neglected thing in the employment problem, it is the human capacity for responsiveness. We are all of us perfectly familiar with the human capacity for destructiveness. We feel that ourselves. We do not like it when we are made to do something which was not in the bond. We do not like it, you and I in the office, sitting at our comfortable desks, when something is put up to us to do that was not in the bond of employment. We resent it when we are told to do it under conditions of hardship, with no account being taken of fatigue, or of our physical capacity for the particular thing we are asked to do, with no thought of the infinite complexity of the human element employed. It is the darkest kind of blundering and blindness that too many of us use. Here is a man with all sorts of initiative along certain lines; he can handle a lathe, perhaps, to perfection; but because he was employed as a grinder, for which he has no aptitude at all, we keep him as a grinder. The idea of selection in many of our shops and offices is almost unknown; but a man who is no good at one thing is assumed,

therefore, to be good at nothing, and out he goes, without thought, into the world. About the saddest thing in industry is the fearful procession of the incompetent, who enter and go out of our great mills. But almost as sad a sight is the alleged brain of the superintendent who lets that sort of thing go on indefinitely.

I have in mind two factories, twelve miles apart, in the same line of business. In one of them were perfect equipment, modern buildings and light, and everything physically fine; but the owner of that mill stated to me that he could not get respectable help at any price; and he had signs in many languages in the mill because he had many racial types of help. Twelve miles away in another mill, whose buildings were all that such buildings should not be, no two of them on the same level, whose plant would be an interesting study for the archaeologist, the owner said to me, "I wish you would come down into the factory yard; I want you to see our working girls." I went down in the yard, and he had good reason to be proud of the girls, largely American born, a very fine looking lot of young women. These mills were only twelve miles apart, in the same state. In the factory that I spoke of a moment ago, where there were a thousand workers, it has happened more than once that mothers of wayward daughters would bring them to the superintendent and ask if he would take them into the mill, that they might have the benefit of the influence of the good girls working in that mill. On the office desk in those works stands a silver vase, presented to the owner, when 80 years of age, by the entire working force of the factory. This is only forty miles away from some of our great mill centers where that which takes place is sad as regards the sweetness and purity and dignity of womanhood.

I took Mr. Roosevelt through one of these factories of which I speak, one day, and he talked to a man named Henry. Henry called another Henry whom he introduced as his son. He said, "I expect in a few years we will have the third Henry here—my grandson—who is just growing up and he is coming into the shop." A very interesting object lesson of what was hoped to take place—three generations at work in the same factory at the same time.

A great deal is said of welfare work in our factories, and under this head much is done that thoughtful people must admire, and, so far as they may, emulate. There is a feature of so-called wel-

fare work, ~~however, which has objectional phases.~~ I do not think it is wise for employers to impose their own ideals of welfare upon their employes. I do not think that any amount of welfare work can ever take the place of a righteous wage or compensate for its absence. A beautiful hospital in the shop does not make good a scanty purse in the home. This is not a slap at hospitals but a slap at the scanty purse. If the purse is properly filled and the hospital is needed, by all means let us have both. The first and foremost welfare work is the payment of a living wage.

It seems to me that the sound philosophy for welfare operations is to proceed *pari passu* with the developing desires of the employes for them. I do not quite know why I have the right to impose my ideas as to sanitation and cleanliness upon others. There is of course the privilege of reasoning on these matters, and the power of courteous argument is a proper one at almost all times and places. It is rather a different thing, however, for me to put my own personal standards in those respects, however good, into such physical form that they are substantially enforced upon others without their desire or choice. A good example of these respects is wholly admirable, but I sometimes think there has been a little bit too much in some cases of the attitude that the workman needed to be taught about these matters by his wiser master and thus be brought to a better standard of living. Perhaps it may be true, but it may not be altogether pleasant or wise to put it in just that way. These things are matters of growth, of education, of evolution, and permanent results are more safely had if the evolution of welfare facilities proceeds step by step with the evolution of the appreciation of them and the desire for them on the part of those for whose good they are intended.

The process I suggest is slow. It is not spectacular. It has little or no advertising value. But it would mean that master and man grew together side by side, and it is consistent with peace and with mutual self respect. Let us meet men fully half way, but let us not try to impose upon them our own ideals, for even if ours are the better ideals they will resent them if imposed from above, and I think they ought to do so.

I heard of a man who gave a splendid clubhouse to his working girls. It was his idea and he meant it in a broad spirit of kindly

helpfulness. The girls used it with much interest for some months. Then it was not used so much, and the use grew less and less. The employer thought the girls ungrateful. A fellow manufacturer said:

No, they are not ungrateful. The clubhouse is not their clubhouse. It is your clubhouse. They do not want your conception of what they need imposed upon them. They would be thankful for your meeting their real needs, the first of which is a sufficient wage to keep them self-respecting in the world, after which, so far as you can go with them, meeting their viewpoint, well and good, but never impose on them your own idea of what they need. It is not human nature to like that.

## DEMOCRACY AS A FACTOR IN INDUSTRIAL EFFICIENCY

BY HORACE B. DRURY,  
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Democracy is that condition in a society which encourages self-direction on the part of all members. The idea is as old as antiquity, and has long been favored by the teachings of Christianity. The democratic revolution, however, came in earnest in the latter part of the eighteenth and in the nineteenth centuries. In the field of personal relations, we now call democratic any disposition to respect the opinions and human worth of other people, particularly those less fortunate. In the state, democracy consists in government for and by the people. In a business enterprise, it would mean the power of employes to think, to act, to be heard on industrial matters. Striking illustrations of our varied democratic development and of its hold upon twentieth century life are the rise of the labor movement, England's long postponement of conscription, and America's moderation in dealing with her refractory southern neighbors.

To most persons it will come as a surprise that this democratic tendency of the day should be seriously advanced as an aid to industrial efficiency. Almost all Americans approve in a general way of freedom—for they like it. Especially when it comes to a man's own actions he feels that life is more worth the living if he may do as he wishes. But, at the same time, absence of authority is hardly counted a tangible business asset. On the contrary, the efficiency movement, in both the governmental and the industrial spheres, has perhaps for its central goal the furtherance of discipline, centralization, and expert control. Let the ablest men be placed in positions of authority; let these men collect and invent the best possible methods for every operation; and then let special care be taken to see that everyone follows faithfully the one most efficient method. It may be that this is the very definition of "efficiency" for most of us.

Matter of course though this idea seems to have become, it

is nevertheless here<sup>1</sup> proposed to challenge it. The first test to which our faith in centralization will be put will be an analysis of some of the world's experience in the matter. Most of this part of the paper will be devoted to Germany, it being particularly to the point to dispel the feeling that German experience has vitiated once for all any attempt to find an efficiency in democracy.

The simplest method of estimating the character and value of German efficiency is to compare Germany with England or France. France and England are regarded as the homes of democracy—France, especially, in her philosophy; England in daily life. Germany, on the other hand, believes firmly in bureaucracy and paternalism. What does a comparison of the achievements of the two cultures show? It shows, so the advocates of democracy allege, that all the great modern achievements—the parliamentary system, the eighteenth century mechanical inventions, modern philosophy and literature in its earlier development, the Industrial Revolution, the development of commerce, of navigation, of colonies, modern science—all these originated mostly in England, though to some extent in France. Here the Germans protest. They do not care for ancient history. They are sure that in recent times their country has forged ahead much more rapidly than any other country. What if this should be so—the democrats urge—does it follow that a centralized state, even if efficient in importing civilization, is the kind that can develop it in the first place? Japan and Germany may borrow, but only a democratic people can originate.

Our vision is considerably cleared by these reflections; and yet the method minimizes the importance of certain details. Germany, after all, has made some signal contributions to human progress, especially in the last half century. And, on the other hand, Germany is not as thoroughly undemocratic as one is inclined to assume. A stronger case can therefore be made out by inquiring into the roots of Germany's own progress; for we believe it can be demonstrated that, even in Germany, efficiency has been conditioned by a certain progress towards democracy.

Education, philosophy, and science, for example, constitute one of the great fields of distinctively German advance. But can this be said to be a proof of the efficiency of centralization? Probably the world does not contain anything that is actually freer than



a German university. Her numerous universities are not a part of a coördinated system. Her professors (in normal times) have the greatest freedom of speech and relief from routine duties. Her students may study or not, attend class or not, in fact are their own masters. Professor Schumpeter, of the Austrian university of Gratz, while exchange professor at Columbia once remarked in his engaging way that he preferred the American universities to the Austrian universities, because the Austrian were too democratic. In his view, the professors were too much in the habit of doing just as they pleased, regardless of the will of central authority. We need only append that, despite the Austrian's generous flattery, it is an outstanding fact in the history of economics, Professor Schumpeter's own subject, that for a generation the thought of Austrian professors has led the world.

Again Germany is famous for the splendid management of her municipalities. But here again it must be observed that the German cities are unique in the freedom that they enjoy from central dictation. Great as has been the emphasis recently laid upon the centralized character of Germany's government, the real fact is that through all of the many centuries of Germany's political life (excepting the last forty-five years) Germany has been the one great decentralized power. The failure of Germany to accomplish much during this long period (excepting the Reformation) shows that decentralization does not alone guarantee progress. But, on the other hand, her recent progress has been made under a government whose centralization is conspicuous, rather than thorough. A people's habits cannot be changed in a day. The difference between German centralization and Russian centralization is that the German government has had available for its purposes a great store of force engendered by at least partially democratic institutions. Her empire has in large part meant the union rather than the blotting out of local units. This is true particularly of some of the south German states, and most of all of the cities, that is, if one considers their internal affairs, and not their relation to imperial politics.

In the strictly economic field, the activity of German banking institutions, and the stimulus applied to business by the government itself, would suggest that centralization was an important factor in German success. Evidence from several quarters, how-

ever, shows that her transformation was not effected without a great increase in free activity, and, in fact, was occasioned by it.

Sombart, in his careful review of the economic development of Germany,<sup>1</sup> tells us that in the period between the close of the Middle Ages and the beginning of the nineteenth century the German princes were the chief inspiration of progress. They regarded their territories as their own estates, knew all that was going on in them, and constantly furthered their subjects' interests and industries. Sombart is very explicit, however, in his attempt to forestall the idea that these princes, the dominant authoritative class of their time, were responsible for the making of modern Germany. Credit for this belonged to a new class of capitalists, who derived their opportunity from the introduction of England's "liberal ideas"; that is, England's conception of free industry.

In these days of apprehension concerning big business, it is hard to realize that, compared with what went before, capitalism marks a gigantic step in the direction of democracy. Just as the separation of church from state made for religious freedom and spiritual development, so the separation of industry from the state and from feudal control meant emancipation and progress. Under capitalism, whoever has the funds, or can obtain the credit, can enter almost any business that he wishes, and the pursuit of business is practically independent of outside control. Today, we realize that the system often brings oppression in its wake; but this is an incidental consequence. Capitalism in its innermost nature is one of the most democratic (and at the same time perhaps the most efficient) of all the institutions that the world has known.

Taking up specific German industries, her government-owned railway system would seem to offer the clearest case of centralization. But even here there is no conclusive evidence that efficiency has proceeded from the top down. Sombart notes that in their formative period the German railways were in private hands, and not until the foundations for success had been securely laid did the government take most of them over.<sup>2</sup> He partly spoils his testimony for our point, however, by ascribing to the incorporation of the railway service in the civil wing of the army the present faithful conduct of railway employees, as also that of postal em-

<sup>1</sup> *Die deutsche Volkswirtschaft im Neunzehnten Jahrhundert*, 72-76.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 281.

ployes.<sup>3</sup> Only under military organization, he thinks, is it possible to attain that perfect discipline and regularity necessary in these services. That he is right on this last point, however, will be doubted by anyone familiar with the privately operated telephone service of various American cities.

Possibly a more typical industry, and certainly one that represents more truly the advance current in German expansion is the chemical industry. German progress here, according to Marshall, may be attributed to "the diffusion of scientific knowledge among the middle and even the working classes of Germany, combined with their familiarity with modern languages and their habits of travelling in pursuit of instruction."<sup>4</sup> Widespread education, however, is democratic in its very nature. The only object in educating the working classes along technical lines is to enable them to exercise greater personal force in industry. Furthermore, the methods of German education make for independent efficiency, not only in the universities, as we have seen, but in the schools for the working class. For these have derived much of their spirit from Pestalozzi, the Swiss educational reformer, whose main idea was that all the powers of the individual should be developed. It is evident, then, that Germany could not have made the great forward strides that she has made in the chemical and other industries without drawing heavily upon the training, initiative, good will, and freedom of her middle and lower ranks.

The German kartels would hardly seem at first glance to be seats of democracy. And yet, if the kartel be compared with the American trust or consolidation, it is apparent that the former is a looser, freer organization. The typical American trust is an amalgamation. Production, as well as selling policies, are controlled from the center. But in Germany the constituent companies retain their independence,<sup>5</sup> combining only to fix prices and outputs. And furthermore, while the German government has sanctioned and become a part owner in some of the kartels, they originated in obscurity,<sup>6</sup> and in only a few cases have been brought into being by the government.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 320.

<sup>4</sup> *Principles of Economics*, 6th ed., 211.

<sup>5</sup> Sombart, *op. cit.*, 370.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 368.

Though we have examined at length the influence of democracy in the main fields of German progress, this does not mean that Germany has been very deeply democratic or that the advantages of democracy are there best exemplified. The contrary is the case. But it is a curious and significant fact that in the case of the one nation which most boasts of centralization, of discipline, of bureaucracy, of the overman—a closer view should show that an indispensable element in her progress has been the emancipation of her forces from the rule of authority and the rise to power and free activity of large numbers of her people. It shows that while the German qualities of forethought, perseverance, coöperation, and loyalty to the state (would that it were to mankind!) may be an example to us, these qualities have not yet shown their ability to take the place of democracy; but, on the contrary, their real worth is apparent only when they are supplementary to it. Discipline is neither honorable nor efficient except when in the service of free and intelligent choice.

The conclusion found to hold true in the case of Germany may now be advanced as one of world-wide application. Take, for instance, the administration of colonies. It is remembered that France, Spain, Portugal, and England once all administered their colonies in the interests of the mother country. In some cases—and this was particularly true in the instance of France—they did so under a highly centralized system. All these early colonial systems were failures. England, alone, learned the lesson. Today Canada, Australia, and South Africa are almost as free as the United States; and not only have they been the most prosperous colonies of modern times, but—and this was one of the greatest surprises of the war to those autocratically inclined—they have in emergency rallied to the support of the mother country. Democracy in the management of colonies has proved efficient. It is second in value only to independence.

Or, take that vital test of national efficiency in these days, the ability of a nation to get along well with its neighbors. This means avoidance of dangerous wars, or in case of a dangerous war, effective alliance. No single nation, unaided, could possibly long withstand the world; and national life therefore depends in the last analysis upon the tolerance of a nation's neighbors—or, at least, a part of them. It is too early yet to be certain whether democracy

has surpassed coercion in its ability to form and maintain alliances; and possibly neither league in the present war has made exclusive use of one or the other of these methods. It is plain, though, that for some years past English diplomacy has been more tactful in its consideration of the interests and feelings of other countries, while German diplomacy has made some grievous errors. To the on-looker, it would seem that not the least of the sources of English strength has been her more democratic conception of international relationships; while the German leaning towards self-will has greatly magnified the task before German courage. Perhaps a little more tactfulness on England's part could have prevented the war.

Democracy, on occasion, has leavened the lowest ranks of society. "To the abilities of children of the working classes," affirms Marshall,<sup>7</sup> "may be ascribed the greater part of the success of the free towns in the Middle Ages and of Scotland in recent times. Even within England itself there is a lesson of the same kind to be learnt: progress is most rapid in those parts of the country in which the greatest proportion of the leaders of industry are the sons of working men. For instance, the beginning of the manufacturing era found social distinctions more closely marked and more firmly established in the South than in the North of England. In the South something of a spirit of caste has held back the working men and the sons of working men from rising to posts of command. . . ."

In England, and in the world at large, the history of industrial evolution has been but little more than an account of the rise of free industry. The unconscious beginnings of this great movement—which, in time, was to go by the name of *laissez-faire*—still live for us in the words of Gross:<sup>8</sup>

Among the silent but great revolutions of English municipal history, the story of which has never yet been adequately recorded, is the wide-spread decay of once powerful boroughs in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. . . . There can be no doubt that the Gild Merchant was one of the most potent factors that led to this revolution. The tyranny of the gilds, which the public statutes of that period so strongly condemn, drove commerce and industry to rural districts and to smaller "free-trade" towns, such as Birmingham, Manchester, and

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<sup>7</sup> *Principles of Economics*, 6th ed., 213.

<sup>8</sup> *The Gild Merchant*, i, 51.

Leeds, where their natural, spontaneous expansion was not hampered by ancient privileges. Thus the rigid protection of the older chartered boroughs sapped their commercial prosperity, silencing the once busy looms of Norwich and Exeter, and sweeping away the cloth-halls of York and Winchester.

More general illustrations of the advantages of freedom over direction are the superiority of free to slave labor; the superiority of family to institutional life; the greater efficiency of housewives as compared to servants; the greater strength of character of children who have been allowed to try their own hand in things as compared with those who have been too completely protected.

Our argument, however, should be clinched by something more than historical analogy. Who knows but that the rapidly changing conditions of today have removed some of the advantages of democracy? Surely, they have had some effect.

Looking over the general situation, it is not hard to detect several movements which seem favorable to centralization. Take improvement in communication. The cost of transmitting instructions once forbade centralization,—except in matters of first importance. But of late, better mail service, the telegraph, the telephone, the typewriter, the printing press, the perfection of instruction cards, of forms, the development of trustworthy industrial lieutenants have made it possible for the will of central authority to give commands over extensive areas. Where before detailed direction would have been impossible, now it is both easy and cheap. Again, consider the effect of standardization. The grading and labeling of materials, as cotton and iron, the standardization of tools and of general methods brings it about that large numbers of workmen work under almost identical conditions and, more important yet, under known conditions. This facilitates a hitherto unthought of refinement of instructions. Lastly, a rapid but unbalanced increase in technical knowledge has made some men so much more capable than others that transference of skill has become highly profitable. All these are important changes, and constitute, it would seem, the chief cause of such centralization and advocacy of centralization as the world has recently seen.

But, on the other hand, certain conditions which have hitherto impaired the efficiency of democracy are also being undermined. The most serious menace that could possibly threaten an industry attempting democratic organization would be a lack of interest on

the part of employes in the success of their work. The main reason why scientific management started with an undemocratic turn was because so many modern workmen would prefer not to be efficient. By a pernicious labor philosophy, large output is supposed to cause unemployment. Employers and employes, too, have been so completely isolated from one another that jealousy rather than good will has been the normal attitude. Unless this feeling can be removed, coercion is, of course, more efficient than democracy; for freedom is profitable only when that freedom will be used for good. Today, this lack of interest on the part of workmen is being attacked from many angles. The one condition, however, which will do the most to remove it will be a change in the spirit of industrial management itself, which will make it representative of employes and customers, as well as of capital. In other words, democracy in the ends of an organization removes the one greatest obstacle to democracy in method. And democracy in ends is going to be forced on all sides—and before long.

A second reason why democracy in industry has only been partial is lack of widespread or thorough education. There is little advantage in encouraging workmen to suggest and decide things if they have nothing to offer. Personal power is at the basis of all freedom and of all true democracy. But the future will witness a leveling of educational advantages both as regards academic education and the larger education of life. Not only is common school, high school, technical, and university education on the increase; but agencies such as the trade journal, the convention, moving pictures, and easy travel give the mechanic or small enterpriser advantages formerly enjoyed only by established leaders. Secrecy is on the decline, technical advertising is becoming more helpful, labor more mobile. There can be little doubt but that if one man knows less in the future than another it will be largely because he is less aggressive or less talented. Bad fortune in these respects will not, as formerly, be foreordained for the masses.

A third inefficiency of democracy has been its lack of organization. Waste, lack of unity, competition, duplication have too often undone it. But today we are learning that even without departing from the principle of freedom these weaknesses can be diminished. In the fields of business, politics, religion, and educa-

tion genuine coöperation has made gigantic strides. It now seems that free individuals can coöperate with almost as much unity as though they were all under one common authority. They are, indeed, free to tear each others' projects to pieces, if they wish. But they are learning not to do so. Progress in coöperation is helped by the growing tendency to leave to others—particularly to one's leaders—the making of many decisions. Democracy, too, in time develops its own checks that make it increasingly difficult for an individual to aggrandize himself other than by some net addition to human welfare.

After balancing these developments of the day, one against another, we see no reason to anticipate that the democratic tide in the future will be less powerful or less fortunate than in the past. True, there may be a growth of what many will term centralization. Standardization, system, and the discoveries of efficiency engineers will warrant the establishment of central bureaus and agencies for the coördination of industrial effort. But that in their actual working out the new industrial forms will be less democratic than the old, the immense strengthening of democratic forces now in progress makes very unlikely.

It is now time to lay down a few of the principles which make for the efficiency of democracy. In the first place, let us note how impossible it would be for a few persons to give real life to a complicated industrial system such as ours.

It might be thought that if we could only find the right sort of man for a king, he could tell his governors what to do, they could tell their lieutenants, and the word could be passed on from rank to rank until the manual workers would be directed by the superior wisdom of the good king. But the theory forgets that the king has only one pair of eyes, that he can be in only one place at one time, and that his realm is wide and diversified. In fact, neither the king, nor the governors, nor the lieutenants can know all that is going on. Much as standardization may facilitate the giving of directions, it is doubtful whether it is overtaking the growing complexity of industrial life. Certainly, standardization can never vanquish it. The fact remains, therefore, that all direction cannot come from above; and that the truly valuable workman is the man who can use his head to supplement his hands. After all, it is labor's power to adapt that is at the basis of labor's



usefulness, as distinguished from that of brainless machinery or blind natural force. That industrial system which succeeds in availing itself most largely of the originating capacity in human nature is, therefore, most efficiently exploiting industry's one most necessary and most promising resource.

A second and greater misapprehension on the part of those who would do away with democracy is concerning the mechanism of progress. Progress is largely the product of invention, large and small. It is thought that centralization will reinforce discovery and that it will rapidly spread new ideas. It must be admitted that the opportunities of those high in authority are so great that when it comes to matters especially in their charge they sometimes make more improvements than all others. Frequently no one else is in a position to understand fully the situation. But when it comes to developments radically new, it is more apt to be the other way. Those high in authority under an old system are more or less dubious about change. Furthermore, they are numerically weak, and, having little special advantage, the chances are not one in ten thousand that they, rather than some person having no authority in the matter, will hit upon the fruitful idea. Thus inventions have always come from the most unexpected quarters, and the greatest of world institutions have had, in their beginnings, to fight the persecutions of those in authority. Originating power is widely scattered, no one knows where. An invention, when it comes, is in its very nature a surprise. The only way to gather the full fruits of man's tendency to progress is to allow the greatest possible number to pursue their own ideas, and then trust that the worthy innovation will fight its way through to recognition.

It might be argued further that democracy may count on the will of the worker; that the right kind of democracy is an insurance against revolution; and finally that—efficient or not efficient—freedom is what people want and will have,—which settles it. All these are good points. But sufficient justification for democracy has already been found in the evidence that rigid control is inadequate for mobilizing intelligence. A certain coördination may be impressed from above. But the great stream of intelligence, of adaptation, of progress proceeds from the bottom up, and not from the top down. The top itself is largely recruited from the bottom.

Democracy we have defined as that condition in a society which encourages self-direction on the part of the mass of its members. Such a social order has been condemned by many who feel that the rise of scientific management and of German *kultur* has demonstrated democracy's essential inefficiency. We have endeavored to uncover the error in this idea. The present struggle between Germany and England, between efficiency and the labor unions, is in reality a struggle only between types of democracy, or between that which calls itself democracy and that which does not—but could properly do so. If superficial clashings as to terminology, as to outward form, or national temperament be disregarded, it appears that under all progressive systems alike, the individual is becoming more active; his coöperation is becoming more essential; and his influence is more widely felt than formerly.

This position not being the common one, we endeavored to establish it by reference to the German university system and the German municipal system; by a study of the rise of German capitalism; by conclusions drawn from the building-up of the German railway system, and the German chemical industries; by an examination of the German kartel. Other successes of democracy were recorded,—in the field of colonial administration, and that of foreign relations. As proof of the efficiency of democracy in industry, we noted Marshall's explanation of the rise of north England at the expense of the South; and Gross' explanation of the decay of England's mediaeval towns and the rise of her modern industrial centers. Had it been desired to push the argument further, probably it could have been shown that even in the military sphere, belligerents are now laying more stress upon the valor, intelligence, and initiative of the individual soldier than in previous wars; while surely an overwhelming argument for democracy could have been made had we searched out the causes of the great Russian reverses of 1915.

The promise of a greater future development for democracy was next found in the establishment of a social order more squarely founded upon mutual interest; in the coming revolutionary opening-up of educational opportunities; and in the construction of voluntary associations, capable of coördinating and unifying individualistic endeavor. The inherent merit in democracy was found to

consist in its superior flexibility and in its capacity for progress,—in addition to its interaction with the human will.

In view of these facts, we Americans should not regard our traditional democracy as an outworn system. We should, it is true, always be ready to open up new channels for its life. The demand of the day is for higher standards, for a firmer self-discipline, for a new talent for heeding expert advice. Scientific management and order should be new keynotes for the American spirit. In pushing forward these new developments, however, let us not neglect the basic principle of freedom.

## PERSONAL RELATIONSHIP AS A BASIS OF SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT<sup>1</sup>

BY RICHARD A. FEISS,

Manager, The Clothcraft Shops of The Joseph & Feiss Co. Cleveland, Ohio.

Given two establishments in the same industry, in the same locality, build for them the same buildings, equip them with the same machinery and establish for them similar methods of handling equipment and materials—yet, in the course of a short time, there will be a difference in both the quantity and the quality of their output. This difference in result will be caused by the difference between the two in the quality of their personnel. For this reason alone the question of personnel must ultimately be considered the real problem of management.

If one of the above plants were headed by a management of the ordinary or traditional type and the other by a management which fully realized the importance of personnel and had developed an active philosophy tending toward the solution of the personal problem, the difference in practical results would be so great as to be unbelievable by the uninitiated. In fact, this difference alone would often spell failure in the one case and success in the other.

The managers of both plants would see the shortsightedness of letting buildings and other equipment run down for lack of upkeep

<sup>1</sup> A paper read before the Society to Promote the Science of Management, Philadelphia, Pa., October 23, 1915.

and repair. Both would see the value of and put into practice means for running the machinery at the most efficient speeds and bringing into use the best tools and the best method of handling material. It would be taken for granted by both that anything that goes to the improvement and upkeep of these things would be a necessary expenditure or a wise investment. The ordinary management, however, would not think of applying the same laws of upkeep and improvement to the personal equipment.

The ordinary or unscientific manager believes that factory management consists of the handling of orders, materials, and machinery, and that the men in the plant are a mere adjunct to these things—a necessary evil. When this type of manager is confronted with the fact that his organization is less efficient than another he will lay the blame on his employees and say, "I haven't the same kind of people that the other fellow has." In making this statement he will be absolutely correct, but he does not realize that the fellow with the other point of view has developed a particular kind of people as an essential part of the responsibility of management.

The old type of management would at the best consider expenditures for the development of personnel as an unnecessary outlay forced upon it by unintelligent public opinion, or would consider it a politic expenditure which would bring a certain amount of cheap advertising at the expense of fair wages. The enlightened, or scientific type of management would consider expenditures of this kind not only wise, but also an investment bringing proportionately larger and more permanent returns than all other kinds. Full value of all expenditures or investments for upkeep and improvement of a plant can be realized only when sufficient investment of both time and money has been made for the purpose of improvement and upkeep of the personal side. In fact, the management which has the correct viewpoint will find that the mechanical and material side of the organization will be better developed as a necessary incident to *personal* development than it would be where this point of view is reversed. This is well illustrated in the Clothcraft Shops of The Joseph & Feiss Company, where this philosophy has been the basis of its development of scientific management.

Only actual comparison of the mechanical and other develop-

ments in this establishment with those in the next best establishment in the men's clothing industry would suffice to prove this point. The industry generally is not in a very advanced state. The usual type of management is at the best only beginning to realize the existence of the personal side. As a result, machinery and equipment are almost universally limited to a few undeveloped or semi-developed types, regardless of whether or not they are most suitable for the purpose in the hands of the individual operator. In practically all these factories you will find only a few types of machines, and these set up and equipped as they come from the manufacturers and running at haphazard speeds. Shears and all other tools are any which the employe chooses to furnish for himself.

In the Clothcraft Shops, working from the personal point of view, tools are not only developed and prescribed with regard to their suitability for the purpose of individual accomplishment, but all tools are furnished and maintained by the management. Fully 50 per cent of the different types of machines in use at the Clothcraft Shops are not, as far as is known, used in any other establishment in the industry, and practically every machine in use has been developed so as to be specially adapted for its particular purpose in the hands of the individual who uses it. In like manner the proper handling of materials and the installation of other methods developed under scientific management have been introduced in this establishment as necessary steps in the development of the highest efficiency of the individual.

We believe the point of view outlined above to be of the essence of scientific management. Scientific management aims directly at increasing the quality and quantity of the output of an organization by increasing the quality and quantity of the output of the individual worker. While scientific management in its application must necessarily go deeply into the question of improved machinery and equipment, and while this in itself makes for greater output, nevertheless, a machine is a tool, and, like any other tool, is devised to increase the efficiency of the individual to whose direct and personal control it must always be subject. The question of quality, even in the case where highly developed machinery is used, is almost entirely a question of the personal element. As for the question of quantity, the real measure of accomplishment is not output per machine or per tool, but output per man.

Scientific management will not have completed its mission when it has determined in each industry the best method of handling materials and equipment in relation to workers, but when it has determined also the principles which underly correct methods of handling men. It is the purpose of this paper to show what is being done from this point of view at the Clothcraft Shops with the purpose of showing what a little effort in the right direction can accomplish. A further purpose of this paper is to bring to the attention of those interested in the future of scientific management the degree to which management is, in the final analysis, the handling of men and to emphasize that scientific management is scientific only in so far as it recognizes this fact.

From the point of view of the writer the responsibility of handling men from the time of their original selection is the most important responsibility of factory management. It is this responsibility which creates the function of employment in its broadest sense. It is only beginning to be recognized, however, that employment is a function of management. Even where considered an essential part of management, the employment function, with few exceptions, consists only of the original selection of applicants.

Scientific employment includes not only the selection of new employes, but also the keeping of every position in the organization permanently filled with the right kind of man or woman. The main part of scientific employment begins after the act of hiring is completed. Considered from this point of view, it is one of the most important functions of management, and one that requires constant scientific analysis and development. For this purpose it is essential that every industrial organization should have a department for the purpose of administering this function. Mr. Frederick Winslow Taylor, in mentioning the disciplinarian function in his works, undoubtedly had the employment function in mind and recognized its vast importance. While a very small organization may not be able to afford even one person whose sole function is the business of employment, this activity should nevertheless be recognized as a separate and most important function and in such cases administered by the manager or assistant manager himself.

This employment function can under no circumstances be administered properly by some head or underling of an operating department. Many of the questions with which the employment

department has to deal are questions in which an operating head is an interested party; his very position, therefore, disqualifies him from administering this function. The qualifications required of such a person are essentially different from those required of one administering an employment department. Moreover, the qualifications which are generally considered essential to the head of an operating department are special knowledge or mechanical ability and sometimes a certain amount of executive ability. While some executive ability is a useful asset in administering the employment function, the chief qualities required are capacity to investigate and judge impartially, tact, a sincere interest in human affairs and a personality that inspires confidence.

All responsibilities of the management in the direction of personal service, directed toward the welfare and development of the individual, are part of the function of employment. For the purpose of administering this function, the Clothcraft Shops of The Joseph & Feiss Company have established an employment and service department. In this organization this department is considered one of the most important adjuncts to the management.

While, as mentioned above, hiring is only a small part of the function of employment, nevertheless, the solution of the problem of selection is of great importance in its bearing on the whole future development of the worker. All applicants for positions are interviewed by one of the heads of the employment and service department of the Clothcraft Shops. Certain specific information concerning the applicant is obtained in every case and entered on a blank for the purpose. (See figures 1 and 2.) Information deemed essential consists of:

- Name and address.
- Date of application.
- Date and place of birth.
- Date of immigration, if foreign born.
- Parentage.
- Languages spoken.
- Education.
- Whether married or single.
- Number in family.
- Wage contribution to family support.
- Record of previous employment.

The idea should be to keep such records as simple as possible;—only the important details being entered.

APPLICATION RECORD OF <u>Doe, Jane</u>						
REVISED BY THE JOSEPH & FEISS CO., CLEVELAND, OHIO						
APPLIED <u>Apr. 15, 1915</u>		Address <u>1323 W. 48th.</u>		For <u>Handwork</u>		
Birthdate <u>Oct 6, 1897</u>		Birthplace <u>Cleveland, O.</u>		Suitability <u>Fair</u>		
Immigrated <u>—</u>		Parentage <u>Am. - Ger.</u>		Married <u>No</u>		
Family <u>F. M. S. 14-12-16</u>		<u>B. 22</u>		Wage Contrib. <u>Partial (necessary)</u>		
REFERENCES <u>Mary Smith</u>		<u>3</u>				
(IN OUR EMPLOY) <u>Susy Jones</u>		<u>3</u>				
PREVIOUS EMPLOYMENT			Time	Capacity	Wage	Why Ended
John Smith & Co. (waists)			13 mo.	Hand sewing	\$7. wk.	Dissatisfaction.
Brown Bros.			1 yr.	Clerical	\$5. wk.	low wages
Mrs. S. T. Baker, Lorain			2 mo.	Housework	\$4.50 wk.	To beat home nights.
American Knitting Co.			4 mo.	Clipping	\$5. wk.	Trouble with foreman
EMPLOYED May 10, 1915 By <u>M.</u>				Class <u>W.P.W. No. 84-2</u>	Rate <u>P.W.</u>	
Operation <u>Sleeves felled</u>				Locker <u>1027</u>	Fore. <u>J.T.</u>	Checked <u>✓</u>
Approved <u>S-</u>			Signature <u>Jane Doe</u>			

FIGURE 1—Application Blank (Front)



<p> <b>QUALIFICATIONS:</b> A 2 +  <b>Languages</b> Eng. Ger.  <b>Education</b> 7th grade (Public School) + 3 mo. Business College </p>	<p> M 3  13  03 </p>
<p> <b>NOTES:</b> Anemic, listless in appearance. Will need careful follow up physically. Desirous of working here because she has heard there is good chance for advancement, Father out of work most of the time. Mother came along when application was taken and promised to cooperate with nurse, etc. </p>	

Figure 2—Application Blank (Back)

Languages spoken may be important in many organizations for various reasons. In this establishment English-speaking applicants are given preference. In case employment should be given to an applicant who does not understand English, the applicant must agree to attend one of the classes in English which are held at the factory.

The Board of Education of the city of Cleveland has coöperated by furnishing teachers and text-books for these classes. Where applicants do not speak the English language, it has often been found that their residence in the country, and, consequently, their employment is considered merely temporary by them. In the case of those who do not speak the English language, it has been found very difficult to impart instructions and to obtain proper standards of output and quality. Of thirty-five employes (out of a total of nearly 800) who have not sufficient knowledge of English to understand instructions thoroughly, only one has reached efficiency equal to that of the best doing the same kind of work. Eight of this number have reached efficiency equal to less than the average and the remaining twenty-six are the least efficient at their respective operations. Moreover, people who cannot speak the same language, cannot understand each other thoroughly and therefore can never attain that state of friendly feeling which is the basis of coöperation and spirit.

The matter of wage contribution is important. Other things being equal, preference should be given to those who have to support themselves or whose contribution to the family income is a necessity. The custom of contributing the entire earnings to the family income is often an important element in inefficiency, especially where the contribution is in whole or in part unnecessary. Younger women who live at home are often required to turn over the entire contents of their pay envelopes to the head of the family, even where such a contribution is not necessary. By depriving the worker of the use of his earnings, the incentive toward efficiency is removed and ambition destroyed. Cases of this kind are being constantly handled by the employment and service department. A home visit by one of the staff has always resulted in an agreement, being reached with the parents by which a stipulated sum was paid into the family exchequer and the remainder of the earnings kept by the employe in question and deposited in the Clothcraft Penny

Bank. Such an arrangement has always proven beneficial and has developed an increase of efficiency ranging from 20 per cent upward. A case in point is that of Tillie B. who had been the subject of a great deal of attention over a long period of time for the purpose of increasing her earnings, which averaged thirteen cents per hour. After an arrangement such as mentioned above had been made, Tillie's earnings immediately jumped and soon reached twenty-two cents an hour, which she held until she left the organization to be married.

Information as to past employment is important as a record of experience and earnings. The number of positions held is also an indication as to whether or not the applicant is a floater. For purposes of reference, this information is of little or no value and is never used at the Clothcraft Shops. Wherever possible, however, applicants give as their references members of the Clothcraft organization. This tends to keep alive in the organization an active interest in the kind of new employees. It is, moreover, a good indication of the applicant's character, since although a person cannot always be judged by his family, he can generally be judged by his friends.

The interviewing of applicants is important and requires considerable tact, judgment and experience. Ample space should be left on every application form for making notes as to the individual's special qualifications as well as any other circumstances surrounding the case. As judgment is essential, and as judgment is influenced by immediate impression, in this establishment no one is employed on the date of application. Postponement of selection tends to bring all applicants in their proper relationship in the mind of one who has the responsibility of their selection. This method moreover, tends to reduce the number of floaters who otherwise might get on the payroll.

Application records are classified as to sex, age and apparent suitability. When a position is to be filled, one or more applicants are sent for. A definite time is set for their appearance and self-addressed postal cards are enclosed to be mailed in case appointments cannot be kept. At this time selection is made for immediate employment and the fitness of the applicant is more definitely determined.

As a rule, in industrial establishments, where the question

arises at all, only fitness for the work is considered. There are, however, two kinds of fitness to be considered, provided a person is suited for industry at all; one is fitness for the position; the other is fitness for the organization. Of these the latter is by far the more important.

Fitness for the organization is chiefly a question of character. Every organization has a distinct character of its own, which is often recognized as being a tangible business asset. It is essential, therefore, that every member of the organization have a character sufficiently developed or capable of development to be in harmony with the character of the organization. This is the basis of *esprit de corps*. No matter how skilled or fitted one may be to do a given piece of work, if he is out of harmony with the spirit or character of the organization, he will be an everlasting detriment to himself and all others in the organization who come in contact with him.

The interview of the applicant by a trained head of the employment and service department is the basis of predetermining as far as possible both the fitness for a position and for the organization. In judging fitness for a position, past experience, where there is any, is sometimes a guide. At the best, however, it is a guide of only doubtful value. Personal choice can be taken in some instances also as a guide. This predilection furnishes in itself a valuable incentive. Often, however, it is a case of bringing the child up on candy because he likes it. When considered at all, it is important to weigh carefully all the reasons for the predilection.

The applicant's fitness for the organization, while more important, is more readily predetermined by interview. The interview at the time of employment is very thorough and designed to explain to the prospective employe the character of the organization and its policies, and the responsibilities of the organization to the employe as well as the responsibility of the employe to the organization.

As the aim of the employment and service department is to keep every position in the organization filled with fit men and women, the question of physical and mental fitness of the individual is of prime importance. For the physical needs at the Clothcraft Shops a complete medical department is maintained as part of the employment and service department. A graduate nurse is in direct charge of this work. The equipment includes a dispensary, sepa-

rate rest rooms, a waiting room and a consultation room for the factory physicians. The medical staff consists of a physician, an oculist and a dentist. The physician is at the factory three mornings a week, the oculist two mornings, and the dentist one morning. All medical work done at the factory is paid for by the company. Outside service of the factory physician is furnished to employees and their families at special rates, except in instances where the employment and service department recommends treatment at the company's expense. In order to facilitate physical examinations required, the time of taking on new employees is being regulated so as to coincide with the time that the physician spends at the factory. Physical examinations of all members of the organization are repeated annually or with greater frequency if there is cause.

The eye examination is of the greatest importance in considering applicants for certain positions. A preliminary examination is made by the nurse in order to discover any obvious defects of vision. Arrangements have been made by which, in case the oculist later prescribes glasses, they can be procured from a first-class optician at half the regular price. One of the greatest obstacles in connection with this work is the fact that many people who are in need of proper glasses have had glasses supplied to them by optical stores or by itinerant vendors without the advice of a practicing oculist. In most cases the trouble has only been aggravated. The benefits of an eye examination and the prescribing of proper glasses are readily apparent. In one case a young woman had worn the same glasses for a number of years. She had obtained them from a dealer whose business enterprise included the sale of glasses and jewelry. The young woman realized thoroughly that her eyesight was poor and complained constantly of eye strain and headaches. She was an employe of the firm for a number of years and had always been more or less inefficient. Examination of her eyes by the factory oculist proved not only that her eyesight was very poor, but that the glasses which she had been wearing for six years were fitted with nothing but plain window glass. Fitting her with proper glasses not only entirely eliminated the headaches, but, within a period of a few weeks, resulted in an increase in efficiency to a standard equal to the best.

The importance of proper care of the teeth is realized by few. Many chronic cases of headache, neuralgia or stomach trouble

have been directly traced to neglected conditions of the teeth or poor dental work already done. Only when one considers the number of ailments that can be traced to the neglect of the teeth, and the inefficiency and lost time that can be traced directly or indirectly to this cause, can one realize its importance. Of the hundreds of dental examinations made at the Clothcraft Shops, less than 15 per cent of the cases were found to have teeth that were properly cared for and in good condition. Consultation with a number of practicing dentists in the city of Cleveland has brought out the fact that this percentage is considerably better than the average. Besides the permanent record kept of the condition of the teeth, a chart is given to every one who is examined and an estimate made of the cost of work where needed. The dental work at the factory is limited to examination, advice and prophylaxis. At the time of examination thorough instruction is given in the proper care of the teeth. With this, as well as with the rest of the physical examination, the most important features are the instruction given at the time of the examination and the systematic follow-up.

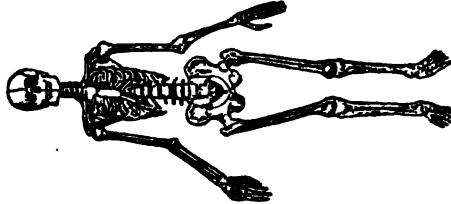
All the work would be of little value if the preventive side were neglected. Not only are accurate records kept for this purpose (see Figure No. 3) but it is part of the responsibility of every member of the employment and service department to follow up the work in all of its phases at every opportunity.

No one is permitted to leave the shop for any cause whatever without consulting the employment and service department, unless dismissed from work in the regular way. This rule of procedure makes it necessary that permission for all absences be obtained from one source. This not only provides intelligent handling of such cases, thereby insuring justice and equality of treatment, but also brings promptly to the notice of the employment and service department practically every case requiring medical attention, no matter how insignificant.

Accidents are not of the major kind in the clothing industry, and even minor accidents have been practically eliminated at the Clothcraft Shops by a thorough system of safety devices and instruction. There are naturally, however, a number of cases where fingers are pricked in handling needles or where other minor injuries are incurred either away from or at work. Ordinarily these things are neglected and cause a great deal of inconvenience and much

*Date of Birth* 3 Mch. 1884    *Employed* 4 Jan. 1903    *Name* Doe, Jane

- (4) *Family History:* Father died of cancer of stomach, 1899.  
Twin sister epileptic.
- (4) *Home Conditions:* Lives with mother, twin sister, ten yr. old sister and seventeen yr. old brother. Shares badly ventilated room with two sisters. Home neat and thrifty. 5 rooms and bath. Garden.
- Income Conditions:* Mother owns home and Lucy and 17 yr. old brother (earning about \$8.00 wk.) support family.
- Savings:* Yes.



	Date	Complaint	Treatment	Remarks	By
(1)	4-5-'14	Examination	No organic trouble. General health good, but must have more sleep and avoid tea and coffee. Should consult oculist because of headaches. Tonsils enlarged.		M.
(2)	4-11-'14	Headaches.	O B $\frac{5}{s}$ , cgl $\frac{5}{s}$ ; Fundus normal O B $\frac{5}{s}$ Has glasses from optician (obtained 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ years ago) Homatropin necessary.		S. M. M.
(1)	9-16-'14	Sore throat.	Cathartic. Gargle.		
(2)	4-18-'14		Homatropin administered. Shadow O P—Sgl 150. O B— " 125 = — cyl 025 + 180. Subj O D—Sgl 150. O B— " 125 — cyl 025 + 180 $\frac{5}{s}$ .		S. M. S. M.
(2)	4-25-'14		Glasses satisfactory.		W.
(3)	7-30-'14		Dental work partly completed.		M.
(1)	8-1-'14	Sore throat.	Cathartic. Gargle.		
(4)	8-3-'14	Anemic.	Blaud's pills.	Will go to summer camp. Constant follow up about fresh air and sleep necessary.	K. W.
(3)	9-30-'14		Dental work finished.		
(1)	10-19-'14	Sore throat.	Cathartic. Gargle.	Absent 8 days. Consents to operation.	M.
(1)	11-2-'14	Enlarged tonsils.	Operation by M. at German Hospital.	Successful.	M.
(4)	11-23-'14	General follow up.	Health greatly improved.		K.

FIGURE 3—Medical Record. (1) Physician's records, entered in green ink; (2) Oculist's records, entered in violet ink; (3) Dentist's records, entered in red ink; (4) Nurse's records, entered in black ink.

loss of time due to infections. Instructions are given that no one should be permitted to work with the slightest scratch or the slightest ache or pain, or any indication whatever of illness, without consulting the nurse. This has not only cut down the time lost from infections to almost *nil*, but has also made it possible to forestall a great number of incipient cases of illness. This precautionary measure, together with the medical work in general, has undoubtedly been the means of keeping the working force of the Clothcraft Shops absolutely free from all epidemics that have swept through the community in the past few years.

Only one who has gone deeply into the question of health in its relation to efficiency can realize the loss occasioned by lack of knowledge and attention to even the simplest rules of hygiene. A great deal of work is constantly required to educate people to realize the necessity of fresh air, proper diet and regular hours, lack of attention to one or all of which is often the cause of inefficiency. What can be done by working along these lines is well illustrated by the following cases. At the time medical examinations were first installed at the Clothcraft Shops five young women were selected, all having been on the same operation from one to six years. These five had a record for absence, tardiness and general inefficiency much worse than any of the other forty or fifty on the same operation. It was found that all five were accustomed to sleeping with windows closed at night and took no outdoor exercise at any time. All neglected the simple rules of diet and two were accustomed to hurry away from home every morning without breakfast. One was found to be in need of eye glasses. All complained of not feeling fit when they came to work in the morning and complained constantly of headaches and a general debility, which naturally resulted in much absence from work. The cases were interviewed separately and proper advice was given and the ultimate results of irregularity and inefficiency were thoroughly gone into. By consistent follow-up the advice was soon accepted by all, with the result that tardiness and absence were practically eliminated in all cases and efficiency was increased from 20 to 50 per cent.

One phase of this work is worthy of special mention. No one who has ever been in actual touch with the men and women of an industrial organization has failed to run across the case of the man who is down and out because of long sickness in his family. Doctor



bills and bills for medicines are rapidly getting him deeper and deeper in debt or he may be brooding over what he thinks to be the last lingering illness of one of his family. A man with a load such as this can seldom hold up his end in either output or quality. In the vast number of cases, an investigation will show that his troubles can easily be alleviated. He is often the prey of an unscrupulous practitioner or some fraudulent fake who is bleeding the family for every cent that it can scrape together. Very often the family is despairing of medical assistance and is found to be squandering a large portion of its income on fake remedies at the instigation of the ignorant advice of neighbors or under the influence of the advertising carried in unscrupulous newspapers. The prevalence of these conditions is of such amazing extent as to cry for public attention. Unfortunately medical ethics seem too unethical to deal with the situation. By reason of its far-reaching effect, the handling and prevention of such cases must be considered one of the important accomplishments of the medical service of the Clothcraft Shops.

\* Along with the question of physical fitness must be considered the mental fitness of the individual. Not only does his capacity for certain kinds of work, but also his general fitness for the organization and his ability to advance depend to a great extent upon his mental fitness. Mental suitability, especially the inherent attitude of mind and spirit,—things that are prime essentials in fitness for the organization,—can be fairly well determined by a personal interview at the time of selection and by a reasonable amount of follow-up.

A great deal has been said and written about psychological tests for the purpose of selection, but the little that has been done of practical value has been limited almost entirely to a few tests for special aptitudes where special aptitudes are required. For the present, at least, such tests, even when practically developed, can be used only for the determination of individual limitations. At the Clothcraft Shops investigations and experiments have been carried on for this purpose. The tests that are being developed consist of general intelligence tests, including a test for ability to follow instructions and a series of tests for dexterity. Professor Walter Dill Scott of Northwestern University has been retained for the purpose of assisting in the development of these tests.

Recently a series of tests were given under his direction with the assistance of Professor Henry A. Ruger of Columbia University. Twenty-one subjects were chosen for the purpose and included members of the organization holding executive positions and operatives of different degrees of efficiency in various kinds of work. In practically every case the results of the tests checked up accurately with the estimate of general intelligence and dexterity based on records and personal acquaintance over a long period of time.

The object of these tests is twofold. In the first place, with the best of care errors are bound to occur in original selection and placement. People are often placed on work for which they are not at all suited, and some are occasionally selected who are mentally unfit for the industry. This under no circumstances means that all the mentally deficient are unfit. There are, of course, all kinds of mental deficiencies and there are a great many different kinds of work in most industrial establishments that can be done as efficiently by the subnormal, mentally, as by the normal. The human makeup is so complex that many instances have been found where a normal individual was incapable of reaching the same efficiency in certain kinds of work as a subnormal had reached.

Several cases were taken at the Clothcraft Shops of people who were apparently deficient mentally. A series of tests was made by the Binet method in order to confirm this conviction and in order to get an approximate rating of their mental capacity. In most instances, one who has not had intimate acquaintance with individual cases over a long period of time would not suspect any mental deficiency. A case in point is that of a girl who had been in the employ of the firm for about four years. Being employed rather young, she was put on an operation of the simplest kind. While on this operation she became very efficient. The result was that she was advanced and for another year was tried on various operations without being able to make good. By this time everybody had become more or less disgusted with Mary at home and at the factory and Mary quit to find other work. She returned in a few months, and as her spirit was good, it was decided to give her another trial at machine work. Mary utterly failed to progress in spite of her apparent best efforts and the special attention given her for the purpose. It was then decided to try her at an operation where she was required to follow certain lines of the garments,

trimming off surplus goods with hand shears, an operation that is simple from the point of view of the dexterity and intelligence required. Mary immediately began to make progress and her earnings are averaging with the best. This is a typical case showing the waste of time and effort which it is hoped will be minimized with the assistance of tests. It is the aim to use the tests as an aid in selection, to avoid placing people who are either normal or subnormal on kinds of work for which they are very likely to prove unfit.

The purpose of these tests in the second place is somewhat different, but is of very great importance in an organization such as that of the Clothcraft Shops. It is the practice of this organization to fill positions of clerical or executive nature, and in fact all better positions of any kind, by advancement. By this method a considerable percentage of the organization is moved up during a year's time. At the best a large number of mistakes have been made by advancing individuals to positions beyond their capacity. This, of course, involves eventually a reduction in position or loss of the individual to the organization. In any case the organization has suffered by a position poorly filled and the individual, as well as those responsible for his training, has gone through a period of discouragement which often leaves a permanent effect. It is hoped by means of these tests to minimize these errors.

It must be understood that these tests are for inherent intelligence and not for education or character. Education is valuable in industry only so far as it develops the use of intelligence and character. The limitations to the use of such tests must be well borne in mind, and the error of making generalities must be avoided. Tests of this nature cannot determine what a person *can* do, but are valuable only in assisting in determining what he *cannot* do. Both physical and psychological tests can be and have at times been made the instruments of much abuse. They must not be used to eliminate from industry that large proportion of the community which is not normal, physically or mentally, but must be used to assist in saving to the industry by more scientific placement and intelligent individual development every man or woman who is capable of productive effort.

Proper physical conditions are of vital importance in obtaining results from the men and women of an industrial establishment. There must be good light, good air and sufficient room in which to

work without discomfort. Not only must sanitary conditions be maintained at a high standard for reasons of health and comfort, but a high standard of orderliness and neatness in the surroundings is also essential for its moral effect on the worker as reflected in his work.

Properly maintained comforts and conveniences for the general need are important as equipment, not only to further the work of the employment and service department in general, but in developing the social spirit which is such a big factor in *esprit de corps*. A great deal should be done along these lines, but in order to meet with success, those things only should be immediately installed which are required to meet a permanent need, and those should be developed gradually which have for their object the general welfare of the entire organization.

At the Clothcraft Shops separate locker rooms are maintained for men and women in which each has his individual locker. Bath rooms are also maintained. There are separate dining rooms where every employe has his own seat. Those who wish can obtain simple but wholesome food at cost.

Separate recreation grounds are provided where various sports are indulged in at the noon hour and at other times. The recreation grounds form a big factor in the follow-up work of the individual. Noon-day recreations are beginning to be recognized for their beneficial effect on industrial work. Separate reading rooms and recreation rooms are also maintained. These are used extensively in inclement weather. There is dancing on regular days in the women's recreation room, music being furnished by the factory orchestra. The recreation rooms are also used for many other purposes. During the winter, parties are given by the different divisions of the shop. Entertainment is furnished entirely by members of the organization and their families. These parties are attended by all, including members of the firm, and are not only a source of enjoyment, but tend to develop democracy and good spirit. Other activities of recreational and social nature are the dancing classes and various leagues for baseball, quoits, captain ball, etc. These leagues are composed of groups within the organization itself. The Choral Club is especially worthy of mention. Its popularity can be measured by its size which during the past season was in excess of two hundred members. Records of twenty

women and ten men at the Clothcraft Shops, picked at random from those who make daily use of the recreation facilities, showed in every case, with but two exceptions, a record of efficiency far above the average.

One of the very useful means toward general education and development of the individual is the library. A branch of the Cleveland Public Library is maintained at the office of the employment and service department. Good reading is promoted and in many instances special reading courses are provided. The circulation is not only large, but constantly increasing. Definite information is furnished by the employment and service department concerning special classes in the public schools and other institutions. In fact, systematic efforts are made to aid the individual in all possible ways in furthering his general education and development.

Another feature of the employment and service department that has justified its existence is the bank, an important use of which has been mentioned above. Interest is paid on all deposits of a dollar or over remaining in the bank for a period of three months or more. Deposits are limited to one hundred dollars. When this amount is reached by a depositor, he is notified and advised to transfer his savings to a regular savings institution. At the present writing over 60 per cent of the members of the organization have deposits in the Penny Bank. Thrift is so well recognized as an essential to steadiness and ambition, that it needs no other justification. To a great number of employees it is important that a convenient means for saving, especially the smaller amounts, and the opportunity of obtaining a loan when necessary, are at hand. The habit of being in debt must be supplanted by the habit of looking ahead and saving, if a man is to reach or maintain any standard of efficiency. Everyone is familiar with the loan shark evil. This evil has been entirely eliminated at the Clothcraft Shops. In the first place every case that came to the attention of the management was fought in courts, so that now loan sharks refuse to lend money to employees. Employees can obtain loans for small amounts by applying to the employment and service department, provided a full statement is made as to financial affairs, and provided further that the money lent be applied directly by the department should it deem this advisable. Occasionally loans of large amounts are

granted by application to the management. Campaigns for savings are occasionally instituted and there is always a lively campaign for deposits during the few months preceding September for the purpose of stimulating people to save for vacation week. The entire plant closes down the first week in September for a vacation for all.

In touching upon institutional funds, it seems advisable that something be said about the question of industrial insurance. There seems to be no doubt as to the necessity of industrial insurance, but the question as to whether the state or the industry shall eventually maintain its various features has not as yet been decided in the United States. Most states are providing workmen's compensation for accidents incurred during employment. Some of these laws provide further for occupational diseases. No matter whether or not the state will eventually take over other features of industrial insurance, matters of this kind must always be developed first by private enterprise. The question of industrial insurance, therefore, in cases not already covered by state insurance, is a question of management.

For various motives, not all of them sound, the question of insurance has been left in most instances to the employees themselves. This has been generally done as a sop to the propaganda of committee or collective administration. A thorough investigation by the management of the Clothcraft Shops, conducted over a number of years, covering nearly every known scheme, has shown practically all of these plans to have resulted in failure or at the best to be uneconomic and unscientific. Such results are bound to follow wherever groups, uninformed and unfitted, try to perform tasks which require scientific investigation and expert administration. A group of employees can no more administer an insurance scheme efficiently than a foundry can produce silk.

Insurance is a business in itself, requiring trained experts with an enormous amount of special knowledge for the adequate administration of its various features. The management of an industrial organization can and should place itself in the position of an interested guarantor or sponsor for any insurance scheme and as such should contribute toward it and be responsible for its immediate application. It is not feasible, however, for either the management or the employees of an industrial organization to acquire along

with their other duties the special knowledge and expert training necessary for the economic and efficient administration of any insurance scheme. It is the plan of the Clothcraft Shops to put the insurance features, including accidents, sickness, old age and death in the hands of an insurance company that has a department organized for their supervision and administration.

It is impossible to touch upon all the features of the useful service performed in the practical, daily administration of the employment and service department. The chief thing is its personal contact and follow-up. In this connection one of the important features is the home visiting. An automobile is maintained to assist in this work. The homes of nearly all new employes are visited at the earliest possible opportunity and practically all absentees are visited by the factory nurse. In case of illness, assistance and advice rendered have often returned the absentee to his work in a far shorter period than if left to his own devices. Following up delinquency and other matters frequently calls for home contact. Unfortunately it is often found that home influence runs contrary to the factory influence. The home visits as a whole have been found of inestimable value in obtaining individual results and coöperation.

While the work of the employment and service department, as shown above, is directly aiming at the development of the individual so that he can fill his position steadily and perform his duties efficiently, it is essential that intelligent coöperation in all departments of the business and all its policies be recognized as an important responsibility of the management. For one thing competent instruction must be provided. This is effected at the Clothcraft Shops by a corps of instructors who are personally responsible for the instruction of all new hands and old hands on new operations until they have shown suitable progress and developed to a satisfactory state of efficiency.

Steadiness of employment must be considered not only from the point of view that it is desirable for reasons of profit, but also from the point of view that it is a responsibility of the management to furnish a steady and efficient employ with steady opportunity. From this point of view alone it becomes the duty of the management to standardize the work and working conditions. The standardization of the purchasing and handling of materials to maintain

an even flow and an even balance of work is not alone essential, but the balance of employes is also of greatest importance. In most industrial organizations it will be found that there are constantly employed for a given purpose considerably more people than are necessary to turn out the work. In such instances it will also be found that the number of people employed varies to such a degree that there is not only no opportunity given for steady employment, but the distribution of opportunity varies from time to time. Means such as are used under scientific management for determining the standard methods and standard times for performing a task should be used to determine the exact number of people to be maintained in every position.

Whenever possible the workers should be trained to perform more than one kind of work. In this way they can be used to help out in cases of emergency, some of which occur daily in every large establishment because of absences or other reasons. In the Clothcraft Shops all those willing to learn other work are given opportunity to do so and are paid a retainer while learning. All employes who are capable of helping out on an operation are carefully listed and a definite hourly retainer is paid them whenever they do work on which they are not able to earn as much as on their regular operation. At all times the normal working force should be maintained except only under such conditions as are forced upon the industry and beyond its control. Where there is a temporary lack of orders due to industrial depression, seasonal fluctuations and the like, the number of employes should not be cut down, but the number of hours of employment should be reduced equally throughout the whole organization. At the Clothcraft Shops this policy was strictly adhered to during the recent industrial depression, which reduced its normal working hours by approximately 15 per cent for a period of six months. While the percentage of quitters for this period was noticeably increased, nevertheless, this increase was diminutive as compared to the number it would have been necessary to lay off had another policy been followed. We believe, moreover, the duty of providing steady employment under all possible conditions is a moral responsibility to the community at large.

> The seasonal character of some industries is a well recognized part of this problem. There is no doubt that in order to overcome

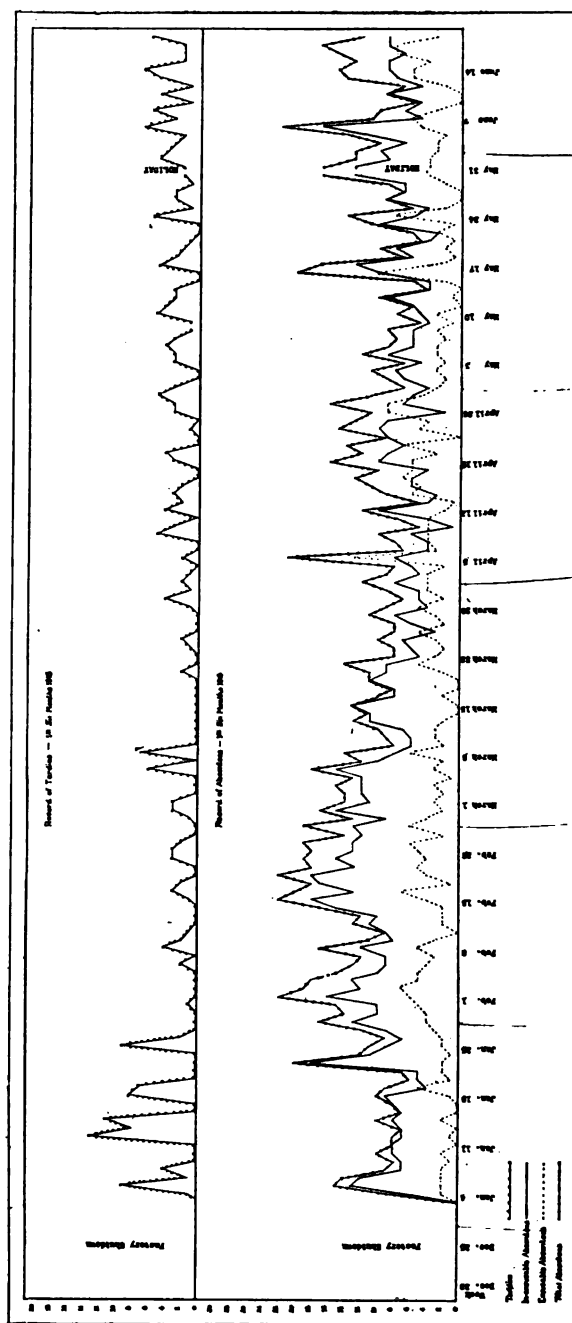


this obstacle a great deal of public education is necessary. The fact remains, however, that the problem can for the greater part be solved by the industry itself. For this purpose purchases must be standardized and the purchasing policy itself so developed that a good proportion of orders can be anticipated.

In this connection one of the most important things is the sales policy. Many businesses, even though having a highly developed manufacturing organization, have not a sales policy or sales organization, worthy of the name. It is only in exceptional instances that the sales policy and the manufacturing policy are properly co-related. Ordinarily the sales department is administered with entire disregard of its most important function, *viz.*, to market a product that will permanently be of most profit to the entire organization. The Joseph & Feiss Company, in order to meet the problem of furnishing steady employment, have for some time past conducted an advertising campaign concentrating on certain staple numbers. The volume of sales that has resulted has been sufficient under normal conditions to provide steady employment when other establishments in the same industry have been shut down. As to this phase of the problem, however, the surface has, as yet, only been scratched. The men who hold the purse strings must sooner or later learn that the correct point of view, both morally and for the purpose of permanent return not only to themselves, but to all the organization, involves the realization that the factory does not exist for the purpose of turning out for a temporary profit whatever it is easiest to sell, but that the sales force is part of the manufacturing organization to market whatever it can most steadily and, therefore, most profitably produce. ✓

Only a thorough realization of all the actual problems and earnest efforts towards their solution will bring results. While the greater part of these results shows in the spirit of the organization and in the spirit of its personal relationships and can only be judged by actual investigation, an important result is a decided steadying of the working force, which can be judged by accurate data. This is readily discernible in the accompanying records and charts in use at the Clothcraft Shops.

From the record of absentees and tardies (figure 4) it will be seen that during the first six months of 1915 the average number of tardies was only two and one-half persons per day. This is equal



**FIGURE 4**  
**Record of Absentees and Tardies**

to one-third of 1 per cent of the working force. For purposes of accurate follow-up absences are classified as excusable and inexcusable. Figure 4 shows that the excusable absences averaged a little over seven persons per day or .9 of 1 per cent of the working force. The inexcusable absences averaged only a little less than four per day or .5 of 1 per cent. The total absentees per day averaged eleven or only 1.4 per cent.

In regard to quitters a little more explanation is necessary. Very few people realize the tremendous cost to industry from this cause. Various estimates of this cost have been made. These estimates vary from fifty to two hundred dollars per person, depending on the nature of the work and character of employe obtainable and the percentage of old employes who are rehired. Taking even the lowest possible estimate, it would seem that any reasonable outlay of both money and effort for the purpose of reducing this industrial and social waste would be justifiable. At the Clothcraft Shops in recognition of the tremendous loss from this source and the consequent value of notice in case of a contemplated severance from the organization, such notice is paid for at the rate of an amount equal to a day's pay for every week's notice, but not in any case to exceed an amount greater than four days' pay.

For the purpose of compiling comparable data as regards "labor turnover," standard practices should be established. The average standing payroll for any given period should be the basis as this gives the average number of positions to be filled. In case there is a general reduction in the number of positions during the period, the percentage of new employes to the average standing payroll should be taken. In case there is an increase in the organization, the percentage of quitters to the average standing payroll should be taken. In the first case that amount by which the number of quitters exceeds the number of new employes will account for the reduction. In the second place, the amount by which the new employes exceed the number of quitters will account for the increase.

For purposes of intelligent comparison, quitters should be classified as "unavoidable" and "avoidable." "Unavoidable" should include discharges, death, sickness, accident, marriage, retirement, etc. "Avoidable" should include cases of dissatisfaction and all cases that cannot unquestionably be classified as

unavoidable. In every organization there are bound to be some unavoidable quitters. The records of the avoidable quitters, therefore, is the important thing. The record of new employes and quitters for 1914, as shown in Figure 5, demonstrates, among other things, that the avoidable quitters had been reduced to a figure less than one half as large as that of the unavoidable quitters and were only 6.4 per cent of the working force.

Nothing shows more clearly the progress which has been made in this respect at the Clothcraft Shops than the record of "labor turnover" for the five years from 1910 to 1914 inclusive as shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1.—LABOR TURNOVER 1910-1914

<i>Year</i>	<i>Stand. Payroll</i>	<i>New Hands</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
1910.....	1044	1570	150.3
1911.....	951	807	84.8
1912.....	887	663	74.7
1913.....	874	569	65.1
1914.....	865	291	33.5

These records tell their own story. It may be also worthy of note that over one third of the members of the Clothcraft organization have been in the continuous employ of the company for a period of five years or more. It is practically impossible to obtain accurate figures as to normal labor turnover. In the few instances where figures are available, progress has already been made. In the case of one large concern in the men's clothing industry, the number of people employed for 1914 amounted to 115 per cent of the payroll, which is undoubtedly better than the average in the industry. The following relating to a somewhat similar industry is from the report of the Federal Industrial Relations Commission (page 166):

An investigation of the cloak and suit industry in New York showed the maximum number of employes in sixteen occupations during any week of the year to be 1,952. Actually, however, the payrolls showed that 4,000 people were employed in these occupations.

It can readily be seen how intricate are the problems involved in the art of handling men. Every step toward the solution of these problems is a step in the direction of democracy. Efficiency as a whole is accomplished by efficiency of the individual and efficiency of the individual is accomplished only by methods involving personal contact.

In a recent noteworthy article on *The Progress of the Social Conscience*<sup>2</sup> by William Jewett Tucker, President Emeritus of Dartmouth College, the following statement is made: "Public opinion as the governing force in modern democracy is the objective of social conscience." It is the awakening of the social conscience

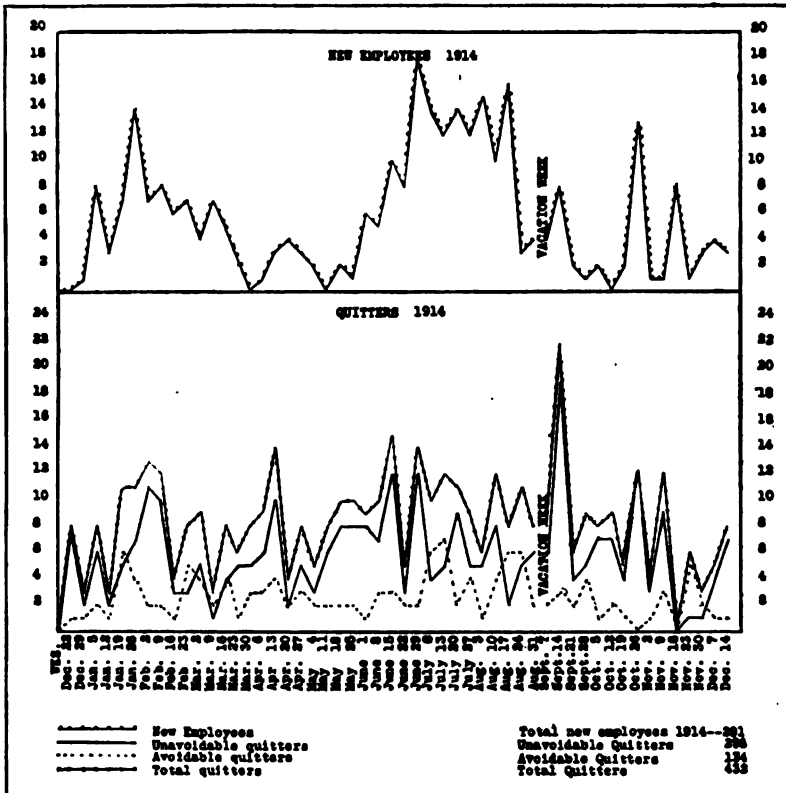


FIGURE 5—Record of New Employees and Quitters

that is making the man at the head of an organization realize the necessity of free expression of public opinion. The development of this expression through the natural channels of intimate contact will lead in the most normal and direct way to the democratization of industry.

<sup>2</sup> Appearing in the 1915 September issue of the *Atlantic Monthly*.

The existence of democracy in an organization is not dependent upon any particular method or any particular form of expression.

Professor Thomas N. Carver of Harvard University in his book entitled *Essays in Social Justice*<sup>3</sup> says:

This leads us to a consideration of a statement which is so frequently set forth in the ephemeral literature of the day, by popular writers and speakers to the effect that as the nineteenth century achieved political democracy it remains for the twentieth century to achieve industrial democracy. They who have this point of view have apparently never gotten beyond the idea that balloting and democracy are synonymous. We have heard a great deal of preaching in our day regarding idolatry of wealth, of the worship of the almighty dollar. We have heard apparently little of the worship of the almighty ballot, and yet of the two forms of idolatry the latter is not only more vicious, but more silly. Two things and two things only are essential to real democracy. The first is an open road to talent, that is to say that every man shall have an opportunity to rise to positions of power and responsibility in proportion to his ability, regardless of birth, privilege, caste or other social barriers. The son of the peasant may become the ruler in government or the employer in business by sheer force of his own merit, if he happens to possess merit. The second essential of pure democracy is that they who are in positions of power and responsibility shall be made sensitive to the needs, the desires, and the interests of those over whom they exercise power and responsibility.

The open road to talent is an essential to every successful organization. At the Clothcraft Shops the road is not only open, but every possible aid is given for advancement. Practically all positions in the organization, including clerical and executive positions, are filled by those who by reason of sheer personal merit have come up from the ranks.

One of the most important functions of the employment and service department is to develop organization spirit and free expression of personal and public opinion. It forms a direct channel of expression from its source to the ear of the management. In fact, the chief purpose of a scientifically organized department is nothing more than the development of that intimate personal contact so necessary to management. At the Clothcraft Shops about one fifth of the total number of employes come daily in contact with the employment and service department. All cases where direct contact with the management would be beneficial are immediately referred to it. This requires constant daily contact of the management with the department, and brings it into intimate relationship

<sup>3</sup> Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1915.

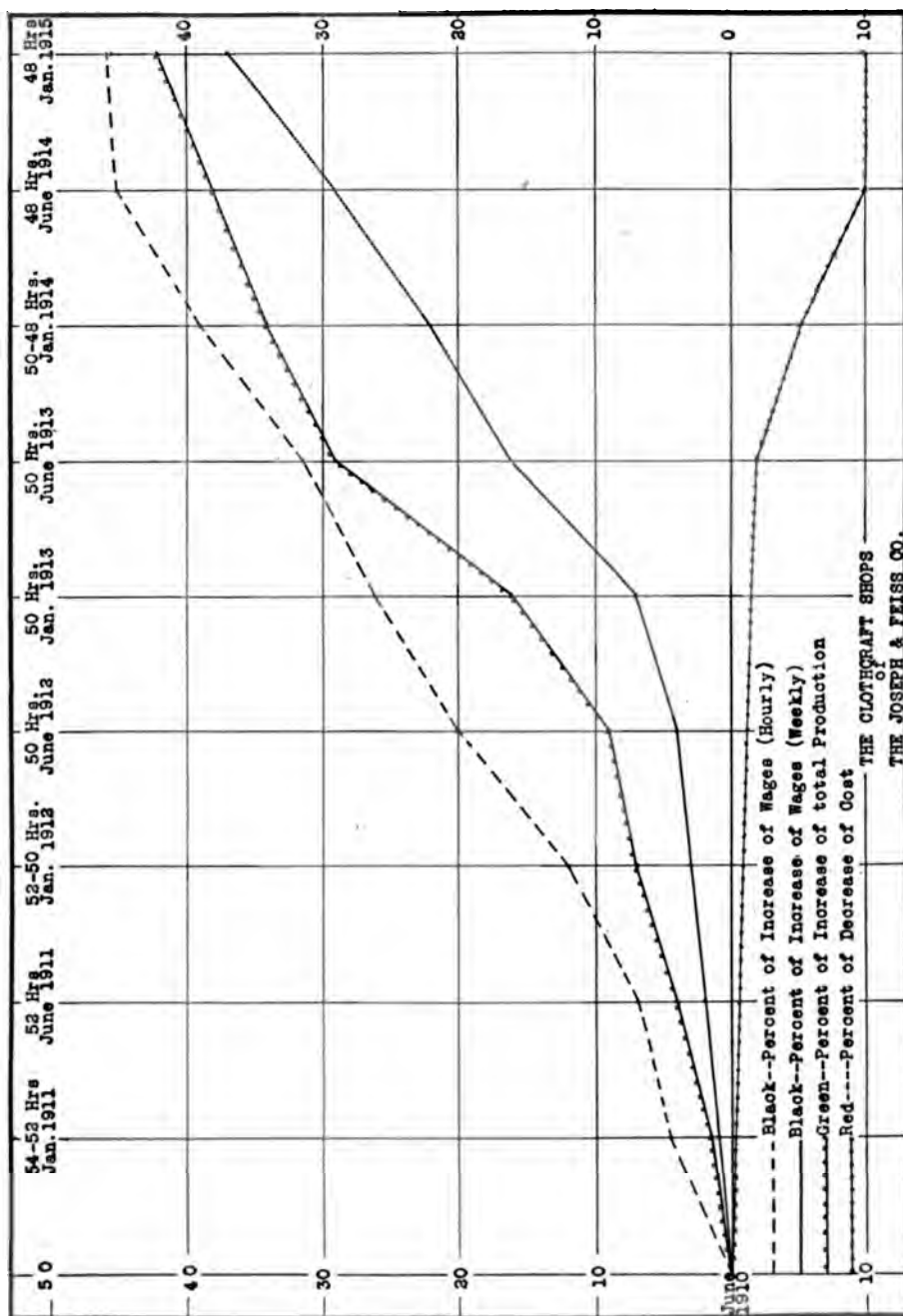


FIGURE 6—Record of Progress

with a great many more cases than would be possible in the average organization of much smaller size. Wherever the management assumes the policy of the closed door, this department may well be shut down.

Results cannot be accomplished in the spirit of charity, but must emanate entirely from a sense of justice. It must be understood that work along the lines described above can never take the place of wages. Such work must have as a reason for its existence not only increased efficiency, but the increased reward to which increased efficiency is entitled. Figure 6 is a chart showing the progress of the Clothcraft Shops in respect to wages and efficiency from June, 1910, to January, 1915. This shows during this period an increase in production of 42 per cent; an increase in the average individual hourly wages of 45 per cent, weekly wages 37 per cent; and a decrease in total manufacturing cost of about 10 per cent. During this period the weekly working schedule was reduced from fifty-four to forty-eight hours.

It is our belief that results, such as these, are obtainable only when scientific management is scientifically applied. Scientific management will live if for no other reason than that it has faced the problem squarely and recognizes that the science of management is the science of handling men.

That scientific management is a solution of the industrial problem involving all the ethics of human relationship was recognized by no one so well as by the father of scientific management himself. For proof we need only remember the four principles of scientific management<sup>4</sup> as propounded by Mr. Taylor, and his well known words that the "Product of a factory is not materials, but men." The most hopeful sign of the times is the awakening public conscience in regard to the elements of success. The measure of success is no longer how much you make, but how you make it.

<sup>4</sup> 1. The development of a true science.

2. The scientific selection of the workman.

3. His scientific education and development.

4. Intimate friendly coöperation between the management and the men.

*The Principles of Scientific Management* by Frederick Winslow Taylor, Harper & Bros., New York.



## DEMOCRACY AND INDUSTRY

BY ERNEST MARTIN HOPKINS,

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The conditions attaching to American industry have undergone kaleidoscopic change as a result of the great war. A little more than a year ago there was a dearth of work throughout the country; today, almost everywhere, the scarcity is of workmen. New plants are building and new equipment is being feverishly sought. Unprecedented opportunities and unprecedented obligations alike are being thrust upon industrial managements.

More than upon any other single nation the burden rests upon us to offset through our productive methods the loss of production incident to the demoralization of industry in the great industrial nations now in conflict. We have been discussing through recent years whether our economic surplus of modern times was properly divided: for a time now the question will revert to whether any surplus can be maintained, or whether for lack of industrial preparedness we must lapse into medieval conditions of economic deficit, even though we escape the whirlpool of international bankruptcy.

Meanwhile, American industry is justifying to a considerable extent the better things that have sometimes been ascribed to it, in its resourcefulness and adaptability. Contracts that would have been considered formerly in terms of months are being figured in terms of weeks, and plants that had been planned for deliberate building in the future are now being rushed to completion in unprecedented haste. All this, nevertheless, is being done with intelligent thought, however rapidly. As a single illustration, we hear a lament from some theorists in regard to so-called waste construction and the query is made as to what can be done with all these surplus buildings when the demand for production falls off or changes; but investigation would show in the majority of cases that though these are built because of the present emergency business, yet they are built on lines that make them potentially replacement plants for normal business, to which use they are designed to be put when the present pressure shall have been removed. So, in a variety of ways, careful thinking is being done to

figure how immediate necessity may be met in such way as to suffice likewise for future needs. Indeed, it not infrequently seems that the greater the stress the more careful and effective the thinking is, despite the brevity of time in which it must be done.

What, meanwhile, is to become of the consideration of the human relations in industry? This was in fair way but a little time ago to have got the intelligent attention it needed and was entitled to. We were metaphorically sitting down to this subject and planning to discuss it leisurely and good temperedly, with the distinct purpose of doing something about it all eventually, beyond even the good work already being undertaken.

There is this much certain that there should be the greatest possible accuracy in the use of the language we speak when we undertake to translate our mental processes at work upon these problems, inasmuch as the tendency is, in such a time of strain, for the mutual discussion of relations between capital and labor to fall into curt exchanges of ultimata and pronunciamientos, with quick settlements of differences whether well advised or poorly. The experience is not uncommon even in social life of hearing excited debate concerning some subject on which the disputants prove to be in complete agreement after they have talked around it through a period of completely misunderstanding each other's point of view. It is an especially grave misfortune in industry if one party to a contention clothes its thoughts in words that misinterpret these thoughts to the other. But this is a danger to which industrial disputes are peculiarly susceptible, and much would be gained if we could get the language in which these should be argued reduced to certain elementary forms which should have a common meaning to all.

The congenital reformer presumably is a valuable type, but he is not without sin against the cause he has espoused in his discussion of industrial relations. Perhaps it is because so many of these have been writers that we have now in common parlance certain dignified phrases of meritorious sound which convey as many different shades of meaning as there are people voicing them. It is at any rate a fact that too many of the reforming guild are literary stylists first of all, and most zealously. Euphony and mellifluous diction go extraordinarily far with us as a people, and phraseology too often wins a widespread approval that would

not be given to the logic which it implies if it had not been verbally sweetened. It consequently becomes essential for us, not too infrequently, to analyze the catch-words of our political, religious, or social language to determine whether we are using words primarily to bespeak thought or because they have a certain rhythm in their jingle. Only so we can avoid as a folk the attribute ascribed by a popular novelist of the last century to one of his characters who was said to have "a mind not exactly intellectual but felicitous in vocabulation."

There is, in particular, one such phrase, much in current use now, "industrial democracy," that was far too good to have been spoiled but that has been so glibly used to cover indefiniteness of thinking that it has become nearly if not quite useless for practical work, particularly for those who actually and passionately believe in democracy. This phrase is generally accepted as descriptive of some condition not yet operative but greatly to be desired. Its inherent attractiveness made it particularly adapted for a non-consequential word formula for the period of destructive agitation which tore down necessarily as a prerequisite to clearing the ground for upbuilding. As the unknown quantity in the equation, solution of which was to give us better conditions all around, it was pretty completely monopolized as a substitute for the more conventional symbol,  $X$ , to represent the factor sought. The inflammation in the body politic developed by the long-time acceptance as an axiom of the theory that "whatever is, is right" needed, very possibly, the treatment for a time of such a counter-irritant as the doctrine that "whatever is, is wrong"; and during such a period anything which might be assumed to mean a change seemed bound almost certainly to signify a betterment. It was by some such process that no close scrutiny was given to the syllogism which came to have rather general acceptance,—

We need that which we haven't; *namely that* —  
 We haven't industrial democracy;  
 Therefore, we need industrial democracy.

I have heard industrial democracy talked about within a few months among others by a trade unionist, a syndicalist, a student of social tendencies, and an employer. The meanings which each of these respectively attached to the phrase were so unlike that there was not even a common denominator discoverable, and yet as

a sporting proposition I would ask no more definiteness of action than would have resulted from bringing the group together. The trade unionist argued for the control of a specific industry through government by the different trades involved, seemingly with an analogy in his mind between the functions and rights of the different trade unions and of the states of our political system. The syndicalist had a clean-cut and well expressed argument that industry belonged solely to the workers in it under any circumstances and that they ought to combine and take it and run it. The student had a conception of an agreement between ownership and workers that should be reciprocally coöperative and so advantageous to each as to be compelling, once it should be tried. The employer wanted an organization of his own workers permeated with a common zeal for his interests, not too insistent about their own affairs but properly appreciative of blessings received, when he should confer them. The distributing fact in all this was that each was so obviously sincere in his belief that he understood the spirit of this elusive thing—industrial democracy—and in a testimony meeting where all who believed in it should have been invited to rise, the four would have been found upon their feet. It would be highly amusing if one were only cynical, but to those who crave real progress toward reasonable industrial adjustments such futility cannot but be a genuine sorrow!

We who believe in democracy as a political system do so in full recognition of the fact that its merits are not secured without very considerable sacrifices. One's faith would be but insecurely established if it were founded on any basis which did not take into account the real cost at which democracy must be maintained seemingly. As a political system it is clumsy and inefficient in all material ways, and idealistically it sacrifices the opportunity for carrying the few to major refinement for the sake of bettering the average. Its virtues lie in the free-play it gives to individual volition which it puts under restraint only at the point where it must be curbed that other individual volitions may have their like free-play. Thus, to those of us who wish to live our own lives, with the minimum of outside interference, democracy becomes a very precious thing.

Even so, however, we recognize in emergencies when unity of action becomes a necessity for early accomplishment, that the

forms of pure democracy must be somewhat laid aside to preserve the fact. We see this principle at work in varying degrees as some dread disease grips a community and quarantine shuts off exodus from it; or as fire devastates a city and the police are put in control of the panic-stricken populace; or as floods force death and destruction upon the country-side until the troops are brought in to protect and aid in reconstruction. For a time in any of these cases, we allow the delegation of authority to go to autocratic extreme, complaisant in our knowledge that its purpose is being accomplished in behalf of the over-ruling principle of democratic government.

Now industry has as its primary and specific function, upon the accomplishment of which the prosperity of the people at large depends, the constant maintenance of economic surplus through its productive methods. Furthermore, the success of government in the political state ultimately is dependent upon this same thing, for no form of government is likely to endure under which the trend toward reduction of economic wealth becomes established. Of course, the answer may be made to this that by new methods of distribution by which great accumulations of wealth should be broken up, the people at large could have increased resources even under conditions of lessened gross economic wealth. But this condition could only be temporary if the production methods of industry became disorganized and their fruits became impaired, for with the shrinkage of the economic surplus conditions would steadily tend again to become drastic for the increasing number without capital, and any considerable correction of such conditions would be correspondingly difficult for demobilized capital to accomplish.

It is, to be sure, perfectly possible to imagine a consumer's orgy for any given generation during which the wealth for current use should be more largely appropriated to common utilization and under which an undue proportion of the world's principal should be consumed, regardless of all consequences for ages to come. In spite, however, of seeming sordidness of occasional eras or of occasional social groups, and in spite of certain conspicuous exceptions both among capitalists and labor bodies, the world at large with all its short-sightedness has too much altruism and too much idealism to let such a condition continue long. In the main, a

large majority would agree to the proposition that we must hold to our rate of production, or even increase it to normal extent. The important differences of opinion would arise over the proportional assignments of the wealth created to the various parties involved in the accomplishment.

Here it is that democracy as a form of government has its obligation for intelligent jurisdiction, for it can say and must be expected to say, from its broad concern for the common good, that industry shall not be so conducted that the individuals involved shall be subjected to conditions that in their physical, mental, or moral influences are antagonistic to the principles for which a democratic government stands. Or, putting the proposition positively, democracy as a governmental system can say that all which industry does must be done subject to the public code to which the government commits itself in behalf of its people.

There can be little exception taken to the argument of Mr. Gompers in his recent editorial on "Labor's Participation in Government" in the *American Federationist* for February, wherein he writes:

. . . . These, and all workers, have earned the right to real representation in government and in determining its policies of industry and society—have earned their right through their flesh and blood and through the bone-wearing anguish of toil. Yet they have been denied full, real recognition of their worth as men and citizens—they have not been admitted to participation in the heart of government. Daily life has taught them to distinguish between the real and the spurious—between true power and things associated with power.

The right to vote implies but little as to real participation of the voter in the government. With the development in our country and the increases in our population, the political tendency has been toward the creation of commissions authorized to investigate, to determine policies and to formulate plans. Since the real work is done through commissions and committees, these are the political agencies that exercise governmental power. Only when there is representation on these committees and commissions, in addition to the other recognized political rights, is there real participation in the political life of the nation. This commission tendency of government has been so gradual that its significance and importance have not been grasped by all of the citizens. Those who have interpreted this tendency aright have been urging upon the attention, not only of those in authority, but of the wage-earners themselves, the justice and the necessity for representation of wage-earners on these commissions and committees.

Certainly the conduct of no industry must be allowed to deny rights which the government purports to guarantee or to controvert

principles for which the government stands. Coincidentally any industry which does not see, must be made to see that in the evolution of a system of which it is the beneficiary, by which people have been drawn from their homes to centralization within factories or plants, and by which workers have sacrificed the mental and physical advantages of a variety of occupations to highly specialized tasks, it has become responsible for the establishment of conditions under which the well-being of the worker shall be served throughout his hours of employment, and for the setting of hours and wages at points where he shall have a chance, outside of working hours, to conserve the welfare of himself and those dependent on him. Beyond such limits, however, wherever they be fixed, the procedure must be existent which most consistently breeds efficiency and stimulates output in production unless we are to pay the penalty individually and collectively.

"Industrial democracy" in its too frequent use is intended to be descriptive of proposed organizational modifications which imply an electorate of workers which should directly have jurisdiction over management. The fallacy involved is that this is desirable, on the assumption that this would or even could be of lasting advantage to the individual worker, for it certainly would not be except as one may assume that such democracy would be free from the weaknesses and faults of democracy as a system of government in the political state.

Politically we have specialized as a people in recent years so completely on claiming rights that our senses of obligations and responsibilities have become atrophied. Authority has been weakened, not only in state and church, but in home and school, until it commands even less respect than obedience. Amid all this, somehow, the conviction is growing that action which develops from dilettante philosophizing about the claims of society and the common good offers too little compensation in constructive accomplishment for what society is called upon to sacrifice in character of the individuals who compose it, through their being so little called upon to acknowledge authority to anybody or anything.

It is unfortunate that there is not a more general knowledge of the influences under which industry has developed. If the elementary fact could be understood of the relation of decreasing productivity of land to increasing wants per unit of population,

to say nothing of the actual increase of those units, it would bring incalculable good, in that it would do away with the haziness in which so many of our industrial problems are befogged. The bearing of the truth ought to be understood that the human mind alone has stood between the increasing population of the world and universal want. He who first made two ears of corn to grow where one grew before was earlier representative of that ever-increasing number who by applying their intellects to production problems have made possible the increases by which growing populations could be maintained within given areas of the earth's surface. The modern counterparts are the men whose brains have devised machines, applied power, and invented methods by which the productive output per unit of population has increased beyond comprehension.

In this connection it deserves attention that of the great industrial nations, that one where abject poverty has been most evident and widespread is England, where trade-unionism and those of like thought have most definitely agitated for and secured restriction of output in production. Lord Rhondda, the Welsh coal magnate, in discussing after-the-war problems recently, as quoted in the *Associated Press*, made a number of most interesting comments on conditions in England. He said, in part:

Apart from the slump inevitable during the period of adjustment immediately following the close of the war, we shall be as heavily saddled as any country in the world with war indebtedness. Heavy taxation will tend to drive both mobile capital and the best of labor out of the country.

We have got to get both of them back. We have got to produce more than we now produce. And to do this we have got to organize the nation in a big effort of industrial production. Nothing else can again secure us the premier place in the markets of the world.

Now we know, from our munition-making experience, that our industrial population can produce more per man than it did before the war. Much as I sympathize with trade union aims, I am afraid it has to be admitted that trade unionism, by its restrictive policy, was slowly throttling the commerce of Great Britain. From a variety of causes we now obtain, I understand, a higher output per man, and we are certainly paying a far higher rate of wages per man.

The question is, will labor agree to continue the increased output after the war, and still further increase it? Restriction of production has become such a fixed policy with many of our great unions that there is grave doubt whether they will sanction such a course, even though employers will be willing to maintain the higher rate of wages. Personally I hold that it is nationally advisable to pay a man the highest possible wage, provided you get from him in return his maximum production.



Unfortunately the unions have hitherto declined to admit that the restriction of output affects the whole business possibilities of a nation. I think, however, that the graver conditions we shall have to face at least suggest that they should reconsider the whole question with a view to national exigencies. One is tempted to wish, by the way, that trade union leaders were more keen on education. If they would encourage among the workers the study of sound economics from a national point of view, they would do much to clear their vision as to the vital part which production plays in the history of our country.

If we in England are to take our proper place in the fight it will require vigorous effort to obtain a production large enough to compete at all outside our own boundaries.

In the large, the history of invention is the history of progress, and must continue to be so. There is abundant reason to believe that from now on the same type of intelligent dynamic thinking which has heretofore been applied to mechanical developments and processes will be applied to that accumulated mass of problems which we classify under the term of "human relations." Visualization of the outcome of this is beyond possibility. Individuality and opportunity for pride in their work have been too largely denied the workers under modern methods of production. The way must be found to restore these as a prerequisite of all else that stands awaiting adjustment in the field of industrial relations. Only when this has been accomplished can we begin to expect the cumulative growth of contentment and satisfaction among people at large that will so greatly add to the sum of human happiness.

The result will be gained, however, through the influence of common sense rather than of sentimentality. This remains true even though there is, to be sure, plenty of reason to distrust the kind of thinking being done by the spokesman of the various interests involved. The kind of reasoning which makes one group argue against improved machinery, specialization of work, or such a moral advance as elimination of the saloon because it will throw barkeepers out of work, is offset at least by that which argues against education or shop-training which will enable the worker to earn increased wages, or reduces the piece-rate when workers begin to earn high payments, or shuts down an expensive plant to the community's hurt during a period of lessened profits. But the intelligence at work on the problem of increasing production is being focused on the problems involved in bettering the human relations involved, and conviction is growing that herein lie tangible and

concrete advantages for the future, with sympathetic leadership above supplementing intelligent enthusiasm below.

Real democracy will be achieved in our industrial system when conditions are actually established that insure the more capable men in the more responsible places and guarantee fair treatment and just wages to all. The development of productive methods from a knack to a science will necessarily in the evolution emphasize the superiority of the type of management which extends equal opportunity to all and perpetuates itself by the most discriminating selection. Authority must in the very nature of things be exercised by management over productive force rather than the reverse, but it will be derived justly and utilized intelligently.

These are portentous times and it is hazardous to forecast developments of a world in convulsion. But, it seems certain that when peace comes there will be such attention given to forms of government and industrial systems as never before. The trend towards democracy will be definite and perhaps irresistible. The conditions of industry are likely to be more normal in the United States than anywhere else in the world. The comparative merits of industrial methods should best be known here. If they are known, they can be of inestimable worth in the necessary reorganization of the world's affairs. Especial responsibility, therefore, rests upon us that these should be days of careful appraisal of our industrial system, and the terms in which we define its methods.

It is no time for mushiness of thought. It is as little time for empty or misleading phraseology. If the meaning of "industrial democracy" is going to imply that management shall be divested of its authority or that tenure of management shall be subject to control by those who may resent its efficiency, it is descriptive of a condition which cannot even be desired. Unity of action for the common good is necessary that the ratio between population and production shall be preserved, and this is only possible by organization and the delegation of authority through which the work of those of less ability shall be directed by those of greater. Otherwise we cannot argue effectively for democracy. Radical as we may become in regard to the conditions which shall be prescribed by the governmental system for the conduct of the industrial system, or for the distribution of wealth after it is produced, it yet remains

true that the one great function of industry is production, and that this must be organized to secure maximum results.

A world's work is to be done. Losses are to be made good. Burdens heavier than those borne in recent years are to be assumed. These are responsibilities that industry must accept. If democracy as a theory of government is to be conclusively impressive, the industrial system which is subject to its principles must be convincingly efficient.

## A FUNCTIONALIZED EMPLOYMENT DEPARTMENT AS A FACTOR IN INDUSTRIAL EFFICIENCY<sup>1</sup>

BY ERNEST MARTIN HOPKINS,

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The most significant fact pertaining to industrial management today is the attention which is being given to the problems of personnel. Recognition is being given to the truth that new sources of power and evolution of mechanical processes have but changed the points, in methods of production, at which the human factor is essential, without changing to any degree the ultimate dependence upon it.

The impressive thing is not that some men recognize the importance of the individual worker, for this has always been true of some; it is that such recognition is so rapidly becoming general, since it has been so long delayed. Yet the causes are obvious. Power can be produced for A and Z with little variation in cost to either. Plant design has been standardized until one can gain small advantage over another herein. The same mechanical equipment can be secured by one as by the other. There is no longer marked advantage possible to the thoroughly progressive house over another, equally progressive and intelligent, in the securing of raw materials, in the mechanical processes of manufacture, or in the methods of

<sup>1</sup>Reprinted from the September volume of *The Annals*. This article is of such excellence and has met with such a favorable reception that the editors feel justified in reprinting it here in order to make this volume as complete as possible.

promotion and distribution. Wherein lies possible advantage of A over Z in the competition between them? Or the question may read for Z, how may he retain his prosperity in competition with A? This is one phase of the compelling logic which is leading to the study of problems of employment.

It becomes increasingly evident that the statement frequently made is universally true, if interpreted broadly, that the interests of employer and employe are inextricably bound together.

The social significance of questions relating to the mutual interests of employers and employes is so great that these could not have been much longer kept subordinate under any circumstances; but the utilitarian advantage to employers, individually and collectively, of scientific study of these problems has become so plain that the present general interest in them among industrial leaders can most positively be ascribed to the fact that, whatever else they are, they are a vital concern of good business.

It was logical, when industrial management reached the stage that its practices could be defined, and the preliminary studies made to separate the good and the bad, in course of reducing such management to a science, that attention should have been focussed first on processes, machines and buildings. These things needed to be right before the worker could realize his possibilities. It is to be recognized, however, that though the word "efficiency" came into wide use during this stage of dealing with inanimate factors, the word is entitled to the far broader significance which carries an import of all-around effectiveness. Industrial efficiency, under proper definition, does mean and must be understood to mean right workers and right conditions for them as distinctly as right machines and conditions designed for their best operation.

This is the broad principle on which the functionalized employment department has been established. It is simply the application of the same reasoning to finding and maintaining the labor supply that has already been applied in industry to problems of building, equipment, mechanical supervision, and the methods by which business is despatched.

There is this greater difficulty in establishing a functionalized department for employment and correlated responsibilities than in establishing a department for almost anything else, that however frankly men will acknowledge limitations on some sides, few

will admit or believe that they are not particularly perspicacious in their judgments of men. This is particularly true of those of circumscribed vision, whose advantages have been few and whose opportunities for developing breadth in their mental processes have been limited, as is the case with many minor executives or subforemen. Such an one feels, perhaps not unnaturally, that his prestige with the new employe is impaired if employment is secured through some department outside his own. Moreover, he is likely to ascribe to the employment department no other basis of appraisal than he himself has used, and with this as a premise, he argues that his own intuition is better than that of one who lacks his own intimate knowledge of the work for which he is responsible. Almost invariably, too, he fails to value to reasonable extent the loss to his own work which comes from the waste of time involved in interviewing and employing, even if he undertakes to do this with such care as that of which he may be capable.

Too much emphasis may not be placed, however, on the difficulties incident to establishing the employment department, for the foremost concerns have so definitely accepted the principle that it is bound to be accepted generally. It should simply be recognized that such a department cannot fulfill its function to become a large contributor to the success of the business unless it be given recognition and endorsement sufficient to gain for it coöperation from the departments with whose problems of personnel it must be in contact. A large responsibility rests upon the employment department to work carefully and considerately, with open mind and appreciation of the problems of others; but even so, occasional support in the way of instructions from above will be needed to give the department access to some parts of the field wherein its work should be done.

This raises the question as to the place of the department in the organization. There can be only one answer, if the installation of the work is made in good faith—it must be in direct contact with the topmost management, where its problems can be passed upon promptly and decisively by ultimate authority, if issues arise. More important than this, the creation and establishment of such a department in a business should mean that the avenues of communication between those in the ranks and those at the top, which too often have become closed as a business has grown large, are to

be re-opened. If this does not become true, the potentiality for good in such work can never be more than partially realized.

It is a duty that distinctly belongs to the employment office, to cultivate sympathetic knowledge of the opinions of workers and to bespeak these to the management. All industry is so set up that the word of the management can be quickly and easily transmitted down. It is no less of consequence to those above than to those below that some agency exists for facilitating the reverse process.

Industrial efficiency could not have been so definitely advanced as it has been without gigantic accomplishment in gathering data, codifying them, and the establishment of systems to realize benefits from the lessons learned. It is useless to expect that great businesses can be conducted without a great mass of prescribed routines designed for the greatest good in the majority of cases. But it is true that the necessary struggle for uniformity and system has involved the limitation of individualism to standardized types to an extent that raises some serious questions.

It is impossible to set limits to the advantages which may accrue to a business from such attributes of personality among its men as loyalty and enthusiasm, and yet personality cannot well be standardized. Herein the employment department needs particularly to be on guard in its own work. It must steer between the danger of following the foreman's method of picking men because he likes their looks or their manners, and a method so systematized and impersonal as to have eliminated all individualism.

It is for this reason that great caution is needed to avoid blind acceptance of methods from among the various systems evolved by the less careful industrial psychologists or advocates of character analysis. Much along these lines has been established which ought to be known and utilized to reasonable extent in the employment office. It is surely true that certain physical types are particularly adapted to certain forms of manual labor; it is as true that certain mental types have especial aptitudes which ought to be recognized in assigning them to work. Experimental psychology has taught us how to determine the mental defective and the moron, and is capable of doing far more for us. But there is a refinement of system proposed by some that is neither commercially profitable nor ethically sound, in that on the one hand, at large expense, it attempts

the standardization of personality, and on the other, it accepts unduly a theory of predestination which would largely limit the opportunities for proving individual worth.

There are, however, no differences of opinion concerning the desirability of standardization of jobs. This is not properly a responsibility of the employment office, but knowledge of what the respective standards are is one of its vital needs. If the data have not been gathered and made available, one of the most essential moves for the employment office in the establishment of its own work is to undertake such a survey of requirements of the work and opportunities for the workers in the respective departments and sub-departments as brought together will give a composite of the whole plant. Such a survey need not be made obtrusively nor need it become a nuisance to department executives. It will necessarily involve the expenditure of considerable time. But it is worth while doing, even if it has to be done very quietly and very slowly, for while it offers the most fundamental data for employment work, it likewise often shows such inconsistencies in practice that a company can markedly raise its average of efficiency, if only it brings the departments of lax or faulty standards somewhat up towards the grades of those which are being well administered.

Such a survey in its elementary form should show at least such facts concerning the respective departments as preferred sources of supply for new employes, education or special training required, any special attributes desired, initial wages paid, opportunities for advancement in position and possible wage increases, working conditions and working hours, and labor turnover.

The term "labor turnover," which has recently come into general use, even now is not fully understood by some, and is perhaps best described by the more brutal phrase in general use, "hiring and firing." The annual "hiring and firing" figures represent the percentage of labor turnover. For instance, if a company maintains a normal labor force of a thousand people, and is obliged to employ annually a thousand to compensate for those who leave or are dismissed, the labor turnover is 100 per cent.

Probably no greater argument for the establishment of a functionalized employment department in many companies could be made than to induce a study of the labor turnover figures. It is not an unusual experience to find employers who estimate the

figures of their own concerns at less than 50 per cent, when it actually runs to several times that figure.

It is to be noted that such figures, though illuminating in themselves, need further analysis to be of major use. For instance, seasonal demands may be such in the specified shop normally enrolling a thousand hands that two hundred must be employed periodically for a few weeks and then dismissed, their places again to be filled in a few more weeks. If this happens five times a year, the turnover figures will be 100 per cent. The other extreme would be a concern with such lack of knowledge of the money loss involved in change that practically every job was vacated and filled at least annually, when likewise the labor turnover would be 100 per cent. Such figures are much too high, but they are not infrequent. They likewise are expensive, but while in the latter case the concern in question would bear much of the expense, in the former it is more largely imposed upon the community. Working men or working women who, through no fault of their own, are deprived successively, time on time, of the opportunities to realize their earning capacities, inevitably suffer impairment of courage, self-respect, and even moral fibre, the loss of which falls first upon the community, but eventually upon industry, in the depreciation in quality and spirit of the labor supply.

It is extremely difficult to know what can be done to remove the seasonal element in employment needs in the majority of cases. On the other hand, much would be gained if, by analysis and comparison, foremen and sub-managers could be shown the futility and financial loss of the lack of comprehension which allows them to discharge carelessly on caprice, or for the maintenance of that perverted sense of discipline which they phrase as "keeping the fear of God in the hearts of their people."

There is so much advantage in having employes who know the ways and routines of a concern that it would seem that, except where dismissals are for sufficient cause, those suffering them would be preferred applicants for positions elsewhere in the company calling for like grade of ability. It is not often so, nevertheless, except where a well-established employment office or its equivalent exists. All too frequently, a reduction of work in one department of a large manufacturing plant will send workers out under dismissal, while some other department of the same plant is seeking additional help.



A rule which has been established in some large plants, and which has worked advantageously, is that no department can discharge an individual from the company's employ; it can only dismiss from its own work. In effect, this subjects the case to review of some higher official who holds the power of final discharge, gives the employment office a chance to utilize the experienced employe elsewhere, if of proved capacity, and acts as a healthy check on the impulsive high-handedness of certain types of foremen and sub-managers. Another rule which works to somewhat the same effect is to require advance notices to be filed with the employment office concerning projected dismissals, together with the reasons therefor.

Other statistics which will interest the progressive employer may be compiled, showing the degree of permanency of the labor force—thus, the percentages showing what proportion of the total enrollment has been employed less than a year, what proportion for between one and two years, and so on. Not infrequently it will be found that these figures reveal employment conditions quite apart from the theories of the head of the house and contrary to his belief as to how his business is being run. A manufacturer employing about four thousand men told me recently that he had genuinely believed that a large proportion of his men had been with him from ten to twenty years, only to find from such a statistical table that 50 per cent had been there less than two and a half years.

Incidentally, it may be suggested that some of the easy generalizations which have been made from time to time in regard to the lack of stability of workingmen as groups, because of the presence therein of so-called "floaters," would be materially altered if it could be known to what extent it had been beyond the volition of workmen of unquestioned skill to remain permanently placed. In general, the handling of dismissals has been dictated by the intelligence of sub-executives rather than by the intelligence of the management, and there has been no supervision from above.

The functionalized employment department is dependent, for successful accomplishment, in particularly specific ways upon the smoothness with which its work can be made to articulate with other functionalized departments, such, for instance, as the accounting department, the schedule or routing department, and other like ones. It must rely on these for the data to prove much of its own

work, and in turn it may find within its perspective facts highly important to them. Through the large number of its interviews, it should come to have an unusually comprehensive knowledge of current rates of wages for established grades of work. It ought, furthermore, to come into position to know to what extent the law of increasing returns will apply to additional rates of pay established to secure superior ability.

It is probably due to the fact that the attention of industrial leaders has been fixed in the past so intently on problems of power, plants, and machines that so little practical recognition has been given to the fact that the most efficient worker, even at considerably increased cost, is far and away the most profitable. The most obvious demonstration of this exists perhaps in the case of a shop filled with expensive machinery working to full capacity, yet with its production falling behind its orders. Would there be any hesitancy if its management could have an option offered between added efficiency and enthusiasm among its employes that would increase its potentiality a half through the enrollment of its labor force on the basis of capability to earn a largely increased wage, and the alternative of the necessity of adding 50 per cent to its plant and mechanical equipment? The truth is that seemingly there is not yet any general understanding among employers that a high gross payroll does not necessarily result from a high individual wage, or expressed in slightly different terms, that the cost per unit of production may be larger the lower the rate of pay to the individual worker.

A somewhat analagous principle is involved in the matter of working hours per day. The old-time practice indicated a theory that if so much work could be accomplished by a working-week of sixty hours, 20 per cent more could be accomplished in a working week of seventy-two hours. Reduce these figures to fifty hours a week as compared to sixty, and the theory does not seem to have been so completely discarded even now. Yet the facts are available from modern investigations of the physical and nervous reactions from fatigue, lack of variety incident to refinements of methods in specialization, and want of time for recuperative processes, to show that up to some definite limit actual gross production may increase under reduction of hours; or that up to some other limit a much larger proportionate production per hour of work may be secured.

Moreover, these arguments have been proved again and again in the actual operations of progressive companies.

It is not to be understood that the employment department does have or should have final authority to govern these policies. But the department is in a position to study and compile data regarding these problems as very few other departments can; and either in initiating or contributing to investigations of all such matters affecting the human relations, it has opportunity for rendering the most valuable kind of staff service to the general administration and to departments associated with itself.

Industrial efficiency, with all its vital importance, is yet a means to an end, and not the end itself. N.B. It is the quality or manner by which a highly desirable result is to be accomplished, but it is not the result. It has too often happened that an earnest advocate of efficient methods has become so engrossed in the technique of his profession as to ignore its purpose, to the consequent detriment of the general cause.

So it may be too easily with functionalized employment work. An office may be set up under the direction of a master of system, which in its operation shall be a model of method. Interviewing of applicants, filling out of skillfully devised applications blanks and filing them, and creation of numberless card records may be so conducted as to show these things to have been reduced to an exact science, and yet the value of the department remain problematical.

Of course, no effort must be spared to have the ways devised by which the best possible candidates shall be offered and chosen for the respective kinds of work. But the work is incomplete if it stops here. The good of the business is the criterion by which all accomplishment must be judged. If a high grade of labor has been secured, the company's interests demand that the environment, the conditions and the opportunities shall be made such as to hold it. The employment department cannot omit any legitimate effort to influence policies to this end. It must work helpfully and understandingly with other departments, without pride or arrogance. But it must work unceasingly with clear vision toward the goal of making its distinct contribution to the company's prosperity through the improved human relationships which it may help to develop.

THE AIM AND WORK OF EMPLOYMENT MANAGERS'  
ASSOCIATIONS

BY MEYER BLOOMFIELD,

Director of the Vocation Bureau of Boston.

The handling of employes is so important a matter that those engaged in it must prepare, and in time will be bound to prepare, as for a profession.

It was in order to bring out the professional ideas involved in this kind of work that those in charge of hiring and supervising employes in a number of Boston establishments were asked to come together four years ago and exchange ideas and experiences. In looking over the then existing associations which might take interest in a program of systematic study of employment management problems, there did not seem to be any which could devote itself in any large degree to such matters. Indeed very few employment managers, or other executives closely related to employing duties, were members of these societies.

There were organizations of credit men, advertising men, accountants, buyers, and many other kinds of trade and business bodies, but never before, so far as the writer is aware, have men in charge of the employing phases of management, the men who pump the life-blood into an establishment, been brought together to consider the nature of the problems their vital work involved.

The fact is, generally speaking, that the employment department has been a much neglected phase of industrial organization, and the person in charge of this kind of work has been rather overlooked in the management scheme.

Several reasons account for this oversight. Employing people and understanding them have not been generally regarded as more than an incident in management. Duties of this nature have been looked upon as unproductive, if not as a necessary evil. In consequence, the men placed in charge of this work were not always the best type procurable nor of the education the work calls for. Notable exceptions in this respect only prove the general rule of practice. Because the department, then, was not seriously considered, and because a petty subordinate was often placed in charge, the heads

of a firm could not think of this aspect of the enterprise as of the same importance with other functions, such as finance, production, and sales. When grave problems of industrial relations presented themselves, the head of the firm or some other important executive would indeed take deep interest in their solution. Experts, lawyers, and others would be consulted. Perhaps a welfare department, in some cases, would be expected to cope with the issues arising. But the department in the very best possible position to know the facts, the needs of the employees, and the methods best calculated to bring about proper relationship and just treatment, the employment department, has rarely been looked to for help, constructive work, and expert knowledge.

This situation is largely responsible for that great waste known as the labor turnover. It is also responsible for much preventable friction and misunderstanding.

A change for the better has come about since the formation of the first employment managers' association in Boston. The change is not, of course, primarily due to this effort. Other causes have been effectively at work. The movement for employment executives' associations is to some extent a result of wiser methods of management, a more enlightened spirit in industry, the vocational spirit in education, the pressure of employees for better understanding of their needs and desires, and numerous investigations into the social aspects of employment. The formation of employment officers' associations have been, however, a marked influence in the direction of better management methods and a new energy in the study and treatment of personnel problems.

For nearly four years a new type of association, already referred to, dealing with the problems of hiring and developing employees, has been at work in Boston. During 1911, the Vocation Bureau of Boston invited fifty men, who had in charge the hiring of employees in large shops and stores of the city and vicinity, to come together and consider the advisability of meeting regularly. As a result, the Employment Managers' Association was started.

The aims of this association are described as follows in the constitution:

To discuss problems of employees; their training and their efficiency.

To compare experiences which shall throw light on the failures and successes in conducting the employment department.

To invite experts or other persons who have knowledge of the best methods or experiments for ascertaining the qualifications of employes, and providing for their advancement.

It will be seen that the aim of this new association was to provide a professional medium for the exchange of experiences in a field where little interchange of ideas had taken place; to study the human problem in industry on the basis of fair dealing with the employe. In short, there was a conscious effort to make industrial practice square with the dictates of twentieth century enlightenment. The following programs and outlines give an idea of the society's work:

#### EMPLOYMENT MANAGERS' ASSOCIATION

*Activities Suggested For Year of 1916*

##### COMMITTEE WORK

##### *Group Meetings*

The problems in which the Association is interested will be divided roughly into four groups, as follows: Selection of Employees, Training, Management, Special Work among Employees. A committee will be appointed to consider the phases of each division. Each committee will arrange to meet once a month to discuss the different topics in the main division assigned to it. These meetings will take the form of round table discussions and will be open to any member who wishes to attend. From time to time reports will be submitted to the regular monthly meetings of the Association for fuller discussions.

These round table committee meetings will be held at a mutually convenient time, 5.30 to 7.00 p. m. on Friday at the City Club, is suggested. As there will be four committees this will mean that every Friday there will be held at the City Club one of these round table discussions lasting about one hour and a half and adjourning in ample time to allow participants to keep other engagements, but each committee will only have one meeting a month.

##### SUGGESTED TOPICS FOR COMMITTEE WORK

##### *Selection of Employees*

Sources of Supply; Methods of Securing Applicants; Examinations (general, mental, physical for special positions); Standard Application Blanks; Investigation of Credentials; Relative Value of Qualifications; Choosing between Applicants; Selection of Young or Inexperienced for Training and Promotion; Value of Immigrant Labor; Value of Previous Training and Education; Necessity of Planning for Future in Choosing Employees; Keeping Track of Former Employees; Waiting List; Coöperation with Foreman, Superintendent and Heads of Departments.

##### *Training Employees*

Necessity of Immediate Preliminary Instruction; Instruction in Shop; Special Classes; Company Schools; Outside Education; Part Time Schools; Continuation

of Night Schools; Technical Schools; Need of these in each Industrial and Business Community; Correspondence Schools; Training for Promotion; Cooperation with School Authorities to Secure Proper Preliminary Training; Defects in Present Educational Methods from Employers' Standpoint; Vocational Training, its Value to Employers; Danger to Employees' Health in outside Educational Work.

#### *Management*

Advantage of Proper Surroundings and Conditions; Hygiene; Morale; Securing and Retaining Interest; Enthusiasm and Loyalty; Shop Rules; Piece Work; Accident Prevention; Advantages of Employees' Organization; Transfer from One Department to Another; Promotion; Weeding out Undesirables and Inefficient; Cost of Breaking in New Employees; Eliminating Turnover; Cost of Shutdown; Discharge.

#### *Special Work Among Employees*

Health; Recreation; Rest Rooms; Thrift; Insurance; Pensions; Credit Unions; Bonus Systems; Profit Sharing; General Advice; Living Conditions; Social Life; Vocational Aid and Advice; Help in Securing a Better or more Suitable Position.

#### WEEKLY LETTER

It has been suggested that there be issued at frequent intervals a *Bulletin* in letter form containing in addition to Association notices a *List of positions* open at the plants of the different members and a *Question Box* where members may ask for information in regard to any particular problem or subject.

#### GENERAL WORK

The *Monthly Meetings* will be held as usual on the second Tuesday of each month, and the larger problems will be discussed at these, sometimes by outside speakers, but generally by members.

*Visits* to establishments represented by various members are being arranged. There will probably be one of these each month.

As the opportunity permits there will be compiled a general *Index of Information*. Here will be listed (1) Subjects and problems which have been investigated by members individually, their firms or by committees of the Association; (2) Books and monographs on problems of employment management; (3) List of employment bureaus and agencies; (4) A list of educational and training schools available to employees; (5) General information regarding labor legislation.

The Secretary will be glad to be of service to members at any time subject, of course, to the demands of his other work. Office telephone, Fort Hill 1715, resident telephone, Lexington 21-M.

#### ABSTRACT OF DISCUSSION AT TWO MEETINGS

##### *Tests*

Our methods, said the employment man of a street railway company, in the selection of motormen has been briefly, personal interview. That is as far as we go in grading the mental traits of men. We are with him five or ten minutes, find out where he works, his age, his education, the different places he has been employed since he left school, what he did, why he left. He is tested in eyesight

—color as well as view—also in weight. He fills out an application blank. The different parties he worked for are referred to. Social references are looked up. And these are compared with his personal statement. By this method you can get an idea as to his standing. If he is accepted, he is placed in charge of an experienced motorman. That man does the testing.

He takes him over the various lines and his tests are practical ones. He is shown how the work is done. He is shown the mechanism of the car and gradually worked up to the full responsibility of handling the car. At first he will take the handles for a short time, where there is little to contend with—where there are no obstructions. Later, he is given the handles for the entire trip. The instructing motorman is right beside him. He will meet all the obstructions and trials that confront a motorman in his daily work. These are the real valuable tests.

When it comes to the last day or two, the motorman actually leaves the front platform altogether, and the man feels he is actually responsible. Then he is down on his own resources. While there is somebody beside him to help him, you have no real test, because he feels that the responsibility rests with somebody else.

The real test would be to have a track—a short line—especially constructed at a nominal expense and have certain obstructions all ready to drop down in front of the man as he goes along. That is a real test, in my opinion a real test. A motorman is going along when suddenly he gets three bells. The conductor may do that to test the motorman, to see how quickly he can stop his car and how he does it.

#### *Discharge*

We may be peculiar in the amount of stability of our organization. Our foremen are as nearly experts as in any industry with which I have come in contact. The average time it takes to reach such a position as that of foreman is from ten to fifteen years. In that period he has instilled in him more or less of the disposition of the management in regard to discharge.

Where foremen come and go quickly this function might be dangerous to place in their hands without any strain. A few figures to show how it works out with us:

In the year 1915 we had 669 cases of absolute discharge during the year. Upwards of 16,000 people are employed; the percentage is not large. Of these 669, 424 have been in the service under three months; 105 more than three and under six months. A total of 529 of the 669 had been employed less than six months; a total of 140 had been employed over two years, less than 1 per cent.

As the term of service increases the number of those discharged decreases. Only 23 who have been in the service from three to five years and only 17 over five years have been discharged, which illustrates the stability of our organization.

In the case of the discharge of a man who does not necessarily leave the employ of the company: Where there are a number of rooms practically the same in character—25 or 27—a man discharged by one overseer might be taken into another department where he will give entirely satisfactory services.

When the employment department was first organized it was thought unwise to take away from our foremen the right of discharge. It was thought that a



check should be placed on the foremen's action and they were accordingly instructed not to discharge or terminate the services of anyone without notifying the employment department. The employment department interviews every employe who leaves, either voluntarily or discharged for cause.

They feel that sometimes the foremen are hasty and employes are discharged when other means can be used to discipline them and thus save an experienced hand for the company. The employment department was responsible for saving eighty experienced people for the company by transferring them to other departments.

The transferring of the control of discharge from the foreman to the employment department has been very successful. Next year I think the department heads will be instructed to dismiss no one except by the consent of the works manager; he will delegate this to the employment department.

Since the starting of the Boston organization, other cities including New York, Philadelphia, Detroit and Chicago have formed similar societies. The present indications are that a country-wide extension of such organizations will take place, because the idea underlying them appears to be fundamental, and in accord with the aims of both industry and social service.

If such extension, then, of employment executives' associations should take place, the time is opportune to consider their purposes, and their possible contribution to good management and right industrial relations. Bearing in mind the fact that the original effort for such type of association came from an institution, the Vocation Bureau, whose chief aim is the promotion of opportunity, the trend in such associations should be along the line of enlightened thinking in modern industrial organization. If their growth remain true to the initial aims, such associations are in a position to help unravel the tangled problems of misemployment, underemployment and unemployment, and the waste of human capacity in general.

When everything that present-day science can suggest in the way of improving technical efficiency in systems of cost-keeping, equipment, machinery and material has been adopted, the biggest of all industrial problems still remains to be faced.

This is the problem of handling men. Every thoughtful employer knows that managing employes, selecting, assigning, directing, supervising and developing them, is the one phase of management which is most difficult and complicated; and it is the one problem in industry which has in the past had least consecutive thought bestowed upon it. Not that employers have been unaware of the

size of this task. Experiment after experiment has been tried with varying results, all of them aiming at the goal of welding the working force into a stable, dependable, and well-assimilated organization. And yet such organization is not common.

Figures as to change in the working force of various establishments are not easy to obtain, but enough are at hand to indicate an enormous leakage of employes each year in the average store, factory, and other places of employment. Many a concern employs each year as many persons as its total payroll. That is, there is a "turnover" of employes amounting to 100 per cent. The figures range from one-third to many times the total number of employes. How many employers have figured out just what it costs in dollars and cents to change an employe? How many have estimated the cost in terms of organization, loyalty, steadiness and *esprit*?

Obviously, an organization cannot be held together with ropes of sand. The coming and going of employes on such a scale as the data available would indicate cannot but prove a disintegrating force, a foe to sound organization, a source of unceasing mischief.

Employers, of course, appreciate more or less clearly what all this means. But few, however, have set themselves to study this problem as it should be studied. Some have with unhappy results expected miracle-workers to solve this problem, and have toyed with strange employment schemes. Some employers have trusted to sleight-of-hand performances in hiring men instead of dealing with their big problem in the way they deal with other knotty problems. If to psychology they must turn, a psychologist and educator like Prof. E. L. Thorndike of Columbia, for example, could have shown them that the application of science to the problem of handling men involved long and painstaking, not to say exceedingly laborious, investigation. There is no royal road to solving the man-problem in industry. But there are ways, intelligent, common-sense and practically understandable ways, of setting to work. There are certain principles to be observed, methods to be adopted and standards to be maintained in dealing with the question of personnel, and adhering to these can alone insure a reasonable degree of success. In any event the waste and friction now involved in the average treatment of the hiring problem can be materially reduced.

In the first place, the proposition must be firmly grasped that handling employes is a serious business. Not everybody can or should hire; not everybody can supervise men. But it is to the employment department of the establishment that we must look for a solution; to its powers, duties, functions and place in the scheme of organization. And above everything else we must look to the character, training, equipment and place of the man who does the hiring.

It is at this point that thought can be most profitably bestowed. A new conception is needed of the functions of the employment department, and the qualifications of the employment superintendent. Not every concern has a special employment department, although the large establishments are giving up the system of hiring by department heads, and concentrating the selection of employes into a separate division. More and more the need is recognized of functionalizing the hiring and handling of men. Without such specialized treatment of this problem it is impossible to give the matter the attention which it requires. Moreover, the power to hire and discharge extended to a number of individuals has given rise to abuses and frictions which have cost the employer dearly. Nothing is more fatal to sound organization than such power without adequate supervision. Petty executives should never be entrusted with this vital function. Right relations cannot be secured by such a method. Hiring men and discharging men are serious affairs. Only big men can handle matters like these. Costly experience has settled this proposition. The human problem calls for its solution the best men and the most expert consideration.

The quality of the working force determines in the final analysis the quality of the organization, of its product, of its success. Nowhere is this fact more evident than in the organizations which sell service; for example, department stores and public service corporations. The point of contact between the business and the customers and the channel of communication are always through the individual employe. The business is summed up as to its standards by this outpost in the person of saleswoman, telephone operator, or car conductor. Good-will is made or unmade according to the type of representative. The larger the organization, the more the units of contact. Business may be essentially impersonal, but it is highly personal in its service features. The teamster,

driver, stenographer, floor manager, claim adjuster and scores of others act in a personal sense and with individual customers.

Who selects these people? On what basis are they selected? Is it all guess-work? Is it possible to standardize the work of selection? The business man who has not already asked himself questions such as these will do so before long. The whole drift of the time is in the direction of greater attention to the proper selection, supervision, and development of the individual worker. Such attention is no longer a by-product of other responsibilities. It is no longer an inferior man's job.

The employment function is so important to good organization as well as right relations that the hiring office must be looked upon hereafter as one of the vital departments of a business. Somewhere in the scheme of organization provision must be made for a well-equipped office to deal with the many problems concerning personnel. Only through such specialization can the solution be approached. In the first place, such office or department alone can deal with the task of scientifically organizing the source of supply of help. To depend on applicants at the gate, to hang out a want shingle or to advertise through want columns or the medium of other employes is too haphazard a method. Raw material is not procured in this way. Scientific purchasing requires a study of markets, testing out of material and figuring of conditions. There is here no higgling and blind bargaining. The laboratory is frequently used to render the final verdict in favor or against a certain purchase.

Why has the hiring of men been permitted to go on with less systematic scrutiny? One reason has been the surplus, the labor reserve. This will not long avail, first, because industrial conditions and legislation are working to diminish, if not wipe out, the excess of applicants for work on the fringe of every industry; and second, because wise business management recognizes the good sense of organizing the source of labor supply in connection with an organized labor market.

Source-organization assumes various forms. In the case of prospective executives, some large establishments employ "scouts" (not unlike those of major baseball leagues, who range the minor circuits for promising players), who visit periodically the colleges and other institutions and discover the men of promise. One of

the leading manufacturing companies of the country is noted for its post-graduate business opportunities. Indeed, it has built its entire executive force practically out of the findings of its scouts. Another establishment recruits its rank and file from a careful canvass, a block-by-block, and a house to house visitation of neighborhoods. One of the leading department stores in the East has made special arrangement with the high schools of its city and suburbs to send during Saturdays and vacation periods boys and girls for try-out work. They are fairly well paid during the probationary period. When they have finished their school work, positions are awaiting them, based on the observations and the records of the employment department which is charged with this duty.

A study of the source of supply, then, is the first interest of a properly organized employment office. Ample powers are given such offices to reach out and tap the best reservoirs. There is no reliance placed on securing a competitor's help. The aim of such offices is to develop its own material from the raw. Permanence of work is secured by the fact that fitness for the work required is carefully ascertained in advance. Discharge is not in the hands of a variety of sub-bosses. Whim and prejudice are eliminated. The employment office aims to secure employees who will find it worth while to stay.

To help in the proper appraisal of the employee's qualifications, the office keeps complete records, reports, observations and other data. Each employee may consult the file belonging to him. His story is on file, impersonal as a barometer. But the most important record of all at the start, in the right sort of hiring office, is that which begins with the application blank.

As one studies the application cards of various concerns one reason for maladjustment becomes clear. So little analysis of the work required has been undertaken that we have practically no specifications, no *blueprints* of job-requirements in order to enable an applicant to measure himself against the actual demands. Hit-or-miss is the prevailing method. The hiring office properly managed knows that a well-devised application and record blank is one of its first tasks.

Some time ago the application blanks of fifty corporations were collected. If one cut off the firm names, there would be difficulty

in identifying from the material the nature of the business it pertained to. The blanks showed little understanding of the specific requirements of the various occupations. There was little differentiation in the questions asked. Employees cannot be properly selected on such a basis. Each establishment must work out its own needs and demands and record them in the hiring blank. No conventional forms will do, unless selection be wholly given up.

In brief, to one who observes the current practice of hiring and discharging employees, the conclusion comes home with peculiar force that in no other phase of management is there so much unintelligence, recklessness of cost and lack of imagination. On the other hand, in the right organization of the employment scheme there would seem to be endless possibilities of genuine service, a service not possible even in the most benevolent of welfare projects.

The situation on the whole suggests the need of recognizing a new profession in the organization of industry—the profession of hiring and developing men. Executives will have to be trained for this work as they are trained for other important responsibilities. The employment manager, the executive within whose duties falls the direction of the personnel, must be prepared for this work as for a genuine profession. The handling of men in this century will call for unusual preparation in the way of understanding and a spirit of justice.

To seek a professional basis for the work of handling men, and a definite training course of preparation is not a novel idea when one considers how many other tasks in business management have been brought under such direction. College schools of business training, and all engineering schools have had to do pioneer work in applying science and organized experience to familiar pursuits such as accounting, salesmanship, banking, railroad practice, and management. The Tuck School at Dartmouth College, and the Wharton School at the University of Pennsylvania, to name two examples of forward-looking institutions of business training, have been simply true to the original motive of their foundation when they undertook to organize employment courses as proper subjects for instruction.

A long period of time may be needed before such courses contain standard and thoroughly valuable material, but until they do, they are still in a good position to gather the best available material,

analyze the best practice and systematize the thinking and research into the problem. In the meantime the management world is laid under obligation to these institutions for their pioneering spirit and their placing themselves in a position to make a contribution to what many now regard as the most important phase of management.

In the growth of employment management societies and in the closer connection between them and management training courses, both employer and employe may find valuable assistance in overcoming waste and in developing new possibilities of coöperation.

### THE WORK OF THE EMPLOYMENT DEPARTMENT OF DENNISON MANUFACTURING COMPANY, FRAMINGHAM, MASSACHUSETTS.

BY PHILIP J. REILLY,  
Employment Manager.

The employment department of the Dennison Manufacturing Company was established on its present basis on January 1, 1914.

This department was expected to improve the human relationships and to reduce the labor turnover of the industry (a) by making a careful study of the requirements of its various occupations; (b) by engaging persons who could best meet those requirements and see that they were adequately instructed; (c) by transferring to other occupations any promising employes who were unadapted to the first job; and (d) by heedfully noting the reasons given by employes for quitting, so that steps could be taken to eradicate any common cause that was making employes dissatisfied and causing them to leave.

Although studies of other phases of employment work were of assistance, it was mainly through the careful study given to the foregoing divisions of placement work that the employment department was able in a large degree, to accomplish the expected results.

In the Dennison factory about 10 per cent of the force of 2,200 employes are engaged in the so-called skilled trades. This small group represents machinists, electricians, carpenters, compositors,

electrotypers and pressmen. The balance of the force represents those who were unskilled when they were engaged. Many employes in this group, however, are on jobs which require just as long an apprenticeship and whose requirements are just as exacting as the "skilled" trades. Of this larger group about 60 per cent are females and 40 per cent are males, and those in this group follow some 150 different occupations, many of which will be found only in this industry. The chief problem in selection has been to obtain satisfactory non-skilled employes for these jobs.

The employment department prepared and has on file written specifications covering each of the jobs for which non-skilled labor can be hired. These specifications were prepared with the coöperation of the head of each factory department. They contain all the information that each foreman's experience could yield that was of value in selecting employes for every occupation in his department.

These job specifications also contain a brief description of the duties of the job; the schooling or the sort of experience that is desirable in an employe; the posture of the employe, that is, whether employe will be sitting or standing, stooping or walking; the preferable age, weight and height of an employe; whether employe should be right or left-handed; the starting wage; the time taken by an average employe to earn an advance in wages; the probable maximum earnings of the position, and whether the job is steady or seasonal.

The information revealed by these job analyses led to a grading of jobs according to the usual maximum earnings of each. The positions having the lowest earnings were designated as "C" positions; those with a little higher wage range were designated as "B" positions, and the most desirable places of all with the highest wage range were designated as "A" positions. By grading positions according to the wage range of each group, the employment department was able to fill vacancies in grade A by transferring an employe from a grade B position, or if none was available by transferring an employe from a grade C position. This policy of promotion from within opened new channels to advancement and has resulted in the organization obtaining a higher type of employe for the grade C jobs, because even these have the "prospects for advancement" which are needed to sustain the interest of the new employe who is ambitious.



Requisitions for new employes are sent on a printed form to the employment department. These are usually sent at least several days before the employe is needed. For this reason the industry is able to select applicants from its waiting list who are working elsewhere but who can be released from their employment by giving adequate notice of their intention to change. Applicants are asked to give this notice to their employers before they are engaged by the Dennison factory. This reminds them of an obligation that they should discharge and this custom has resulted in their invariably notifying, several days in advance, their department foreman in our business of their intention of quitting.

In selecting from our waiting list an applicant for a given position, we review the information which the interview and application blank have revealed. If it is decided that an applicant can meet the requirements of a certain job, we then give consideration to any influences external to the industry which may cause the applicant to leave. We ascertain why he seeks employment with us; where he regularly lives; what his earnings were in his former position, and why he left it. In most cases we can get in addition other information from persons in our employ, the names of whom are usually given by applicants as references.

When an applicant is engaged, the requirements of the position he is about to fill are clearly outlined to him. For this purpose, the job analysis is followed so that every point which should interest the new employe will be covered. On the subject of wages, care is used to underestimate slightly the probable earnings so that the new employe is not misled by a too favorable outline of the job. He is informed concerning the hours of employment, of the advantages that come from steady work and of the aims of our organization.

When an employe reports for work he is given a copy of our *Book of Information and Instruction*, on the cover of which is printed his name and his department number. This book explains the industrial service activities of our company. This includes an explanation of the Dennison suggestion system, under which employes may obtain cash awards; the advantages of membership in the mutual relief associations; the operation of the factory savings and loan fund; the circulating library, and other company activities which offer many advantages to the employes. This book also

urges employes to avoid accidents and explains the provisions of the Massachusetts workmen's compensation law, under which all employes are insured.

~~The new employe is then sent to the training department where he is taught the special knowledge necessary to equip him for his position.~~ He is shown the most approved and best methods for doing the work, as determined by the time study work of the efficiency department. He is taught such correlated knowledge as the principles of machine constructions, how the materials he uses are made, and how to care for them. When the employe is familiar with the work he is to do, and is able to earn a specified wage, he is transferred to the actual manufacturing department.

The purpose of this training department is twofold. Its first function is to fit the new employe for his particular work in the plant. It relieves the foremen of the trouble and expense of breaking in new help. It is supposed to do the work more quickly and more thoroughly than the foremen have time to accomplish. Its second function is to pass on the vocational aptitudes of the new employe. In a plant with so many different classes of work, it is impracticable to predetermine the exact aptitudes that the applicants for the work may have. Psychological tests may do this in the future, but for the present actual experience at the job is the only safe guide.

The employment department follows up the new employe during the first three months. If he is succeeding on the job his wages will be advanced at an opportune time. Advances in wages are recommended in writing by department heads after each monthly examination of their pay roll. The productive records of the employe are referred to when such recommendations are made.

These recommendations are sent to the employment department and are checked against the records of each employe which are on file there. In addition to the name, age, rate of wages and length of service of the employe, this record shows the number of suggestions and the number of errors made by him.

Usually the pay recommendations are approved by the employment department and sent to the works manager for final approval. If a recommendation is questioned by the employment department, however, the reasons for not approving it are given to the works manager, who will not approve the recommendation unless some

additional reasons for approving it are given by the department head.

If an employe has not succeeded in the position in which he was placed, the employment department then takes up the matter of moving him to another department or of dismissing him entirely from the service. Complete information about an employe's shortcomings is obtained from the department head. Based on this information and upon an interview with the employe, a decision with respect to disposing of the employe is made.

The matter of transferring employes from one department to another required very careful study when the employment department was organized. Department heads in the past had passed on to one another many incompetent employes, and most of them looked with suspicion upon any new move to give employes a second trial at another job.

The policy of transferring employes from one department to another to promote them as well as to give another chance to the promising employes who failed to "make good" on their first jobs, however, has changed the attitude of the department heads towards transferred employes, and the industry now saves many employes to its service who would otherwise be lost. The reasons for transferring 219 employes in 1915 were: Advancing employes to better positions in other departments, 40 per cent; changing employes who asked to be placed on another line of work, 4 per cent; changing employes who were not adapted to the first job in which they were placed, 18 per cent; changing employes to other work when seasonal work for which they were engaged was finished, 29 per cent; changing employes to other positions for miscellaneous reasons, 9 per cent.

Transfers of labor are recorded in the employment department only when an employe is taken from one department and placed in another under the supervision of a different department head. Employes may be advanced from one position to another in the same department without that fact being recorded in the employment department, or they may be changed from one kind of work to another within the same department. If this change is occasioned by the fact that the employe has not made progress on the first job, the employment department is notified.

The Dennison company has made a careful study of how to regulate the manufacture of seasonal goods. It has persuaded its

customers to place orders very early in the year for holiday goods. It now makes large runs of staple articles at periods of the year in which many of its facilities were formerly idle. It has developed an extensive line of specialties for St. Valentine's Day; St. Patrick's Day; Easter and patriotic holidays which come during the first part of the year, and for which it employs the same machinery as was formerly used only for Christmas specialties. By dovetailing these activities it has kept its trained hands steadily employed, and has greatly reduced labor turnover and labor costs.

When an employe decides to leave the company, notice of this decision is usually given a week in advance. The employment manager interviews the employe and records the reason on a printed "Leaving Slip." An effort is always made to get the true reason. Instances where an employe is dissatisfied either with his wages, his work or the conditions under which his work is performed, are of especial concern to the employment department. If any employe has suffered an injustice steps are taken to prevent a repetition of the complaint. Because the employment department has been interested to record the reason given by each departing employe for leaving its service, and to tabulate this information at intervals, it has been able to discover a number of common causes of dissatisfaction which resulted in large numbers of employes leaving.

This information resulted in remedial recommendations being made which, when adopted, almost immediately resulted in stopping the exodus of dissatisfied employes. The number of employes lost by this company in 1913 because they were dissatisfied for one reason or another, probably was no greater than the number lost for similar reasons by other industries, because the average labor turnover of this industry was no worse than the average labor turnover of other industries in its class. However, by reason of the steps taken by the company to remove causes that tended to make employes dissatisfied, it was able to reduce these cases to such an extent that the total number recorded in 1915 represents only 17½ per cent of the total number who left in 1913 because they were dissatisfied either with their wage or their work. This appears to be a remarkable showing when it is remembered that there are always in every industry types of restive employes, small in numbers to be sure, who seem to be dissatisfied with any job no matter how advanta-

geous appears the opportunity for advancement it offers or how fair its wage may be.

When it is necessary to discharge an employe, the department head notifies the employment department of his intention and states the reason for such a step. After considering all of the circumstances, sometimes another trial is given to the employe, either on the same job or on another job. In the event of an employe being discharged the department head could not prevent his being placed in another department if it was decided to re-engage the employe later. The works manager only is empowered to exclude absolutely an employe from the organization, and this is done only in very rare cases.

The effectiveness of the work of an employment department is usually judged by the extent to which it has succeeded in reducing the changes in the personnel of its industry. Needless labor turnover is an expense that burdens many industries. A conservative estimate is that the expense of replacing an experienced hand averages \$50 in this industry. On this estimate the savings represented by the reduction which has been effected in the labor turnover since the employment department was established on its present basis approximates \$25,000. The figures of labor turnover for this industry, which represents not only employes who quit work but also all who were laid off or dismissed for any causes, were: 1911—68 per cent; 1912—61 per cent; 1913—52 per cent; 1914—37 per cent; 1915—28 per cent.

Although this marked reduction in the changes of the working force is in itself a sufficient justification for establishing and maintaining a central employment department, the Dennison company feels that other values in addition have accrued from the deeper study it has given to its employment problems.

It has been worth a lot to learn from its own experience, for example, how vital to the contentment and efficiency of a working force it is to have as foremen men who, in addition to good judgment, have a manner that invites the friendship as well as the respect of employes.

In the departments headed by men of this sort, an employe was rarely distressed because a reasonable request had not been readily granted or because the foreman's attitude in handling a matter requiring tact as well as firmness had been such as to invite

friction. Foremen who were unfeeling and arbitrary in handling matters unimportant in themselves, had caused many valuable employes to leave the industry, despite the fact that their earnings were very high and that their work was very interesting.

It has been well worth while also for the industry to have maintained through its employment department a point of contact with the employes that has resulted in their feeling free to express themselves with reference to the adjustments that they thought should be made in their work or in their wages, whenever a foreman seemed to them to be insensible to their deserts.

It is because the employment department has been in a position to render such effective coöperation to heads of departments and to extend such encouragement to those employes who may have found themselves temporarily out of harmony with their work environment, that its work in this business has been so well worth while.

## THE EMPLOYMENT WORK OF THE CURTIS PUBLISHING COMPANY

By ROBERT C. CLOTHIER,<sup>1</sup>

Employment Manager, The Curtis Publishing Company.

The raising of the standard of efficiency of the working force, individually and as a whole, in order that the purchasing power of the wage-dollar may be increased—this, as we interpret it, is the broad function of the employment department. It is not my intention to give you a finished speech tonight, for two reasons: first, because of a certain constitutional inability to do so; and second, because, although we feel that we are making progress in our efforts at human engineering, yet we have a long road to go before we even approach the end; so my paper tonight will be devoted merely to telling you about what we have succeeded in doing and in some measure what our plans are for the future.

The phrase "employment department" would be a misnomer if

<sup>1</sup> Paper read before Philadelphia Association for the Discussion of Employment Problems, April, 1916.

it were allowed to convey the idea of a department maintained merely to keep in touch with the labor market and to engage employes. Its function is infinitely broader. Summed up in one sentence, the employment department is the department whose duty it is to develop the efficiency of the workers, directly or indirectly, and to bring about a condition in which the individual employe will render as nearly as possible 100 per cent to his employer. The word "employ," therefore, should signify the care and development of the employes rather than the mere act of engaging workers and placing them on the payroll.

Personal efficiency is a composite article. It is composed of various proportions of brains, health, instruction, loyalty, enthusiasm, ambition, ability to coöperate, personality and character. If in each of our employes, we can develop these traits to the maximum, our product will be a worker who will deliver for the wage paid him far greater service than the worker who does not possess these qualities,—and to that more valuable worker we can, consequently, pay a higher wage.

At the Curtis Publishing Company we have felt that this purpose can best be served through a centralized employment department, under a manager reporting directly to the general manager of the company—a department composed of four divisions, as follows: first, the employment division, which assumes the task of selecting and engaging the help; second, the medical division, whose function, of course, is to see to the physical health of the employes; third, the instruction division, through which the employes are given the opportunity to increase their special ability and training; fourth, the welfare division, whose purpose is to create a favorable mental background for the workers. Let us consider these four divisions in order.

### *Employment Division*

It is the duty of the manager of the employment division to keep in touch with the sources of labor supply and engage workers best qualified to fill the vacancies occurring in the organization. These vacancies are reported to it on labor requisitions received from the executives of the operating departments. When a mechanical engineer constructs a machine, he naturally exercises the greatest care as to the quality of the material he puts into it. Similarly, when a

human engineer is constantly at work building up an efficient working force, he must use the best care and discrimination in choosing the units which are to comprise it. Subsequent training is, of course, indispensable and frequently is instrumental in transforming unpromising employes into efficient workers; but the value of the training is greatly increased when it is applied to responsive material—and the result is much better.

The most fruitful source of supply is, in our experience, the file in our office in which are classified by kinds of work the application blanks filled out by individuals who have called seeking employment. Quite naturally, for every position that is open we have several applicants. Only one can be selected for the particular vacancy, but among the others are invariably several who are well qualified for consideration when other vacancies occur.

Another source of supply, if it may be called that, is that represented by our payroll. Whenever a position of any importance is to be filled, we go through our own organization first to see if there are persons we can promote to that position, rather than ignoring the good material within our organization and seeking first at the outside sources of supply.

Splendid material for stenographic and clerical work can usually be obtained from the high schools, the principals of which are naturally interested in placing their graduates. We have found it advantageous to establish a relationship of personal friendliness with the principals of several schools of this class.

Similar material of a clerical nature can often be obtained from the various typewriting agencies who, in a similar way, are interested in placing their clients.

There is, of course, a constant influx of applicants of a miscellaneous nature seeking employment with us. Among such applicants will be found hopeless derelicts, hard-luck victims, good manual laborers, good clerical help and trained college graduates who might prove valuable in executive positions. We find it well to study this material carefully. Much of it is worthless—some of it is excellent.

Naturally, the several employment bureaus of the city are always at our service, but owing to the nature of their clientele, it is inevitable that much undesirable material should pass through their doors. Too many bureaus of this kind operate in a mechanical



way, without giving the vocational guidance to which applicants are entitled. Too frequently they feel their duty is done when they give an applicant a letter of introduction to an employer—regardless of whether or not he is particularly equipped for the employer's service or whether he is accepted. Progress is being made, however, toward a better and more intelligent service on the part of these bureaus.

And, of course, a vast quantity of material is available through the classified advertising columns of the newspapers. Advertisements of this kind naturally bring a certain proportion of applicants who are hopelessly unfit, but these can be rapidly eliminated and desirable applicants retained for more complete analysis and examination. Except where immediate action is needed, the blind advertisement is more satisfactory than the advertisement which mentions the employer's name. Blind advertisements automatically eliminate much of the hopeless material and enable the manager of the employment division to exercise preliminary judgment by analyzing the letters received from the applicants.

Applicants for positions in the Curtis Publishing Company are shown into an anteroom, where those who are obviously undesirable are weeded out. Those who deserve further consideration are requested to fill out application blanks which, when complete, show their age, their previous business experience, the names of their previous employers, the length of their service and their reasons for leaving those employers, their previous salary and the salary expected, and the names of references. Each of these blanks is delivered to the manager of the employment division, who thus has a chance to analyze each applicant's previous experience before the applicant himself is shown into the manager's inner office. Then comes the interview.

Doubtless each employment manager has his own particular system of sizing up applicants. We feel there is much to be gained from Doctor Katherine Blackford's teachings, although we are not prepared to accept them *simon pure* yet. Psychological tests in the selection of salesmen, as they are carried on by Professor Walter Dill Scott at the Northwestern University, seem to possess much that is of value in the selection and promotion of salesmen; such concerns as Hart, Schaffner and Marx, of Chicago, we believe, rely almost entirely upon Professor Scott. We do not employ his methods principally because we have practically no occasion to engage sales-

men of this character. We feel there is much to be gained from phrenological examinations. With the most of us, however, the phrenological analysis of employes is still a science in its infancy.

Yet, most of us judge unconsciously by fundamental phrenological standards. A firm, steady eye indicates honesty and reliability and a shifty eye indicates shiftiness of character. With most of us, however, the color of the eye as yet remains of no significance. We judge by the set of the chin, the shape of the mouth, the courteous vigor of the hand-grip, the individual's address and bearing.

We judge, too, by the individual's clothes, for as a general proposition, conservation in clothes suggests a desirable mental equivalent, and shabbiness or carelessness in personal appearance indicates a certain mental carelessness that would be a liability in most positions.

For certain clerical positions such as those of stenographer, typist or auditor, the applicant is also required to undergo a test and to measure up to certain standards before he or she is referred to the executive in the operating department.

Immediately after the interview, or during it, the manager of the employment division fills out one of our analysis cards with which it is possible to mentally reconstruct the applicant at any future time, in order to consider him for any later vacancy, if he is not employed immediately. These analysis cards contain eight divisions, as follows:

Personality											
Build											
English											
Type of Mind	<table> <tr> <td>{</td><td>Executive</td></tr> <tr> <td></td><td>Detail</td></tr> <tr> <td></td><td>Promotive</td></tr> <tr> <td></td><td>Accounting</td></tr> <tr> <td></td><td>Analytical</td></tr> </table>	{	Executive		Detail		Promotive		Accounting		Analytical
{	Executive										
	Detail										
	Promotive										
	Accounting										
	Analytical										
Appearance											
Mentality	<table> <tr> <td>{</td><td>Super alert</td></tr> <tr> <td></td><td>Alert</td></tr> <tr> <td></td><td>Average</td></tr> <tr> <td></td><td>Slow</td></tr> <tr> <td></td><td>Dull</td></tr> </table>	{	Super alert		Alert		Average		Slow		Dull
{	Super alert										
	Alert										
	Average										
	Slow										
	Dull										
Initiative											
Remarks											

These phrases explain themselves, with the exception, possibly, of "super alert." This home-made phrase is intended to suggest

that type of mind which is *too active*—almost effervescent; a type of mind which is seldom accompanied by the stability and saneness which are requisites in most positions.

Let us assume that a certain applicant has called at our employment office, has filled out an application blank, has been interviewed by the manager of our employment division and has passed satisfactorily. The applicant is then conducted to the executive of the operating department for whom he has been procured, and is interviewed by that executive, whose decision is final. If the applicant similarly satisfies the operating executive, he is then sent back to the employment division and examined by the physician in our medical division, which is adjacent to the employment division. If our physician gives him a clean bill of health, the employe is then given the glad hand in the employment division, is told when and where to report, is given final instructions, and is made to feel as much at home as possible. He is also presented with a copy of our Book of Rules, which shortly is to be imprinted with the employe's name, as is now done at the employment department of the Dennison Manufacturing Company; Mr. Dennison explains the value of the printed name in the fact that the employe is certain to slip the book in his pocket and carry it home to read and that the value of the book to the company is enhanced tenfold as a result.

Letters of inquiry are then sent to the persons named as references by the applicant. The value of these references is moral rather than practical, as few employers will voluntarily stand in the way of an ex-employe of theirs securing employment elsewhere. For this reason, most replies are favorable in nature, and a favorable reply is not, therefore, of any significance. If, on the other hand, the responses are uniformly derogatory to the applicant, it suggests to the employment manager that perhaps a further investigation of the individual case is justified.

If the applicant should be rejected by the executive in the operating department, he is similarly sent back to the employment division, where he is either placed elsewhere in the organization or told that his application will be considered should any other vacancies arise for which he is qualified. Occasionally the judgment of the manager of the employment division and the operating executive will differ in this way; yet the employment department never makes an issue of such a case or endeavors to force an employe

upon an unwilling executive. Such an issue would not only be bound to arouse antagonism on the part of the operating executive, which in turn would be fatal to harmonious and efficient work on the part of the employment department, but it would also fail of its purpose, inasmuch as whether or not the operating executive has the legislative activity to reject an applicant recommended by the employment department, he at least has the ability to make things so unpleasant for the new employe that he would willingly resign. This touches closely the question of coöperation between the employment department and the operating departments, regarding which I shall speak in a few minutes.

I have said that the application blanks of persons who are not placed in our organization are filed in a classified file. The classifications of this file are as follows:

- Boys—under sixteen
- Boys—over sixteen
- High grade—male
- Correspondents—female
- Clerks—male
- Clerks—female
- Bindery—male
- Bindery—female
- Compositors
- Electricians
- Fly boys
- Laborers
- Pressmen
- Pressmen's helpers
- Shippers
- Truck drivers
- Phonograph operators and typists
- Stenographers
- Telephone operators
- Undesirable

So much for the engaging of help. This, however, is not the complete function of the employment division. The employment division similarly acts as a clearing-house of labor between department and department and makes impossible a condition in which one department may be laying off help while another department of the company is engaging help of the same character. It is obligatory upon the employment division also to keep as accurate a report as possible of the performance of employes and to transfer those who are misplaced to other positions for which they are better fitted by

temperament. At a recent meeting, Mr. Willits read Mr. Boyd Fisher's paper which was presented to the Employment Managers' Conference, at Minneapolis. He showed that from October, 1912 to October, 1913, the Ford Motor Company hired 54,000 men to keep an average working force of 13,000—a labor turnover of over 400 per cent. The following year the Ford Company hired only 3,000 men to maintain an average of 23,000; this is a turnover of 23 per cent. At the present time the Ford turnover is lower still. When I was there recently, I was told by officials that only three men had been discharged from the Ford plant during seven months. Their total payroll is now about 24,000. This tremendous reduction was due principally to the inauguration of the Ford profit-sharing scheme, but also in large measure to the policy adopted under Mr. Ford's direction that no man should be discharged from the company as long as it was possible to use him in any other capacity whatever. Sometimes men are shifted from job to job six or eight times and finally end up by swinging a sledge hammer or sweeping the floor—but they are retained on the payroll.

Mr. Ford incidentally has solved to some degree the problem of round pegs in square holes, and of course that is the work of every employment department—to fit the square pegs into the square holes and the round pegs into the round holes—to place each employe where he fits most perfectly. An employe who works at his job because he is fitted for it, because he enjoys it, and therefore, puts enthusiasm into his work, is worth far more to his employer than the worker who works indifferently at his job only because he is paid for it and who quits as on principle immediately on the stroke of the bell.

#### *Medical Division*

I have spoken of the medical division inasmuch as its work dove-tails somewhat with the work of the employment division. Our men's hospital is situated next to the employment division. It consists of a waiting room, an outer office, where bandages are applied and minor injuries treated by the orderlies, and the inner office, where the doctor holds his examinations. Here our physician is in attendance every afternoon. An orderly is in attendance both day and night. Our women's hospital is geographically adjacent to our welfare division, which is under a woman manager; this arrangement is, therefore, highly desirable. Two nurses are constantly in attendance at the women's hospital during the day.

The nature of the examination of new employes is as follows: eye-sight, hearing, throat, heart and lungs. The applicant is also examined closely to make sure he has no tubercular tendency. In addition, our doctor sees to it that the individual possesses the necessary physical strength and endurance for the particular work he is to assume, and of course, the new employe must be free from any impairment which might be communicated to his fellow workers.

At the present time we do not examine our employes periodically, although this is a development which may come in the future. The International Harvester Company and other similar concerns are sincere believers in the periodical examination as a preventive means of keeping their employes in good health. I have known of a number of cases in which periodical examinations of this kind would have saved a world of trouble to the employe and considerable expense to the company.

Employes who have been absent owing to illness are required to consult the company physician before returning to work. There is a natural impatience on the part of the average worker to get back on the job, and this frequently leads him to return before he has established that margin of health that makes for continuous service thereafter.

### *Instruction*

Three good-sized rooms, well-lighted, comprise the quarters of our instruction division. Instruction is the process of training a new employe capable of delivering perhaps 10 per cent service into a trained worker capable of delivering 90 per cent service or better. Methods of training differ with different concerns. Some concerns, owing to the nature of their work, find it best to maintain schools, under salaried teachers, for this purpose. Other concerns have their instruction work done departmentally by persons designated to that task or even by foremen and fellow employes. Where the instruction work is done in this way, the employment department should be an interested party. It should either exercise direct control or a strong advisory influence.

Most of our work at the present time is done departmentally. The classes conducted under our instruction division are purely voluntary. A salaried teacher is in attendance; she has her regular schedule of lessons. Classes in Stenography and Touch Typewriting are very popular. Also, under the auspices of the

Curtis Country Club, which I shall describe later, classes are held in English, Commercial Geography, Business Mathematics, Penmanship and Spelling. Inasmuch as these classes are voluntary, it is particularly gratifying that their popularity is increasing all the time.

About 80 of the boys in our employ are under 16 years of age and are, therefore, subject to the new child labor law, which requires them to attend school eight hours a week. We have coöperated with the school authorities in Philadelphia by placing one of the rooms in the instruction division at their disposal. Here a teacher furnished by the School Board holds classes three days a week.

Our Apprentice School for compositors is rather a unique organization, conducted under the direction of the manager of our composition division, where the type is set for the Curtis publications. The school is maintained under competent instructors and here, through a course of five years, boys are developed from raw beginners into finished compositors. It is here we recruit our stock of compositors when they are needed. The compensation paid to the boys during their five-year course increases every six months.

### *Welfare*

Now for the fourth division of the employment division, namely, the welfare division. The work of this division has direct reference to the state of mind of the employe. This division of the work is founded on the certainty that an employe who is happy and satisfied and free from anxiety and who works under favorable physical conditions will do better work and more of it than an employe who is dissatisfied, fearful of the future, and who does his work in an unfavorable physical environment. For want of a better name, this division of the work is called "welfare work," a phrase which has fallen into some disrepute in some quarters because those in charge of welfare in certain establishments have let their hearts lead them astray and because, through lack of tact and judgment, welfare work in some quarters has been permitted to be interpreted by the employes themselves as touching on altruism and charity.

Welfare work is not altruism; it is not charity. Industry is coming to regard personnel as one of the big factors to be considered

in every undertaking, and if this is so, then the work of the welfare department is an economic necessity. But this work must be conducted along economic lines, as every other department is conducted; every dollar spent on it must yield 100 cents in return. It must be thoroughly leavened with good, hard common-sense.

It is the duty of the welfare division to go after the fundamental things first. The question of wages and hours of labor are, of course, such broad subjects that all the administrative officials of the company collaborate on them. The welfare division, however, gives constant attention to matters of almost equal significance, the conditions under which the employees work—light, air, safety devices, sanitary arrangements, elevator service. It is not reasonable to expect an employe to reach his or her place of work in the establishment in the right frame of mind to tackle the day's work with willingness, if he has to pass through the gamut of dark, congested coat rooms and either climb several flights of stairs or wait his turn to get into an elevator together with a crowd of other workers, all as vexed as he. It is not reasonable to expect him to deliver as much service for the wages, if the light is dim or the air is vitiated or the safety devices inadequate. To bring the individual employe to the frame of mind where he is able to deliver efficient services, it is obvious that the employer, through the welfare division, should arrange for those physical surroundings which will breed self-respect, cheerfulness and confidence.

The architect who planned the Curtis building allowed for large windows, so that our employes secure a maximum amount of daylight. Throughout our clerical departments, indirect lighting is used, thus avoiding the harmful glare of incandescent bulbs. The air throughout our building is warmed as it is drawn through ventilators on the roof and is changed every ten minutes. The small number of industrial accidents in our manufacturing plant suggests, to a certain extent at least, that we have satisfactorily safeguarded our machinery. Our locker rooms, toilets and washrooms are, we believe, as sanitary as scientific plumbing can make them.

Restaurants are maintained, where our employes can secure their meals at minimum rates without going outside. Restaurants of this kind require no attorney to argue their worth, especially as they are largely self-supporting. Good food makes for good health, especially when served under agreeable conditions, and the lunch



hour is the time when the employes meet socially and *esprit de corps* is developed. Our restaurants cost us 17 cents per meal served. The price per meal paid by the employes approximates 13 cents. Twenty-one hundred persons are served daily, about 70 per cent of our force.

We have two rest rooms, which are placed at the disposal of the 1,100 women who are in our employ. These rooms are comfortably furnished with wicker furniture; the originals of paintings which have appeared in the Curtis publications hang on the walls. We have endeavored to create as far as possible an atmosphere of quiet and restfulness. These rooms are open to the employes during lunch hour.

In addition, we have a recreation room, where those who wish to talk and dance and engage in more active pursuits are permitted to make as much noise as they wish.

Our welfare library comprises 6,000 books, which are much in demand among our employes, men and women alike. We distribute about 100 books a day on an average. We offer unostentatiously guidance in reading—frequently we have been able by tactful suggestion to direct employes from "The Poisoned Gumdrops" type of book to something more worth while.

Two rooms are placed at the disposal of our men employes to use during the lunch hour. One is a recreation room where conversation and game playing are encouraged. The other is our men's reading room where quiet is maintained. Smoking is of course permitted in both. We find these rooms justify their expense many times over by keeping the men in the building during noon hour and keeping them away from the corner poolroom and saloon.

As a further means of creating this favorable mental background of which I have spoken, there is maintained, under the direction of our welfare division, a savings fund, in which employes may place sums varying from 25 cents to \$5.00 a week. This fund ordinarily pays 9 per cent to 10 per cent interest. At the end of the year the employes may withdraw their deposits and re-deposit them in a permanent fund, which pays 5 per cent a year. We feel that there is nothing like money in the bank to create a feeling of self-respect.

In addition, we have a Mutual Benefit Association, through which, for a nominal payment, the employes derive sick benefits when they are absent owing to illness.

Under the welfare division a staff of several women is maintained to call upon the employes who are absent on account of sickness to assist them in any reasonable way and to express the company's interest in them. This work naturally requires tact and judgment, for any careless phrase interpreted by the sick employe as savoring of charity would be resented.

Here I would like to say a few words in reference to the Curtis Country Club, the central social organization of our employes. To become a member of the Curtis Country Club, a person must be an employe of the Curtis Publishing Company and must pay his dues which, incidentally, are merely nominal. The company has absolutely no hand in its management. The club is self-conducted and, to a large extent, self-maintaining. For the past few years it has occupied an old farm house near Swarthmore, but recently the company purchased a tract of land at Lawndale, just north of the city, and is now building a well-equipped clubhouse. Athletic fields and tennis courts are being laid out, a swimming pool will be part of the equipment when it is finished, traps will be installed for those who wish to wing the elusive clay pigeon. This equipment will naturally belong to the Curtis Publishing Company, which, as landlord, will lease it to the Curtis Country Club as tenant. You will notice from the relation between the Curtis Publishing Company and the Curtis Country Club that the company wishes to avoid all semblance of paternalism. This has, in fact, been our policy throughout. As far as we can see it, paternalism is injurious on every count. It tends to spoil those employes who are looking for something for nothing and offends the self-respect of others of a more independent temperament. In all these extraneous activities and, as far as possible, in the workings of the departments themselves, we endeavor to give the employe a chance to govern himself rather than to dictate what he shall or shall not do.

The Country Club is operated largely through committees, such as the sports committee, the house and grounds committee, the educational committee. Under the latter, the voluntary classes are held in the instruction division, and periodically, motion pictures

of an educational nature are displayed in the Curtis Auditorium, which the company gladly volunteers for the purpose. During the winter time, too, dances are frequently held in the Auditorium or in the Recreation Room, and during the spring and summer months, the employes are to be found in large numbers at the Country Club in the late afternoons and on Saturdays and Sundays.

Outside the city, too, near Swarthmore, the welfare division maintains a camp for its boys. Here the boys sleep in tents on army cots and eat at a central lodge where a college man counsellor and a colored cook hold forth. A good crowd of boys spend every Saturday and Sunday at camp; many stay there during their vacations. A nominal charge is made which, while it offsets only in very small part the cost of maintenance, yet give the boys the feeling that "They are paying their own way."

Marshall Field and Company of Chicago, has succeeded in developing to a large extent among their employes the feeling that somebody is interested in their individual success. At best, business is a cold proposition, especially for the clerk or workman drawing minimum pay, who is regarded too often as a piece of machinery only. It is too frequently forgotten that he is a human being, too, with human problems of his own. We have taken a leaf from the experience of Marshall Field and are now trying to develop the same feeling on the part of our employes. Within a few weeks after a new employe is placed on the payroll, therefore, he receives a personal invitation to call at the office of the welfare manager, who talks over with him or her, as the case may be, the employe's progress and advancement. It is, without question, encouraging to the individual to realize that he is not lost in the shuffle but that somebody has his eye on him.

As a matter of fact, the welfare manager, and indeed all the managers in the employment department, must be willing and ready to act as confidant to any employe who comes to discuss his problems. One of the defects in most business organizations of today is that while it is easy enough for intelligence to be transmitted from the management to the employes, it is practically impossible for the employes to present their sincere opinions to the management. Regardless of how unfounded the feeling may be, most employes believe that by voicing complaints or criticisms of any kind, they jeopardize their standing in the company and even risk their

positions; yet without just this information, it is impossible for the management intelligently to mould working conditions in such a way that they will be conducive to enthusiasm and efficiency on the part of the workers. This, as we see it, is one of the principal functions of the employment department—to act as the channel of communication between the employe and the employer and to act as spokesman for the employe in the councils of the management. All employes should be invited to feel free to come to the welfare division at any time for an informal talk.

Some concerns take positive steps to encourage the making of suggestions on the part of the employes relative to bettering the working conditions. The National Cash Register Company, for instance, distributes in prizes \$1,500 each year, and Mr. Illman, their welfare manager, told me recently that it was money very well spent. As yet we have not taken any steps in this direction; it is on the lists, however, for future consideration.

I have outlined now the functions of four divisions of our employment department: namely, the employment, the medical, the instruction and the welfare. This is the machinery with which we have to work and naturally the question might be asked, how do we know when it is working well? I might suggest in answer that perhaps the truest indication of the efficiency of an employment department is, in the long run, the labor turnover figures.

We men who are here tonight may have different ways of computing labor turnover, so for consistency's sake, I will say that we interpret it as the amount of change that takes place in the working force. Worked out in figures, it represents the percentage of "hiring and firing" in a year to the average total payroll. A high labor turnover represents not only a large sum total of human suffering but a tremendous money loss to the employer. You will remember that Mr. Magnus Alexander, in speaking to this Association, said that the managers of various establishments which he had investigated estimated the cost of hiring and breaking in an employe at from \$50 to \$200 each. With these figures in mind, let's estimate, each to ourselves, what the cost has been to us through the number of discharges that have taken place in our several organizations owing to purely superficial reasons, such as a minor disagreement between a foreman and a worker or because someone interpreted as

insubordinate a certain independence of expression which, properly directed, might have been a direct asset to the company.

We are beginning to see the light these days. The time is passing when managers believed in the mailed-fist type of discipline and the periodic firing of employes for the avowed purpose of inspiring the others with proper fear and respect. Instead, the most callous of us are beginning to realize that fear-controlled employes deliver only a fraction of the service rendered by the employes who are inspired by enthusiasm. As Mr. Willits quoted at our last meeting, "Any mutt can fire a man," but it takes real brains to analyze that man, place him where he belongs in the organization and capitalize his abilities as an efficient worker.

The labor turnover figures are then, as I have said, a fairly accurate measure of the efficiency of the employment department, and the employment department should take steps to reduce the turnover by every means at its command. What are the methods by which this can be done? First, of course, by intelligent selection. Second, by intelligent instruction work, so that the employe will not fail to make good through inadequate preparation for his tasks. Third, by creating in him a satisfied spirit, as far as welfare work, properly conducted, can do it. Fourth, by stimulating hope of advancement throughout the organization by adopting the policy of filling vacancies from within and giving the employe the opportunity to advance to positions of greater responsibility and compensation as fast as his ability warrants it. Fifth, by reducing as far as possible the number of arbitrary and unjustified dismissals. Sixth, by working with the administrative officials of the company to standardize the rate of production, if possible, either by manufacturing for stock instead of on order or by rearranging the schedule of production in such a way that the average output and, consequently, the working force will remain uniform. Seventh, by acting as a clearing house for labor between the various operating departments, in order to prevent one department from discharging help because of slack work while another is adding to its force by placing elsewhere in the organization employes who fail to make good where first assigned. Eighth, by the preparation of comparative statements showing the labor turnover by departments and by seeing to it that the departmental executives fully understand the cost of a high turnover; as capable managers they will

naturally be anxious to reduce it. Such comparative statements are not only of value in jacking up the delinquent managers but in revealing to the employment department what parts of the company first require investigation and remedy.

Now for another function of the employment department: the strictly military form of organization is coming under the microscope and flaws are being discovered. Industry is coming to see that the executive who says "Do this" to his subordinates, and fails to help them, is not as valuable as the executive who regards it as his first duty to aid his workmen. The executive is not to command but to assist. The workers are the men who turn out the goods, and the business organization which is permeated with this spirit of co-operation between boss and worker is certain to possess a higher degree of efficiency than the business which is built along the old-time military lines.

The employment department should aid and abet the development of this spirit, both through the personal efforts of its manager and his assistants, in giving the operating foremen a broader point of view and by the adoption of departmental policies which work to that end.

This touches closely the question of discharge. The fear of peremptory discharge is often the cause of lessened efficiency on the part of the employee. Fear and enthusiasm cannot reside side by side in the same individual's mind. The theory of the old military system—that of discharging a number of workers occasionally, for the purpose of scaring the others into good behavior—fails entirely to take into consideration the fact that such a policy, while doubtless compelling sullen obedience on the part of the individual, lowers the efficiency of the force as a whole—and, of course, increases directly labor turnover.

Ultimate discharge from our company must take place through the employment department. Individual executives may discharge employes from their departments, but if vacancies exist elsewhere, the employment department may place these employes in other departments. Consequently, we interview the employes who are released. We find that employes who are leaving the company's service are more willing to speak their minds freely than those who, still being employed, feel that they endanger their interests by so doing. In this way it is frequently possible to obtain information

from the employee's point of view which is of real value in enabling the employment department and the proper departmental executive to remedy conditions which tend to impair the efficiency of the workers. It is quite natural that a comparative record of discharges by reasons and by departments should have the effect of reducing the number of employees who are discharged for superficial reasons.

In closing, let me point out that by the very nature of its field, the employment department must be a service department. It is not an operating department, but it should work hand-in-glove with the operating departments, helping them in a genuinely sincere way to increase their own efficiency, through increasing the efficiency of their employees. It should not seek credit for what it does, only results—on which in the end it must stand or fall. Many of its achievements for the improvement of the working force must be accomplished indirectly, by counsel and advice, and the credit oftentimes must go elsewhere—but that, of course, is of minor significance. If by its activity, either direct or indirect, there results permanent economic advantage to the company through the improvement of its human relations, the employment department will take its place in the organization as one of the productive departments.

## THE WORK PROGRAM OF THE EMPLOYMENT MANAGERS' ASSOCIATION OF BOSTON

BY RALPH G. WELLS,

Secretary, Boston Employment Managers' Association.

*Introductory Note.* Credit for the formation of the Employment Managers' Association of Boston should be given to the Vocation Bureau of Boston. The Director, Meyer Bloomfield, had for some time believed that it was desirable to bring employment managers together to discuss the problems of their work. In 1910 an extensive investigation was inaugurated among the larger mercantile and industrial establishments in regard to vocations open to boys and young men. In this connection the Vocation Bureau came in contact with many employment managers, and found them in favor of conferences on employment subjects. Responding to this sentiment such conferences were arranged by the Bureau resulting eventually in the formation of the Association.

The Employment Managers' Association, like other similar organizations, was formed several years ago by the Vocation

Bureau which urged that the selection, training and management of employees constituted a distinct problem in commercial and industrial work, just as important and as deserving of individual attention as sales, finances or production. It is hardly within the scope of this statement to trace the transition from the days when the greater portion of our business men thought that "hiring and firing" comprised all there was to the employment problem, to the present time when this factor in the building of a successful organization is being divided and sub-divided into elements which are surprising in the importance of their effect on successful administration. It is sufficient to say that with the appreciation of the real importance of this subject those interested came to realize that progress would be made more rapidly if there were some medium through which they could exchange the results of their work and combine to study more thoroughly the question at hand. This led to the formation of a conference of employment managers from which grew the Employment Managers' Association.

For some time the Association undertook to do nothing more than to hold meetings and conferences, but of late it has been decided that the time has arrived when it should do something of more definite and practical value to the employment manager and his firm. The following outline of the work program is submitted as an indication of the activities proposed, subject of course to such changes, omissions, and additions as future developments may require. Briefly, the purposes lying behind the work planned for the future are, first, to increase the knowledge and effectiveness of those who are engaged in employment work and to provide a means whereby they can keep in touch with the latest developments of the day, and second, to emphasize the importance of "Employment Management" and to impress this upon the business world as well as upon those who are actually in the work.

These purposes are accomplished chiefly by the holding of meetings and conferences and the securing of publicity for the activities of the Association. The objects of the Association as stated in the constitution are as follows:

1. To discuss problems of employees; their training and efficiency.
2. To compare experiences which shall throw light on failures and successes in conducting the employment department.
3. To invite experts or other persons who have knowledge of the best methods



or experiments for ascertaining the qualifications of employees, and providing for their advancement; and more particularly to study the questions connected with the most effective employment of young people.

In addition to this, any organization, to be effective, must stand ready at any time to direct its attention to the solving of problems which confront the majority of its members. There are also many services of a special nature that it is called upon to perform as an aid to the individual.

Quite properly the chief work of the Association is to study and investigate all problems relating to employees, and in order to facilitate the consideration and investigation of these questions those in which the Association is interested have been divided roughly into four groups as follows: The selection of employees, their training, their management, and special work among them. There have been organized four special committees, one for each group, to study these questions. The meetings of these committees will be conducted in the form of round table discussions and will be open to all members of the Association. By holding these meetings on successive weeks, there will be one practically every week, which may be attended by members desiring to study employment problems thoroughly and systematically. The conclusions reached by these conferences are to be made the subject of brief written reports which will be submitted to the Association at the regular meetings for such further discussion as the importance of the topic may warrant. These reports will, in the course of time, form a collection of material and information of decided value. The possibilities of results to be obtained from this plan are most attractive and promising, especially if the committee members prepare for the conferences by investigation and research work.

It is to be expected that these conferences will lead to considerable activity on the part of the organization as the discussions of the various round tables will develop the need of further research work or of definite action by the Association.

Some of the principal topics which have been suggested under each group for consideration by the different committees are as follows:

*Selection of Employees*

Sources of Supply; Methods of Securing Applicants; Examinations (general, mental, physical, for special positions); Standard Application Blanks; Investigation of Credentials; Relative Value of Qualifications; Choosing between Applicants; Selection of Young or Inexperienced for Training and Promotion; Value of Immigrant Labor; Value of Previous Training and Education; Necessity of Planning for Future in Choosing Employees; Keeping Track of Former Employees; Waiting List; Coöperation with Foreman, Superintendent and Heads of Departments.

*Training Employees*

Necessity of Immediate Preliminary Instruction; Instruction in Shop; Special Classes; Company Schools; Outside Education; Part Time Schools; Continuation or Night Schools; Technical Schools; Need of these in each Industrial and Business Community; Correspondence Schools; Training for Promotion; Coöperation with School Authorities to Secure Proper Preliminary Training; Defects in Present Educational Methods from Employers' Standpoint; Vocational Training, its Value to Employers; Danger to Employee's Health in Outside Educational Work.

*Management*

Advantage of Proper Surroundings and Conditions; Hygiene; Morale; Securing and Retaining Interest, Enthusiasm and Loyalty; Shop Rules; Piece Work; Accident Prevention; Advantages of Employees Organization; Transfer from one Department to Another; Promotion; Weeding out Undesirables and Inefficient; Cost of Breaking-in New Employees; Eliminating Turnover; Cost of Shutdown; Discharge.

*Special Work among Employees*

Health; Recreation; Rest Rooms; Thrift; Insurance; Pensions; Credit Unions; Bonus Systems; Profit-Sharing; General Advice; Living Conditions; Social Life; Vocational Aid and Advice; Help in Securing a Better or More Suitable Position.

The Association will also serve as a consultation board offering to members an opportunity to have their individual problems discussed. Under this plan a member may submit a question upon which he would like to have the opinion of other members. This problem will be presented impersonally by the presiding officer at one of the round table discussions or else submitted to the members by means of a mail questionnaire. From the resulting discussion, the member will secure the benefit of the experience and expert judgment of others. The material thus collected will be of value not only to the member asking the question but to others who may

find themselves confronted with the same problem at some future time.

In addition to the committee meetings mentioned above, the Association will hold its regular monthly dinners, at which the larger problems or special matters of current importance will be discussed as well as the committee reports. In the past the Association has been fortunate in having as speakers men prominent in various activities, but it is the present intention not to depend entirely upon outside speakers. These will be called in whenever it is thought that they have something definite to contribute to the problems in hand. As the members themselves are experts of practical experience, it seems that the largest development will result from drawing them out and securing greater individual research and investigation. In other words, it is the idea that the Association meetings shall take more the form of a conference, considering the problems which confront the members and calling in such outside expert advice as is needed from time to time, or inviting to its meetings men who may contribute new ideas to the discussion.

In connection with all of the various activities of the Association, there will arise a constant need for research work and independent investigation, and plans are being made to have this done when necessary, by the members individually if possible rather than by hiring experts.

One of the interesting features of the Boston program is the schedule of visits to the establishments of the various concerns represented. The purpose of these is to study at first hand employment methods in actual use. It has been found that it is possible to have only one of these visits a month. In order to secure more definite and uniform results from these trips, a standard program of features to be noted is being prepared. From this may develop plans for "surveys" whereby a firm may secure through the Association an employment analysis together with criticisms and recommendations for desirable changes.

In order to facilitate the exchange of information between members, there is being compiled a general card index of the methods employed in the various concerns and of the subjects or problems which have been investigated by members individually, by their firms, or by committees of the Association, so that when

information is wanted on any particular subject, this index will show immediately the available sources. As an illustration, there will be contained in this index a list of firms who maintain special training schools for their employees, so that when any other member wishes to decide whether he would secure better results by installing such a school in his own establishment, the secretary can immediately tell him whom to consult. Other divisions of this index of information will contain a list of selected books and monographs on problems of employment; lists of employment bureaus and agencies; a catalogue of educational classes and training schools available for employees. There is also under consideration the establishment of a department to keep a record of laws and state regulations which effect the members and to keep them informed of changes that are made and of new rules issued by the state boards or government authorities. The Association will issue, at frequent intervals, a bulletin containing notices of Association activities, requests for information, and suggestions as an aid to carrying forward the program outlined.

In closing this rather condensed summary of the things which the Boston Association is planning to take up, it might not be amiss to repeat the statement made at the beginning, that the Association as an organization desires to make itself of the greatest service to its members, both individually and collectively, doing whatever may seem to be of the most benefit, but concentrating its efforts upon the things of immediate importance. Further than this the Association has a duty to perform in bringing home to business men the need of their giving proper attention to employment questions, if they are to build for lasting and permanent success. Every man should realize that the prosperity of his business depends largely on his employees, their loyalty and their efficiency. These can be secured only by painstaking attention to details of employment management.

## UNIVERSITY SCHOOLS OF BUSINESS AND THE TRAINING OF EMPLOYMENT EXECUTIVES<sup>1</sup>

BY HARLOW S. PERSON,

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It should be clearly understood that what I have to submit for your consideration cannot, in the nature of the case, be a description of what has been accomplished in university schools of business administration for the training of employment executives. Courses designed specifically as training for the employment executive function are being conducted for the first time during the present academic year. There is no experience behind us. The most we can do at the present moment is to consider what form we believe such training should take, as a result of our knowledge of the functions of the employment executive, and of the qualifications necessary for the performance of such functions.

The expression "University Schools of Business and the Training of Employment Executives" involves three elements, each of which should be clearly understood as a condition precedent to fruitful discussion. Of the concept *university schools of business* we have a common understanding and no definition is necessary. The word *training* and the words *employment executives*, however, may not mean the same thing to all of us. Some understand training with respect to a given objective to consist merely of imparting in the classroom information concerning that objective. By training I mean the whole complex of educational processes, those in the classroom and those outside the classroom, but more or less under the control of educational authorities, whose purpose is, in addition to the imparting of information, the wise selection of those who shall be trained for the specific purpose; the development of natural, temperamental and other personal characteristics; the development of capacity for independent investigation and thinking, for forming sound judgments, and for constructive imag-

<sup>1</sup> Read before Employment Managers' Conference, Minneapolis, January 20, 1916.

ination; and the development of a capacity for prompt adaptation to the environment in which is to be performed the service for which the training is designed. Training for the employment executive function is therefore something larger than the imparting of information concerning the work of the employment manager. Likewise with respect to the term *employment executive*. There are employment managers and employment managers. At one end of the line we find the subordinate clerk who merely hires and fires; at the other end of the line we find the employment manager who is coördinate in rank and authority with the works, the sales, and the financial managers; who is responsible for all administrative and executive work pertaining to the personnel; whose relations are with work-people as human beings rather than as a commodity; who is representative of the work-people to the management, and of the management to the work-people; who is the man of superior insight into the future of industrial human relations, and the leader and teacher who raises both parties to the industrial contract to higher conceptions of their mutual rights and obligations. It is the training of employment executives of this latter type that I propose to discuss.

The functions of an executive position determine the qualifications which may be demanded of him who is to fill it, and these qualifications determine the nature of the training for that position. Therefore our first inquiry is concerning the *functions* of the highest type of employment executive; our second inquiry is concerning the *qualifications* demanded by those functions; and our third inquiry is concerning the necessary *training* to develop those qualifications.

#### FUNCTIONS OF THE EMPLOYMENT EXECUTIVE

The functions of the highest type of employment executive have a wide range, from the interviewing of an applicant to administrative decisions involving the largest social problems. For our purpose I classify them as follows:

1. Those functions pertaining directly to the technical productive efficiency of the individual employee. Illustrative of these are: the selection of the right kind of employee for any of the classified "jobs" of the business; the analysis and classification of the "jobs" making up the business; the training of employees within

the plant or in coöperation with educational institutions; the establishment of records, involving the determination of what they shall contain; the routing or transfer or interchange of employees; the discipline of employees; the determination of and maintenance of proper working conditions; the establishment of wage rates which create "incentive," etc. The performance of these functions is accomplished, in some instances, through personal contact of the employment executive with the individual employee, but on the whole through an organized machinery of minor executives, and there is involved, therefore, the function of organizing and operating such machinery.

2. Those functions pertaining indirectly to the productive efficiency of the individual employee or pertaining to the rights of the employee as an economic, even though not a legal, partner in the business. Illustrative of these are: consultations, made possible by confidence, and on the initiative of the employee, concerning the personal problems of the employee; the maintenance of hospitals, nurses, physicians, dentists, etc.; the maintenance of lunch rooms, rest rooms, recreation grounds and equipment, etc.; inspiration and assistance in the organization of an employees' coöperative association for various mutual benefit activities, such as the establishment of a coöperative store, a coöperative bank, etc. The performance of these functions is accomplished, in some instances, through personal contact with the individual, but usually through contact with officers and committees of the employees' organizations.

3. Those functions pertaining to the largest administrative policies and problems of the business. The best type of employment executive is of as high rank as the works, sales, and financial executives, has as complete and independent access to the office of the president, and has as fully his confidence with regard to problems of the relation between the management and the personnel as they have with regard to the problems pertinent to their respective functions. If there is an executive board made up of the various functional managers, he is the peer of any man on that board. On that board he sits in a dual capacity: he represents on the one hand, the desires and the rights of the working force, and on the other hand, the desires and the rights of the management. He is harmonizer and adjuster. He is the specialist who studies the

problems of industrial democracy, organized labor, collective bargaining, employees' consent, and so on, and reports his investigations and conclusions, with recommendations, to that board. The performance of these functions brings him into contact with leaders of the working people, with students of social affairs, and with the highest executives in the management.

#### QUALIFICATIONS OF THE EMPLOYMENT EXECUTIVE

The necessary qualifications of this high but perfectly practicable type of employment executive are determined by the functions which I have enumerated. The functions are wide in range, and the abilities necessary for their successful performance are equally so. The big employment manager must be able on the one hand, to meet on equal terms of understanding and sympathy the humblest working boy or girl; he must be able on the other hand, by weight of knowledge, of logic, and of personal force, to convince the hard-headed manager or president of the desirability of fundamental and sometimes radical changes in administrative policy. The evolution of the business conscience lags behind that of the social conscience, especially with respect to the human problem, and now and then nothing short of radical change in the business conscience is able to bring it into alignment with the social conscience. I suggest the following classification of the essential qualifications of the employment executive who is strong in every phase of his work.

1. *Personality.* He must be courteous and even tempered, and never "grouchy"; he must be sympathetic with the circumstances and ideas and prejudices of working people; he must never depart from fairness and justice; he must be intuitive, for he must sense facts which are not told to him; he must be able to read human nature and judge character; he must be quick and sure in his decisions; he must be firm, of the motor type, for he is an executive, and out of motor characteristics arises executive energy.

2. *Mental Characteristics.* He must be able to search for and ascertain facts pertaining to his problems, give them proper relative valuation, and make sound conclusions. For years he will be pioneer in a field which has been but little investigated and the principles of which have not been formulated. He must be able, with respect to one problem, to pursue the methods of the inductive



scientist, and, with respect to the next problem, those of the scientist who reasons deductively. He must have a capacity for the analysis and subsequent classification of facts, for in such capacity does organizing ability have its roots. And to perform his highest functions, he must have constructive imagination, be an independent and original source of ideas, see things which are desirable and possible in the light of present tendencies, but in proof of which all the necessary data are not yet available. It is possession of constructive imagination which makes the great administrator.

3. *Information and Experience*, and a knowledge of pertinent facts derived from contact with people and situations and records. As an employer of working people he must be informed concerning the sources of supply; the various types of public and private educational institutions—general and specialized—vocational guidance agencies, employment agencies, and the degree of efficiency with which each accomplishes its aims. As the organizer of a training school within his plant, he must have judgment based on knowledge of facts concerning educational policies and methods, and concerning instruction in specific subjects. In his contact with working people, foremen, superintendents, and higher executives, he must have possession of that mass of facts which we sum up in the expression, “a knowledge of human nature.” He must be informed in the science of psychology and concerning the possibilities of, and limitations to, the utilization of the psychological laboratory in selecting and classifying employees. To enable him to analyze into their elements the processes of his business and to classify them into well defined “jobs,” he must have an accurate knowledge of the details of the technical processes of his business. As an organizer of men and equipment he must be well informed concerning the principles of efficient organization and management. As an administrator, inspiring the highest executive officers towards a wise policy of human relationships, he must be master of the history of the facts and ideas of industrial relationships.

These abilities demanded of the best type of employment executive—abilities of personality, intellect and knowledge—present a combination which is extraordinary. I may be accused of picturing an ideal employment executive. That I admit, for the educator who aspires to train a young man to be anything less is unworthy of his responsibilities. I may be accused of picturing

an impossible paragon. That I deny. I will admit that the employment managers whom I know to be strong in all or nearly all of these qualities can be counted on less than the fingers of one hand, but I know many executives who possess part of these qualifications to the highest degree, and each is possessed to the highest degree somewhere by someone. This analysis of functions and qualifications did not originate at my desk. At my desk I have simply classified the aggregate of functions and qualifications I have seen in many places. Training for the employment executive function should aim to develop each student with respect to each of these qualifications to the highest degree possible, in accordance with his capacity for development. Considering the various degrees of each of these qualifications which men may possess, their permutations and combinations are infinite, and consequently we shall develop in experience an infinite variety of executives. The greatest employment managers will be those who possess all of these abilities, each of the highest degree. Such men can be attracted into executive work of this kind if directors and presidents will value the function highly enough, and will offer the necessary attracting force of rank and remuneration. It is men of this highest type that education should prepare to train. Not all of those they train will achieve the highest rank, for there are human limitations to the selection of men for training, and there are unforeseen varieties of reaction of men to training. But some employment executives of genius, and many of great talent, can be produced, and a high general average of quality of product can be maintained.

#### THE TRAINING

It is perfectly obvious that, considering the type of employment executive we aspire to develop, the machinery of training cannot consist merely of one or two courses of three hours each for one semester, entitled *The Functions of Employment Management*, or *The Problems of Employment Management*. The machinery of training must consist of the entire educational machinery, supplemented by such educational assistance as can be afforded by business firms, employment executives' associations and vocation bureaus. We must conceive of training as afforded, not by one or two specialized courses, but by the aggregate of courses and processes of an integrated educational industry. The one or

two specialized courses serve merely to give the final bit of specialized information, to coördinate and relate to the objective the larger amount of information acquired in other courses and in experience, and to effect a final comprehension of the specific problems of the employment management function. The instructor in these specialized courses is like the assembler in the typewriter or cash register plant, who brings together into a whole, suitable for a particular service, numerous parts which have been through many preparatory, selective and fashioning processes. Behind the assembling of the parts of the cash register is the stamping, the turning, the casting of parts; behind that the selection of the raw stock and the specifications of the metallurgist; behind that the work of the bessemer or open hearth or crucible plant; behind that the blast furnace and the selection of magnetite or hematite ores, or a scientifically determined mixture of both; and interwoven throughout the entire series of processes, the analysis of the metallurgist, the rejection of defective, and the selection of suitable, materials. Likewise with respect to the machinery for training the best type of specialized executive; back of the one or two specialized professional courses is a series of selecting, preparing and conditioning courses and experiences. The specialized employment management courses—finishing processes—should have a definite relation to the entire preceding series of educational processes.

Let us turn for a moment to the classification of requirements for successful employment managership.

1. *Personal Characteristics.* These are inborn—not made by educational processes. An educational process may discover for an individual that which he has but does not know he has, or it may take that which he has and give it opportunity for exercise and development. But it cannot make a motor temperament of a sensory temperament, and *vice versa*. Therefore our system of training must involve at an early stage and at later stages mechanism for selecting and rejecting, or at least labeling, candidates for the training. This selecting or guidance mechanism must be located, part at the educational institution, part at a highly developed vocational guidance bureau, and part at a coöperating business plant. An essential part of the system of training is the analysis

and selection of material possessing the right temperamental characteristics.

2. *Mental Characteristics.* The development of abilities to observe, to relate and to value facts, to analyze and to classify, to think logically and to form sound judgments, is the particular objective of the educational processes. These abilities are, however, the result of a gradual building-up process. It takes time. It is determined by the nature of the human mind and is as deliberate as the growth of a tree. Therefore, with respect to the development of these abilities in our selected material, we must not think in terms of one year, or one course, or one stratum of our educational system. These abilities in our material are developed throughout the primary school, the secondary school, and the college, by influences in the classroom and without the classroom, cumulative in their effect with respect to mental development. They are developed by discipline in a great variety of subjects. Furthermore, while the educational system is our great instrument for developing these mental abilities, we should not fail to realize that supplementary business experience can offer much in support of the processes of the school and college, and we should enlist business firms in our work.

3. *Information.* Those parts of the system of training necessary to give the prospective employment executive the necessary equipment of information are four.

(a) The series of educational processes of the primary school, the secondary school, and the college, cumulative in their effect with respect to the imparting of information. I am not thinking merely of the three R's and similar fundamental information, but of the more complex information acquired in the study of such subjects as history, political science, sociology, theoretical and applied economics, philosophy and psychology. All such information becomes of practical use in forming judgments, to the employment executive as I have defined his functions.

(b) A group of specialized courses in business administration, of a general nature, concerned with all phases and functions of business, and not specialized with respect to the employment executive function. The employment executive does not perform an unrelated function; he must form judgments concerning the relations of his operations to other functions, of the influence of his

recommendations on other department policies. He must have accurate knowledge of business functions other than his own. At meetings of the executive board his recommendations will carry weight in proportion to the confidence he has created in other executives' minds by repeated evidence of his understanding of their duties and problems.

(c) One or two highly specialized courses, relating specifically to the functions and problems of the employment executive, imparting information about the organization and operations of employment departments in business today, analyzing and discussing their problems, and gathering up all information acquired in more general courses of the entire educational system, and reinterpreting it with respect to the new and particular point of view. All preliminary courses have served to fashion the arrow and prepare the necessary parts; these particular courses attach the feather and sharpen the point.

(d) In connection with the work of the university and of the university school of business administration, there must be organized relationship for apprenticeship opportunities with the employment department of business firms. I emphasize the word *organized*. The course of supplementary instruction in the plant must be as carefully worked out and as complete as is that in the university. The student must be taken through every phase of the department's work, and must have an experience among the working people. This supplementary apprenticeship experience will give information not to be secured in the classroom, will give information about the workability of principles formulated in the classroom, and will give a new meaning to all information acquired in the university.

The individual thus trained for employment executive work will not be a complete and experienced employment manager, ready to assume full responsibility, but he will be high grade material, ready for final training in actual service under an experienced manager.

In conclusion I wish to make my arguments complete by describing as a concrete example the course of training for the employment executive function as worked out by the Tuck School.

Imagine an educational pyramid built up of a number of strata of educational processes.

1. The first, or base stratum, consists of the primary school; and

2. The second stratum consists of the secondary school.

The function of these schools is character and mind development and the imparting of basic information. Their organization and methods are outside the range of influence of the Tuck School.

3. The third stratum is the freshman, sophomore and junior years of the college, considered *en bloc*. The function of its process is character and mind development of a higher order, and the imparting of information of a more complex nature. The Tuck School, through its entrance requirements, has two distinct influences on the student and his educational development at this stage: it prescribes certain courses of preparation, such as economics, political science and sociology; and it puts in operation a selecting machinery by the requirement for admission of a high quality of work during those years.

4. The fourth stratum is the first year of the Tuck School, equivalent to the senior year of the college. In this year all students take the same block of prescribed courses, which introduce them to the basic facts and principles of every phase of business and give them, in the method by which they are required to work, a taste of the discipline of business service. There is at this stage no specialization within the field of business.

5. The fifth stratum is the second year, or graduate year, of the Tuck School. The greater part of the instruction of this year represents more intensive study of all functions of business, and is received by all students irrespective of their respective lines of specialization. In addition, there is given opportunity for moderate specialization, which, in the case of future employment managers, is in the general subject of organization, administration and management.

6. The sixth stratum, or apex of the pyramid, is represented by a special course in employment management, and by a thesis which is the solution of a specific problem of management in a specific plant. This course comprises an intensive study of the problems of management relating to the employment and supervision of personnel, the control of working conditions, and the relation between employer and employee. Among other things

are considered the sources of supply of employees—public, trade, and commercial schools, vocation bureaus, employment agencies, etc.; classes of employees with reference to their physical, mental and temperamental qualifications for different kinds of work; classes of work with reference to their demands upon employees; methods of hiring; general supervision; training during employment; promotion and transfer; records; discharge; control of working conditions—safety, health, recreation; employees' coöperative associations; wage systems; *esprit* and good will; qualifications and functions of the employment manager; associations of employment managers.

Because the course of training is new and is being offered this year for the first time, I cannot describe any general arrangement with business firms for supplementary apprenticeship work. We cross our bridges as we come to them. Adequate provision has been made for the men now specializing in this course, and the cordial attitude of many business men towards the course when announced assures us that apprenticeship arrangements can be made for each individual student whom our selective judgment permits to specialize in this course.

You will have observed that Tuck School training for any particular service does not consist merely of one or two specialized courses, but consists of the entire series of educational processes influenced to meet our ends. The specialized courses are but the capstone of the pyramid of training. You will have observed also that the sequence is from the general to the particular, from the liberalizing to the specialized and professional.

## HIRING AND FIRING: ITS ECONOMIC WASTE AND HOW TO AVOID IT<sup>1</sup>

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It must be obvious beyond argument that every unnecessary dismissal of an employe must mean a definite economic waste to the employer, to the employe, and to society. It seems obvious also that the magnitude of this waste and its influence on the industrial situation is by no means clearly understood, otherwise this important phase of the management of men would have received adequate attention before now. Many managers of large businesses, to be sure, have recognized the existence of this problem and have established specialized employment departments to deal with it. They know from experience that it does not pay to hire and fire employes haphazardly; they realize that it costs money to train a new employe, even a skilled workman, in the special practices that are peculiar to a given concern, and that upon his dismissal, save on the ground of no further need, a similar expenditure must be incurred for the training of another new employe, which expenditure only good reason for the dismissal of the previous employe can justify. In only a few instances, however, have employment departments been placed in charge of men of experience and capacity who are competent to deal adequately with the many and often perplexing phases of the employment situation, while still more infrequently have these employment managers been entrusted with the equally, if not even more important duty of continuing their personal interest in the men and women while they are retained in the employment, in order that they may be assured of proper training and fair treatment and may not be discharged without good cause. Without this latter function, which he must share with the superintendent or supervising foreman in harmonious coöperation, no employment manager will

<sup>1</sup> An address delivered at the Twentieth Annual Convention of the National Association of Manufacturers of the United States of America, New York City, May 26, 1915.



be able to bring about a satisfactory solution of the hiring and firing problem.

In order to place this subject concretely before employers so that they may recognize more fully the importance of this phase of economical management, I have collected and analyzed various employment statistics and studied various employment conditions in an endeavor to draw the pertinent lesson and to find the obvious remedy. My observations were concerned especially with large, medium size and small metal manufacturing concerns throughout the United States. A similar investigation in factories in Austria, England, France and Germany during the summer of 1913 has proved, however, that the problem under discussion is of international scope.

#### *Method of Investigation*

The investigation endeavored first to trace the curve of engagements and discharges in the various concerns during the period of one year and then to find out and study the reasons for the discharges of employees. All data were obtained for the year 1912, which may be considered to have been an industrially normal year. The investigation covered the employment and discharge of all classes of employees at the various factories except those belonging to the commercial and engineering organizations and to the general executive staff. A record of those who had entered the service of the concerns for the first time and of those who had been working in the same place at a previous period was also obtained, for it was assumed that reemployment would usually cause a smaller expense than the employment of entirely new people unfamiliar with the conditions prevailing at a given factory.

The figures herewith presented cover the aggregate statistics of twelve factories located in six different states, some employing only male and others employing female as well as male operatives. The great variety of mechanical manufacture in this group of factories ranges from the production of big steam engines, many forms of electrical apparatus and high-class automobiles to that of fine tools and instruments, requiring labor of the highest skill as well as that of the common kind. The smallest of these factories carries normally less than 300, the largest more than 10,000 employees on its payroll. While it would add interest and value to

this discussion to analyze separately the statistics of the various concerns in question, it would be obviously wrong to divulge individual figures which were obtained confidentially. It should be said, however, that these factories can be classed as average or even a little above the average in economical conduct and in respect to such influencing factors as availability of labor, rate of wages and controlling legislative conditions.

A word of explanation is also in order relative to the mathematics of the arguments herein presented. The rate of engagements and of separation from service should be considered separately for each week, and even for each day, in order to arrive at mathematically correct conclusions, since changes in the labor force during a year follow neither a straight line nor any well defined curve, but vary usually according to a most grotesque zigzag line. On the other hand, inasmuch as various factors in the calculation are in themselves of an assumptive character and necessarily introduce into the problem an element of uncertainty, the short-cut methods of calculation herein used will be found to give results sufficiently accurate for the purpose. It has been the aim to give conservative values to all assumptions, and these are briefly explained so that anyone with different judgment may readily substitute his assumptions and carry the calculation through on that basis. Most industrial managers, however, I feel confident, will subscribe to the premises herein stated.

In the twelve factories above alluded to, statistics show, 72.8 per cent of the employes engaged during the year had not been employed in these factories before, while 27.2 per cent had worked in the same factories during one or several previous periods. As a general proposition these percentages will be found to apply fairly well to any normal employment in the mechanical industries.

This group of factories gave employment to 37,274 employes at the beginning and 43,971 at the end of the year 1912. *The net increase in the working force as between January 1 and December 31, amounted therefore to 6,697 employes, while during the same period 42,571 people had been hired and, accordingly, 35,874 had dropped out of the employment for whatsoever reason. In other words, about six and one-third times as many people had to be engaged during the year as constituted the permanent increase of the force at the end of that period.*

*Unusual Conditions of Employment*

Several reasons might be given in explanation of this condition. It might be stated that the labor market in a given locality was in part responsible for the situation; it might be claimed that in a particular plant a temporary piece of work had to be done, such as the building of a structure or the digging of a foundation, for which labor in excess of the normal quota was temporarily needed, to be dispensed with again when the special work was finished. Unusual conditions of employment might have been the result of a highly fluctuating productive situation, brought about in turn by a largely varying commercial demand on the factories during the four seasons of the year. Above all else, sight must not be lost of the fact that a certain amount of separation from the service is unavoidable and must be reckoned with, such as results from death and prolonged sickness of employees and from the necessary discharge of some and the voluntary resignation of others in the working force.

*The important fact, however, stands out that 42,571 people had to be engaged during the year in order to increase the working force by only 6,697.*

Theoretically, only as many people ought to have been hired as were needed permanently to increase the force. Practically, certain allowances must be made in order to view the problem in its correct light. These allowances must cover:

- (a) the replacement of employees who die;
- (b) the replacement of employees on prolonged sick leave for whom others must be substituted temporarily;
- (c) the replacement of employees who, although they had been selected for their positions with good judgment, are found to be unsuited to the work or unfit on account of personal characteristics, or who leave of their own accord because they do not find the work congenial, the climatic conditions acceptable, or who for other reasons remove from the locality;
- (d) the engagement of extra employees required for short periods, either on account of a temporary piece of construction work or usually on account of the high peaks of a fluctuating production; and

- (e) the recognized fact that no employment department can be run on a 100 per cent efficiency basis.

The substitution of fair numerical values for these items will indicate the probable number of necessary engagements that will have to be made in any event, even though the numerical strength of an employment is merely maintained and the now prevailing weaknesses in the employment situation are removed.

It may be assumed that among all employes annually  
One per cent die;

Four per cent are sick for sufficiently long periods to necessitate their replacement temporarily or permanently;

Eight per cent withdraw from service for unforeseen or unavoidable reasons, or are discharged for justifiable causes;

Eight per cent are temporarily needed on account of normal fluctuation of production; and

Eighty per cent constitutes a readily attainable efficiency of an employment department.

These figures find their support in the following considerations:

Mortality tables give the death rate of men and women in general employment in accordance with the age of such persons. The average age of employes in the factories under consideration was therefore ascertained and found to be thirty-one and one-half years for male and twenty-three years for female employes. For these ages mortality tables place the death rate of male employes at eight and five-tenths and of female employes at seven and ninety-five hundredths in each thousand. On the other hand, the experience of several mutual benefit associations in factories, some extending over a period of ten years, revealed that about seven in every thousand members had died annually. These statistics, therefore, justify the assumption that death removes annually not more than 1 per cent of factory employes.

#### *Number Incapacitated by Sickness and Accident*

The average number of persons in every thousand who are annually incapacitated by sickness or accident from work for definite periods, cannot readily be learned from statistics, unless recourse is taken to experiences in the German Empire, and then

other factors of the situation will also have to be taken into account. Meager statistics of mutual benefit associations in factories and in particular the judgment of industrial managers and assistants must therefore serve as a basis for any assumption of this character. In this connection it must also be recognized that it is the prevailing custom in most factories to carry on sick leave for periods of many weeks and often several months those of whose sickness the management has definite knowledge, and not to replace sick employes, even temporarily, unless their absence from work should extend over a sufficiently long time to interfere seriously with the proper conduct of work. For the above reasons, then, the assumption that annually 4 per cent of the working force will have to be hired temporarily or permanently to take the places of sick employes, should liberally reflect actual conditions.

As to the number of people who are annually separated from the service for reasons other than death or prolonged sickness, no reliable figures seem to be available. In fact, the only concrete information bearing on this subject seems to be that given by the United States Civil Service Commission, according to which 8 per cent of all government employes are separated from the service annually for any reason, including that of death and sickness. While in the case of government employes replacement on account of death could again be assumed as 1 per cent, that due to prolonged sickness should be placed lower than 4 per cent and might usually not be more than 3 per cent, on account of the liberality of treatment of government employes and the lack of competitive commercial conditions in the government service. From this it would follow that the annual separation from service among government employes for other reasons than those of death and sickness might be about 4 per cent. Realizing, however, that government employment conditions are usually more favorable to stability of service than those prevailing in commercial industrial establishments, due allowance has been made for this difference by doubling the government estimate and, therefore, allowing 8 per cent for withdrawal by voluntary or involuntary resignation alone.

#### *Effect of Production on Workers*

The effect of a normally fluctuating production upon the numerical strength of the working body is difficult to estimate.

Opinions differ widely as to how far production can be fairly evenly distributed over the whole year, but the conviction is making itself felt among employers that in most businesses the prevalent erratic curve of productive requirements can be turned into a more even wave line. Several interesting evidences are already available to show the effect of well-directed effort in this field. It must, nevertheless, be admitted that certain fluctuations of production are unavoidable; to a certain extent the seasonal character of a business, and more pertinently, commercial prosperity or depression are determining and uncontrollable factors. A correct assumption is made so much the more difficult also because normal productive fluctuations will but little affect certain classes of employees, such as highly skilled mechanics and clerks, while the great body of operatives or pieceworkers will almost instantaneously feel the effect of these fluctuations. The opinion of many who were consulted seems to center around the assumption that for all employees and for a normally fluctuating production an annual temporary engagement of 8 per cent of the total number of employees would be justified.

Finally, in regard to the efficient conduct of an employment department, it should not be difficult to attain an efficiency of at least 80 per cent in this highly specialized branch of service with but a very limited staff.

Applying the factors above outlined to the problem in hand, it follows that *while theoretically only 6,697 employees should have been employed to allow for an increase of the working force by that number, the additional engagement of 13,843 persons or a total engagement of 20,540<sup>2</sup> persons would be justified to cover withdrawals by death, sickness or resignation to allow for productive fluctuations and for practical employment results and to cover the permanent increase in the force.*

*Replacement of initial force = 21% of 37274 on 80 % basis of hiring efficiency .....	= 9785
Replacement of replacement = 1/2 of (21 % of 9785 on 80 % basis) .....	= 1285
Permanent increase of force .....	= 6697
Additional increase for permanent increase on 80 % basis .....	= 1674
Replacement of total increase = 1/2 of (21 % of 6697 + 1674 on 80 % basis) .....	= 1099
Total .....	= 20540

*Yet the fact is that 42,571 employees were engaged where the engagement of only 20,540\* persons could readily be defended; 22,031 persons were, therefore, engaged above the apparently necessary requirements.*

It is obvious that a considerable sum of money must have been wasted in unnecessarily engaging so large a force of men and women. The picture herewith presented will become at once more lucid and more appealing if the figures are given monetary values.

#### *Money Waste in Unscientific Hiring*

No reliable investigation seems to have been made and published in respect to such financial valuation. Industrial managers were, therefore, interviewed in an effort to obtain from them a consensus of opinion, but they were found to be rather loath to express their views because they had not given heretofore serious thought to the question. While one manager estimated the cost of hiring and breaking in an employe at thirty dollars, the estimates of all others ranged from fifty dollars to \$200 per employe. The great difference in these estimates is no doubt due to the diversity of the industries represented by these managers. Most estimates ranged between fifty dollars and \$100. One machine tool builder, usually keen in following up matters of this kind when they have been called to his attention, looked into the subject with some care and stated it as his belief that the engagement of almost 1,000 persons in his plant during one year, while the permanent increase in his force amounted to less than fifty, reduced his profits by fully \$150,000. His estimate, therefore, is about \$150 per employe. The head of a large automobile manufacturing concern stated with equal positiveness that the engagement of a new employe would involve the expenditure of at least \$100. This statement is so much the more surprising as it is well known that on account of the high wages paid in the automobile industry it should not be difficult to secure the best type of employes, both as to technical skill and general discipline, and to hold them fairly well. Still another manager who employs a great deal of female labor estimated this cost in some departments to run as high as \$200 per employe, largely on account of the costliness of the material which these employes handle.

Unquestionably the skill, experience and intelligence of a

\*Ibid.

new employe have much bearing upon the amount of money that needs to be expended for his training. Another important consideration is whether the new employe is working on expensive or low-priced machinery or with high or low-priced tools, or on expensive or cheap materials; and to a certain extent whether or not he has been employed before in the same shop and particularly on the same class of work.

With this thought in mind I subdivided the employes under investigation into five groups and studied the requirements of each group as to the quantity and quality of required instruction for new employes and the effect of the work of new employes upon the economical conduct of the business.

#### *Instruction for New Employees*

Group A comprises highly skilled mechanics who must have practiced their trade for a number of years in order to attain the required degree of all-around experience and proficiency;

Group B comprises mechanics of lesser skill and experience who can acquire an average degree of proficiency within a year or two;

Group C contains the large number of operatives usually known as pieceworkers, who without any previous skill or experience in the particular work can attain fair efficiency within a few months, somewhat depending on the character of the work;

Group D includes all unskilled productive and expense laborers who can readily be replaced in the course of a few days; and

Group E is composed of the clerical force in the shops and offices.

The distribution of the employes in these five groups was found to be as follows, assuming that 73 per cent in each group were newly hired and 27 per cent were re-hired employes:

Group	Number of employes		Total engagements		
	Initial	Increase	All	New	Re-hired
A	3,355	626	4,661	3,393	1,268
B	4,473	814	6,296	4,583	1,713
C	12,673	2,327	14,440	10,512	3,928
D	13,046	2,369	14,321	10,426	3,895
E	3,727	561	2,853	2,077	776
All	37,274	6,697	42,571	30,991	11,580



The next task is to find how many employees in each group were apparently unnecessarily hired. Approximately correct results will be obtained by employing for each group the same method of calculation as was used for finding the number of unnecessarily engaged persons in the total number of employees. In order to secure more correct figures, allowance would have to be made for the fact that while the same mortality and sickness rate and the same employment efficiency may be considered to hold in all groups, the rates of withdrawals by resignation and discharge and the effect of a normally fluctuating production will vary for each group. On the one hand, skilled employees are more steady and will give less cause for discharge than ordinary pieceworkers or expense laborers; on the other hand, all-around mechanics will be retained under normally fluctuating production, while again, pieceworkers and expense laborers will more or less immediately feel the effect of such fluctuations.

Using the shortcut method rather than entering into an extended mathematical calculation, it will be found that the apparently unnecessarily engaged 22,031 persons divide themselves as follows:

Group	Unnecessary engagements		
	All	New	Re-hired
A	2,781	2,031	750
B	3,818	2,787	1,031
C	7,388	5,393	1,995
D	7,100	5,183	1,917
E	944	689	255
All	22,031	16,083	5,948

The factors which contribute mainly to the cost of hiring and training new employees must now be analyzed. This cost may be considered to result from:

- (a) clerical work in connection with the hiring process;
- (b) instruction of new employees by foremen and assistants;
- (c) increased wear and tear of machinery and tools by new employees;
- (d) reduced rate of production during early period of employment; and
- (e) increased amount of spoiled work by new employees.

No account is taken here of the reduced profits due to a reduced production, nor of the investment cost of increased equipment on account of the decreased productivity of machines on which new employes are being broken in.

The hiring expense affects all groups of labor to about the same extent. It consists of interviewing applicants, taking their records, making out their engagement cards and other necessary papers, and placing their names on the payroll books; sometimes also advertising and traveling expenses will have to be incurred. Reduced to the cost per individual, an expense of fifty cents for each employe should be a fair estimate.

#### *Instruction Expense*

The instruction expense, on the other hand, will vary largely according to the experience and skill of the new employe and the nature of his work. It will be lowest for Group D and highest for Group C employes, for the latter must be instructed most and watched longest. This expense for Group B employes will be nearly as large as that for Group C employes, not because they need as prolonged supervision, but because higher priced foremen will have to give the instruction. Considering the quantity and quality of required instruction, this expense may be assumed to be for each new employe: in Group A, seven dollars and fifty cents; in Group B, fifteen dollars; in Group C, twenty dollars; in Group D, two dollars; and in Group E, seven dollars and fifty cents.

The value of increased wear and tear of machinery and tools by new employes is difficult to estimate. It will be little, if anything, for Groups D and E employes, for whom it may be presumed to be one dollar per employe, while it may reach thousands of dollars for damage to expensive machinery used by Groups A, B and C employes. Any estimate must be a mere guess, but it may be conservative to assign ten dollars for each Groups A, B and C employe.

The loss due to reduced production is entirely dependent upon the value of the article produced and the experience and skill of the employe required for its production. It will, of course, be lowest for Group D employes, for whom it may be assumed to amount to five dollars each. It can be estimated with approximate correctness for other employes by considering their average wages

and the average loss of productivity during their initial period of employment. Figuring overhead charges as 100 per cent of the wages of Groups A and B men, 75 per cent of Groups C and D and 40 per cent of Group E men, this loss may be assumed to amount to twenty dollars for each Group A, eighteen dollars for each Group B, thirty-three dollars for each Group C, five dollars for each Group D and twenty dollars for each Group E employee.

The expense due to spoiled work will similarly vary with the value of the raw material worked upon and the labor expended in such work. It will amount to practically nothing for Groups D and E employees, and may be assumed to be ten dollars for each Group A, fifteen dollars for each Group B, and ten dollars for each Group C employee.

These cost items must be reduced materially when they are applied to re-hired employees. The cost of training old employees will, of course, be smallest when these employees are put back on exactly the same or similar work to that on which they were engaged before they left employment in the same factory. As a matter of fact, many re-hired employees are put on entirely new work, and their training will therefore involve an expenditure which will more or less approximate that needed for the training of entirely new employees. Making, however, a conservative assumption, the cost of hiring and training old employees may be placed at ten dollars for each Group A, twenty dollars for each Group B, thirty-five dollars for each Group C, five dollars for each Group D, and ten dollars for each Group E employee. The respective totals of the various cost items above outlined are shown in the following tabulation:

Group	New Employees					Total	Re-Hired Employees
	Hiring	Instruction	Wear and Tear	Reduced Production	Spoiled Work		
A	\$0.50	\$7.50	\$10.00	\$20.00	\$10.00	\$48.00	\$10.00
B	.50	15.00	10.00	18.00	15.00	58.50	20.00
C	.50	20.00	10.00	33.00	10.00	73.50	35.00
D	.50	2.00	1.00	5.00	.....	8.50	5.00
E	.50	7.50	1.00	20.00	.....	29.00	10.00

When these values are multiplied with the number of supposedly unnecessarily engaged new and re-hired employees in each group, the result shows that *the apparently unnecessary engagement of 22,031 employees within one year in the twelve factories under in-*

*vestigation involved an economic waste of \$831,030. This amount will be considerably greater and may reach a million dollars if the decrease of profits due to a reduced production and the increase of expense on account of an enlarged equipment investment are taken into consideration.*

*The important question immediately arises: how can this economic waste be avoided in future?*

### *Preventing Waste in Hiring*

Five answers present themselves:

First, a thorough study of current employment statistics with a careful analysis of the reasons for the discharge of employees is needed in order to furnish a fact basis of local as well as general conditions on which to predicate future action;

Second, high grade men must be placed in charge of hiring departments and must be given adequate authority;

Third, proper methods must be devised for taking care of new employees, not only in respect to their technical training and work, but also in reference to their personal characteristics;

Fourth, effective systems of apprenticeship for boys and girls and of specialized training courses for adult employees must be maintained; and

Fifth, well-directed efforts should be made so to regulate commercial requirements as to secure a fairly uniform production throughout the year.

It is well known that the explanation for an employee's separation from the service, as given by the foreman, cannot always be relied upon because, when the employee leaves voluntarily he will often give an excuse rather than a reason for his resignation, while in case of his discharge by the foreman the latter's personal bias may sometimes take the place of his good judgment. Special efforts should therefore be made to get at the real cause of an employee's resignation or discharge. Such efforts may reveal, for instance, that the peculiar methods of a foreman readily discourage new employees from continuing in the service, in which case "a word to the wise" may be sufficient to alter the foreman's tactics or other measures may become necessary in order to correct an unsatisfactory condition. On the other hand, it may transpire that certain changes in the character of work or in the conditions

that surround the work must be made to attract and keep satisfactory employes.

In the light of the above statements and figures it must be obvious also that the highest grade of judgment in the hiring and discharging of employes is needed. The employment "clerk" of today will have to be replaced by the employment "superintendent" of tomorrow, not merely by changing the title and salary of the incumbent of the office, but by placing in charge of this important branch of management a man whose character, breadth of view and capacity eminently qualify him for the discharge of these duties. Second in importance to the manager of the plant should be his assistant who is entrusted with the duty of bringing into the plant the men and women who are needed for the proper performance of work, and of keeping them in the employment as contented and efficient employes.

#### *Selecting the Right Men*

While it is quite important to select the right men and women for the right places so that a square peg may be chosen for a square hole and a round peg for a round hole, it is far more important properly to take care of these men and women when they enter upon their new work. A good man can be spoiled and discouraged by wrong initial treatment, as an improperly selected man can often be made useful and contented by the right guidance and training. An understanding of human nature, and fairness and firmness in dealing with men are some of the chief requisites of the efficient superintendent of employment. A student of economics applied to industry, he must be imaginative enough to be progressive and yet sufficiently conservative not to break away from old moorings before he has found a clear course ahead. Standing between the employes and their employer, he can, if he is the right man, work to the advantage of both by being fair to both. And if he possesses tact and diplomacy he will never destroy the disciplinary authority of the foreman even though the latter is deprived of the right to discharge an employe beyond terminating at any time the latter's connection with his department. Since the superintendent of employment has brought the employe into the factory, he ought to be the one to discharge him if he should be discharged. Often he may find that the employe's unsatisfactory showing was due to his having

been placed wrongly. How much better to take this square peg out of a round hole and fit him into a vacant square hole than to discharge him and then experiment with another recruit, a supposedly square peg? Sometimes, where all blame cannot be apportioned to the employe, his first offense can be condoned and he can be placed under surroundings which will be more favorable to his useful development. Again, at times the discharge of an employe may not only be justified but such employe ought to be made to feel in no uncertain way the disgrace of his action. Even in this instance, however, a wise superintendent of employment will fire the employe in such a manner that the latter will greatly feel the sore spot without harboring at the same time hateful resentment against his employer. A friendly public opinion of a community is a great asset to an employer and particularly to a corporation; care should therefore be taken that it be not easily disturbed.

#### *Employer's Relation to the Community*

The employer can further help to develop a good relationship with his community by offering to some of the boys and girls of his own employes or of other local citizens an opportunity to prepare in his factory for a useful industrial life. It is becoming recognized again, as it was decades ago, that the employer has a peculiar duty to perform toward his employes and himself as well as the industry, by offering to train and by properly training the youth of the land who wish, or by circumstances may be obliged to choose a vocational career for a livelihood. Sometimes by his own action, sometimes in coöperation with educational institutions, but always in sympathetic support of the well-meant efforts of school authorities, he should see to it that the young men and women whom he is training become intelligent, skillful and contented workers and leaders in the constantly growing industrial army. Although to a certain extent all employers take an interest in this problem of providing an adequate supply of properly trained workers, most of them have not yet discovered that it is essentially worth their while to set aside a generous amount of their busy time and to devote appropriate effort and financial support for this work.

Finally, as to the last suggested remedy, that of a fairly evenly distributed production throughout the year, the problem looks somewhat simple although it is fraught with many difficulties that

arise from the fact that, after all, the buying public is the real master of this situation. The employer can, however, influence the public in many ways, by educational propaganda or by the offer of advantageous trade prices, to help him in his effort for a standardization of his products, so that he may be able to manufacture for stock for future need as well as for immediate delivery, and through it to maintain fairly steady work throughout the whole year. He may well share with the public and with his employes the advantages accruing to him from a wholesale production and the resulting steady work for his employes.

Along the five lines of remedy herein suggested may be found the solution of a problem which is beginning to loom large before our eyes and will look larger as international competition grows keener. In presenting the results of my investigation into the waste of hiring and firing employes, I have made no effort to paint a black picture but have merely presented the varied colors of the industrial spectrum. I have pictured what seems to be an average condition throughout the country, indicative of defects in our factory system that challenge immediate attention.

### *The Spirit of Loyalty*

In view of certain legislative and administrative tendencies now affecting American industries it is important also to reflect that constant fluctuation in the working force of an establishment must materially increase the difficulty of maintaining among the employes a spirit of loyalty to the management, *esprit de corps*, and general contentment. Just as quicksand cannot be kneaded in the hands into a solid lump, so also will it be found difficult to take hold of an ever-changing mass of employes and transform it into a homogeneous, intelligent, contented body. Moreover, this condition will tend to nullify, to a large degree, the beneficial effects of many well-intentioned efforts of employers, such as sickness and accident insurance plans, old age pension systems, and other phases of industrial betterment work.

And last, but not least, the problem herewith presented offers an opportunity for constructive work in which employers and employes can readily be brought together for mutual benefit, for no right-thinking man, whatever his position or affiliation, can justly object to any well-directed plan which seeks to give employes

continuous work throughout the year and to enable employers to maintain steady production.

Close analysis of the men and women whom we take into our employ, effective systems under which we train them in our work, fair treatment while they are in our service, and adequate methods to insure their dismissal only for justified cause or their voluntary withdrawal with no ill-feeling toward their employer—these are essential factors in our problem of “hiring and firing” and must be our earnest concern lest we waste money in our businesses and sacrifice friendly relationship with our employes.

## METHODS OF REDUCING THE LABOR TURNOVER<sup>1</sup>

By BOYD FISHER,

Vice-President, Executives' Club, Detroit Board of Commerce.

From October, 1912, to October, 1913, the Ford Motor Company hired 54,000 men to keep an average working force of 13,000. This was over 400 per cent labor turnover. From 1913 to October, 1914, this company hired only 7,000 men to keep an average of 17,000 men. Eliminating 4,000 from the comparison, because they were taken on extra to build up the force, the company really hired only 3,000 men to keep the same 13,000. This was only 23 per cent turnover. Of course, nine months of profit-sharing was responsible for the difference, but the fact only goes to show that the turnover of labor can be reduced. The saving to the Ford Motor Company must have been at least \$2,040,000, or a return of 24 per cent on the profit-sharing bonus, which was intended as an outright gift. The saving, however, was really more than that, because the retention of the steady labor force resulted in an increase of working efficiency estimated by the company at 44 per cent.

The Ford Motor Company is a special instance, and no other company can be urged to give \$10,000,000 to reduce its labor turnover. Others can be urged, however, to seek other means of secur-

<sup>1</sup> Read before Employment Managers' Conference, Minneapolis, January 20, 1916.



ing staple working forces. In this paper, I shall state compactly all of the means I know of to accomplish this result. No expedient will be urged beyond the resources of any going concern and none will be recommended which has not worked successfully in conservative companies.

By means of some of the methods here set down the German American Button Company at Rochester, New York, reduced its turnover 40 per cent, and the Cleveland Foundry Company reduced it from 240 per cent to 125 per cent in a little over two years. I understand that the present turnover is still lower.

The causes of the mobility of labor may be classified under three headings:

- a. Men are fired.
- b. Men are laid off.
- c. Men quit voluntarily.

I shall strip the subject of emotion and avoid literary embellishment, treating the causes and remedies for labor turnover in accordance with a rigid outline. The men for whom this paper is intended need no analysis of the direct cost or indirect results of ruthless hiring and firing. They merely want other men's experience in dealing with the problem.

The first cause of the too hasty discharge of workmen is ignorance on the part of the foremen and even pseudo-employment managers of the great cost of such a policy. One so-called employment manager in Detroit boasted last year of having so much work to do and done by this department that he personally examined in a year over 300,000 applicants for work. He didn't know how many he had hired but he "guessed it was a whole lot."<sup>2</sup> If any one desires a close analysis of the actual cost of such a policy let him read Magnus Alexander's paper *Hiring and Firing* or W. A. Grieves' paper *Handling Men*. The first paper may be had from the General Electric Company at West Lynn, Mass., and the second from the Executives' Club of Detroit. Mr. Alexander gives the cost as high in some cases as \$200 per man hired. Mr. Grieves places the minimum at \$40. Deere and Company thinks that it costs \$1,000 to break in a new foreman; that must mean "barring accidents."

<sup>2</sup> Obviously the man exaggerated, but the exaggeration only shows that he failed to see the scandal of the situation, and confirms the impression of great instability of labor forces.

Even where the cost is realized, however, usually no adequate record is kept. Until Mr. Charles H. Winslow of the Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education brought his inspiration to Detroit as an investigator for the Bureau of Labor Statistics, I think that not more than two factories were keeping a proper tabulation of employment statistics, and I hope that Mr. Winslow does not challenge me to name the companies. He found, of course, that most employment managers were keeping card records from which tabulations could be made, but that they were so busy hiring new men that they couldn't get around to analyzing past performances. When he persuaded them to dig into the old records, they were all shocked at the discoveries.

Ignorance of cost and of extent of turnover may be set down as fundamental or precedent causes. Assuming that these have been removed, we may then ask, why are men fired?

In the first place, blame the shop foremen. It is easy to do this and "get away with it" because of the great responsibility laid upon them already. Consider what most shops require of these men.

They set speeds and feeds and depth of cut, decide on the best angles and shapes of tools, the best cooling agents, the kind of steel to use. They are expected to set piece rates, plan to keep all machines busy, but not congested, to order work through the department in relative importance, keep data on idle equipment time, break in new men, adjust differences as to wages, keep up discipline, keep down rejections and act as stock chasers.<sup>3</sup>

If they must do all of these things and must furthermore hire men, is it any wonder that they find it necessary to keep picking goats upon whom to put their own errors, or that from sheer weariness and irritation they fire a man a minute? Most foremen have too much to do, and in order to square themselves they try to get men who need no managing. That is the chief cause of the turnover of labor. I know of one superintendent who took a foreman to task for not firing more men, because it seemed to show a lack of discipline. And to date they haven't been much checked up in this tendency.

A second reason for hasty, ill-warranted firing is to be found in the fact that religious or national prejudice in a department or

<sup>3</sup> See Knoeppel, *Installing Efficiency Methods*, p. 13.

in the mind of the foreman himself "jobs" many a fair workman out of his job.

Passing this obvious cause, we must admit that most men are fired with some justice in the excuse that they are unfit. A business acquaintance once said that of any ten jobs probably only one was filled by the man who ought to be in it, and that of any ten men probably only one was doing the work for which he was best fitted. Lack of knowledge while hiring and lack of insight after hiring on the part of the representatives of the management are responsible for the improper assignment of men hired. Those who examine applicants have no specifications for the men wanted and little skill in getting at the qualifications of those examined. Few plants yet have searching ability tests supplemented by physical examinations to assist them in getting the right man in the right place. Still fewer plants have any means of training the men once hired into greater efficiency in their assigned tasks. These causes account for the lack of fitness in men; and where they exist foremen cannot be blamed for rejecting after a short try-out most of the material sent to them.

The foregoing causes account, I think, for all of the causes of outright discharge. There are two reasons, in addition, why good men are laid off, usually permanently.

In the first place, unless the plant is scientifically managed, and most plants are not, the scheduling of work through the shop is faulty. Some departments will be congested, or at least some machines, while others will be idle. Through lack of proper information, foremen overstate their labor requirements with the result that they get through some operations ahead of schedule and some men must be laid off; for, obviously, a Jones and Lamson screw machine hand or a die maker can't be kept around the place as an ornament; and what foreman has the time to try to fit men to new specialties? If the foremen have underestimated their labor requirements the result will soon be the same. Extra men must be called in only to be discharged later on. Even though a good man will be needed next week he is laid off as soon as he is through, because foremen are expected to keep down direct labor cost. One Detroit employment manager told me that his foremen were astonished when he analyzed their labor requisitions, showing them how frequently they discharged and then wildly besought men on high

priced operations. Of course, lack of a centralized scheduling system was mainly responsible.

Men are laid off chiefly, however, because of the dull seasons that afflict every business. Even the Cleveland Foundry Company which I have cited for its good employment methods, is handicapped by from 20 to 40 per cent seasonal reductions annually, and the stove companies of Detroit frequently close down altogether for periods which let many men get away. Mr. Winslow has some good analyses of seasonal fluctuations in several industries and cities. We shall return to this topic presently.

It now remains only to brief the reasons why men leave their jobs voluntarily. Low wages and long hours account for many cases. Inequalities in the pay system, however, account for more, because men can more easily perceive injustices in their own departments than in their remuneration as compared with that of men in other plants. Trade unions oppose wage payment in proportion to individual efficiency, but that doesn't blind a good man to the fact that he is worth more than a poor man. Straight day wages or poorly set piece and bonus rates are responsible for many rankling injustices.

The worst injustice of all is the failure to reward men for increased efficiency over their previous ability. One employment manager discovered a workman who had been on the same rate of pay for five years. He is now seeing to it that men in his company are periodically advanced or promoted in accordance with their efficiency records, regardless of whether they ask for increases in basic rates or not.

Men quit, too, because foremen or fellow workmen of different races or religions "gang" them, and, unless the management inquires into the reasons for men's leaving, this cause can never be run down. I tremble to think of how many good men have been run out of plants, because of differences over the present war in Europe.

Workmen, too, are often ignorant, narrow, highly sensitive to trivial wrongs or fancied oppression by "capital." Many nurse grievances until they goad themselves into committing "job-suicide." The lack of any well understood means of redressing wrongs, or even of hearing them, is a very large influence in voluntary quitting.

Of course, the wrongs may be very real, and in themselves they may be cited as a cause. For instance, bad plant conditions, such as poor lighting and ventilation, insanitary toilets and work places, lack of proper lunch room or street car facilities all have their effects upon the turnover of labor. Insanitary toilets alone were given as a reason for a recent strike; and many workmen will quit their jobs in preference to going blind at an ill-lit machine.

The above completes the list of causes of turnover under the three headings of discharges, lay-offs and resignations. The remedies urged will reach all of these conditions, but it is not feasible to deal with a specific remedy for each separate cause, but, rather, to group them under the following main headings:

- a. A central employment department.
- b. Physical examinations.
- c. Industrial education.
- d. Regularized production.

To cut down the turnover a centralized employment department managed by a man with gumption is the prime necessity. Unless this can be arranged none of the specific remedies can be attempted. It is almost begging the question to say that the employment manager must have gumption. He should really have the vision of a prime minister and the resource of a member of the General Army Staff in war-time; but, as things stand, we can afford to compromise on gumption.

Given a central employment department, with some one to stand at the window so that the employment manager can at least occasionally visit the plant for which he is hiring men, we may hopefully confide to it the specific remedies for the turnover of labor.

First of these, is a set of written specifications in accordance with which men are to be hired. E. G. Allen of Cass Technical High School, Detroit, a member of this conference, is the first man to have classified and printed the minimum standards of knowledge required to operate the different classes of machines. Beyond that there should be written specifications for each operation, with a short description of each. Mr. Winslow, in carrying out the Richmond Survey wrote up such specifications for printing, machine, tobacco and other trades. The Republic Metalware Company in Buffalo, has such a book of specifications. The German Ameri-

can Button Company in Rochester is among other companies which have them. Nearly every member of the Executives' Club Employment Managers' Association of Detroit is making up such specifications. The purpose of such data is pretty obvious. The employment manager cannot be expected to know every operation for which he hires, and with such material in hand he can more intelligently question applicants. Increased rejections at the employment gate reduce the number of discharges at the pay window.

With the wisest selection of men in the world some firing will be necessary, and the employment department should next prepare so to record and tabulate turnover that justifiable causes may be sifted out from the unjustifiable. It is useless merely to keep card records of each man's work-history. If the data isn't periodically taken off the cards and analyzed it is a useless expense to record it. The record of men leaving should be tabulated so that it shows up comparatively by weeks and months, by departments responsible and by causes assigned. A wall chart designed to show these figures, such as the Saxon Motor Company of Detroit has designed, will be of great assistance in localizing the blame for exceptional turnover. The analysis can with great profit be further extended by classifying the number of skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled men leaving the plant every week. The analysis by departments will help show this.

Even if foremen haven't the authority to fire men, they do have the power to make them quit voluntarily, and a detailed analysis will show what foremen have the most trouble with their men, and why.

It may be given as a separate remedy that foremen should no more have authority to fire than to hire. The manifold responsibilities of foremen already listed in this paper, manifestly unfits them to be fair judges of the amount and kind of discipline required, or to inquire how inefficient men may be trained or fitted into new tasks. Foremen should, therefore, have authority only to recommend for discharge, or to demand transfers of unsatisfactory employees. At the Ford Motor Company, the Packard Motor Car Company, and Dodge Brothers, the foremen can go no further than this, and it is rapidly becoming true of all Detroit companies.

A great assistance to employment managers who are asked by foremen to discharge employees will be found in a monthly or

other periodic certification by foremen of the character of work performed by each employee in their departments. Later, if they ask to have a man laid off and the employment manager can show the foreman's own signature to a certificate of the man's satisfactory work, it greatly strengthens the employment supervisor's hand when he decides to retain the man.

Where the localization of the discharge power in one department helps particularly is in the case where faulty scheduling would throw out good men for lack of further work. Foremen would not compare notes; they would simply fire. The employment manager, however, can look over the day's requisitions for labor, and send the superfluous worker to some other department.

A further advantage of a central employment department is found in the ability under proper management of that office to keep a record of the individual efficiency of workmen, of lates and absences, and of other matters which are involved in turnover. Low efficiencies can be tabulated and plant teachers can help to bring unsatisfactory workers up to the mark before the foreman would spot them for discharge. Usually the cause will be found to be some grievance or other condition, which, if not detected through an efficiency record, would not be discovered until too late to prevent an employee's leaving.

Finally, no employee should be allowed to quit the plant until he has disclosed his reason for being dissatisfied. Companies in Detroit which have this rule make it effective by requiring the employment manager's signature before the employee may be paid off. If the office knows why men leave it may not be able to persuade them to stay, but it can prevent the next one's going.

So much for the central employment office. We might very well group the other classes of remedies under this heading, because the employment manager properly has his part in putting them into effect; but they can be undertaken without his assistance.

Physical examinations have two effects in reducing turnover. In the first place, it rejects the weak, the ruptured, the sufferers from defective sight and hearing who would later need to be discharged as unfit. Again, by indicating the character of work which can be safely performed by the partly defective applicants it fits them into the jobs in which they can make good. Thus, there will be fewer voluntary quitances by virtue of the work's being "too

hard." I could cite examples to prove the value of these considerations but they really prove themselves in the statement. The Cleveland Foundry Company finds it profitable to pay a high salary to a competent physician for full time and give him three months' leave for hospital practice to keep him from going stale. The Workmen's Compensation Law is having its influence in addition to the above two arguments in bringing most Detroit factories to the idea of physical examinations.

Industrial education, even more important than any of the foregoing methods of reducing turnover, may nevertheless be treated briefly. Every argument that can be cited in favor of industrial training is an argument for the reduction of the turnover of labor, because the object is, of course, to fit men for their jobs so thoroughly that they will gladly stay in them.

Education helps to reassign men to the work for which they are best fitted. Education is examination. It discloses to the pupil as well as to the teacher wherein lies his special aptitude. The great evil of faulty assignment will be largely overcome by systematic instruction in tasks and in operations.

It will, furthermore, make the inefficient men fit. The Timken-Detroit Axle Company has actually had poor mechanics develop into high grade foremen or master mechanics through the part-time continuation work of Cass Technical High School. Many times, Detroit factories have saved men slated for discharge by encouraging night school or continuation school attendance.

Industrial training, particularly through shop schools, such as the excellent ones maintained by the Cadillac Motor Car Company, Packard Motor Car Company, Dodge Brothers and Northway Motor & Manufacturing Company in Detroit, and Brown and Sharpe in Providence, will train men already in the plant for new openings, thus avoiding the necessity of hiring new, outside men for them. It is valuable to fill up the gaps from men already familiar with the style and product of the given plant. The Employment Managers' Association of Detroit has reached the deliberate conclusion that in times of industrial expansion it is useless to try to hire men away from other companies; that they must rely upon their own shop courses for instruction in particular operations, and upon the public technical schools for instruction in the fundamentals of shop mechanics. Any other recourse will simply load up the



payrolls with incompetents who will live through their little hour of discord and destruction in the plant only to be discharged as unfit.

The fundamental remedies for turnover are quite beyond the authority of the employment manager. This is true of industrial education. It is more acutely true of the regularization of production. Only the general manager and the board of directors can undertake to stabilize the labor force by stabilizing production throughout the year. And even where they see the value of this they must discover a solution which is individual not only for each industry but even for each plant. On this account it is worth while only to enumerate some of the solutions that others have hit upon.

The Ford Motor Company standardizes its product to such an extent that if you have to buy a Ford car you might as well do it, as you go to the dentists', whenever you get up the courage. The Fords you have with you always and they never look any different. The Paige-Detroit and the Studebaker companies bring out models at irregular seasons, instead of bunching their business around the time of the Auto Shows.

The Joseph & Feiss Company, garment manufacturers of Cleveland, and the H. H. Franklin Company, of Syracuse, under-produce their demand in the busiest season. It takes intelligence plus courage to do that, and yet the economies of plant and labor force are demonstrable. Furthermore, the Joseph & Feiss Company leaves off its advertising campaign in the busiest season, and the H. H. Franklin Company pays a higher sales bonus in the dull season.

Some companies fill out production in the dull season by stocking up on staple lines or standard, low-cost parts. A button manufacturer in Northern New York, after scientific study of his sales, so managed this stocking up process on best selling lines that for thirteen years he never discharged an employee for lack of work. For thirteen years, a button manufacturer, dependent upon the most seasonal of businesses, the clothing trade, never discharged an employee for lack of work! It is worthy of additional mention that this company thinks it economical sometimes to sell slightly below cost, in order to keep its constant labor force.

It is the Franklin Company again, under the brilliant management of Geo. D. Babcock, which manages to keep its seasonal

fluctuations within 30 per cent, by manufacturing during dull seasons, those parts of its motor car which are standard or cheap enough to provide continual employment without tying up excessive amounts of capital.

With the best of management, of course, some lay-offs may come through bad business. Even then it is possible to mitigate the effect by lending money to permanent employees laid off for prolonged periods. The Detroit stove companies do this regularly, and when, a year ago, 82,000 men were out of work at one time in Detroit, the manufacturers here organized a huge relief bureau as part of the Board of Commerce which kept a thousand families on charity, got three thousand men permanent jobs, and several thousand men temporary places, and placed 15,000 more back to work sooner than usual, and persuaded the factories to retain many thousands more on part time. This care, I think, was what enabled Detroit to react most promptly to the sudden turn of business last spring, and proved to be the underlying basis of Detroit's present amazing prosperity.

The remedies for labor turnover which we may classify under the square deal policies that prevent men's leaving are too numerous to be taken up in this paper. They have to do with higher wages, shorter hours, discriminating systems of recording and pay, and improved plant conditions. There is no last word in the effort to better the conditions of the workers. A plant must simply keep up with the procession. Any plant can do that much. It would be unwise to urge the refinements of welfare management without expounding the methods by which employers can make the profits to undertake them. That, of course, would take one out of the legitimate range of this paper. But as Miss Ida Tarbell said in an address to the Detroit Board of Commerce, "You cannot stand permanently in the way of legitimate human aspirations."

It is not only profitable for employers to yield to the legitimate human aspirations, but it is perhaps even a duty for them to lead men to aspire. Mr. Henry Ford has done that, and where is the employer this side of the Styx whose conscience has not been quickened by Mr. Ford's example?

## EMPLOYMENT PROBLEMS AND HOW THE JOHN B. STETSON COMPANY MEETS THEM

BY MILTON D. GEHRIS,  
Paymaster.

We have all had some experience with employment problems and we know that it is easier to secure employes than it is to hold them. Only a small percentage of men seem to appreciate steady work and there are so many contributing causes that are factors in making employment unsteady. Working conditions, rate of wages, disposition of foremen, personal ambition of employes and a hundred other influences are all vital factors in this ceaseless shifting of employment.

Mr. Stetson was always very intensely interested in his employes and tried to keep in personal touch with his men. When the place was small he could call every man and boy by name and he would go through the shop and speak a word of appreciation when their work warranted recognition, or he would tell them where they might improve. He always contended that a married man was a better workman, as a rule, than a single man and to this end commended those who married and established homes. He interested himself so far as to give a dollar to every baby born to an employe. As the organization grew, nearly all the experiments he tried, to hold his people, grew from an opportunity to be helpful. The opportunity came as a need and he took advantage of the need.

The fact that Mr. Stetson encouraged marriage and the establishment of homes led to the organization of the John B. Stetson building and loan association thirty-six years ago. His plan was to allot five or ten shares of stock to worthy employes, he paying the dues as long as the employe remained in his employ. The employe was allowed to use these shares to borrow on them to purchase a home. In this way men could buy almost as cheap as they could rent. Over four hundred have acquired homes in this manner. The company today has 750 employes who have been allotted building and loan stock and 3,974 shares are paid for by the company for the benefit of its employes. Almost as many as

the above have become individual stockholders and invest their savings in this way.

About the same time that the building and loan association was started Mr. Stetson organized a Sunday School for the employees and the people of the neighborhood of the factory. He set aside a room for this purpose and the work has grown and prospered until today the company conducts the John B. Stetson Mission Sunday School, a strictly non-sectarian school with an average attendance of about nine hundred weekly. In connection with the Sunday School there is conducted a great social work looking after the moral and spiritual uplift of the community. Organizations caring for the poor, work among the boys and girls, associations for the promotion of athletic sports and many other helpful influences are all a part of this social work.

A noonday religious service is conducted every Tuesday from 12:30 to 1 o'clock. Prominent ministers or laymen of the city address these gatherings and the employees are free to attend or go to their work as they prefer.

The saving fund grew from a Christmas club started by a few of the office employees. When Christmas came they decided they did not want the money thus saved and asked the treasurer of the company to invest it for them. This fund now has deposits of over a hundred thousand dollars on which the company allows them 5 per cent interest. While this is a losing proposition to the company it fosters saving and is encouraged in every possible way.

Life insurance is used as a means to tie a number of the older employees and make their interests a part of the organization. The company pays the premium and the families are the beneficiaries.

The most definite plan to hold the people was started in 1897. The plans mentioned heretofore were applicable only to week workers and did not affect the piece workers of whom we have quite an army and who were hard to hold. In 1897 only 35 per cent of our hat sizers worked steadily during the entire year. They were a roving class working in one shop for a while and then going to another shop. Mr. Stetson offered a bonus of 5 per cent on all the sizers earned during the fiscal year, if they remained in the employ of the company from Christmas to Christmas, the bonus to be paid them at the Christmas exercises the day before Christmas. The

result was 50 per cent of the men working steadily during the entire year. The next year the bonus was made 10 per cent and 67 per cent of the men remained the entire year. In 1901 the bonus was raised to 15 per cent and 88 per cent of the men remained. In 1903 the bonus rate was made 20 per cent and since that time practically 100 per cent of the men work the entire year.

The plan proved so helpful with the sizers that it was applied also to the hat trimmers where it had the same effect of making them more regular in their employment. The girls of the soft hat trimming department now receive 10 per cent bonus and the girls of the stiff hat trimming department 20 per cent. Four years ago a 5 per cent bonus was granted to all expert workmen and this last year that bonus was extended to every employe of the factory who worked steadily the entire year, with the exception of the clerical help and the janitors who were given a cash amount. The bonus period ends the thirty-first day of October, but the bonus is not paid until the day before Christmas. If an employe leaves any time between the end of the fiscal year and Christmas he forfeits his bonus. If he leaves after Christmas he again forfeits what has accumulated from the first of November on to the time of leaving.

Several years ago we had a number of union men working for us and as there was demand for union labor in union shops they were ordered to leave us and report for work in union shops. They protested on account of their bonus and were allowed to stay until after they received their year's bonus at Christmas time. Nearly all these men have returned since, but not as union men. They saw to it that they would not again be in that same position where they could be ordered away and thus forfeit their bonus.

You may ask what the men do with their bonus money. A number of them are buying homes and pay the amount they receive into the building and loan association on account. Some put the money into the saving fund. We have found very few cases where the money was wasted. The men have established homes and take pride in furnishing same and living in more comfort and refinement.

The Stetson beneficial association grew from a demand to be helpful to the employes during sickness and at time of death. Every employe must belong to the association. They pay 25 cents

a month dues and the original plan was to pay three or four 25-cent assessments yearly for death benefits. This entitles the employe to \$5 per week benefits for five weeks after the first week of sickness, and to one hundred dollars death benefits. We find that from eight to nine 25-cent assessments are sufficient to pay for both sick and death benefits now. This shows that the sanitary systems introduced into the factory, the filtered water supply, the wholesome lunch arrangements and the general care for the health of the people has been the means of reducing the sick rate at least 33½ per cent.

The Stetson hospital was founded through the visits of a specialist who treated Mr. Stetson. Being a busy man, he had a specialist come to the office to treat him for catarrh. He found a number of the employes suffering with the same malady and decided to set aside a corner in the office where the men could be treated. This was the beginning, the Stetson hospital is the result.

Thirteen years ago the company increased its capital stock and the board of directors set aside 5,000 shares of stock (par value \$100) to be used by the president to reward faithful employes and to make them co-partners in the business. A number of these shares have been allotted to worthy employes in lots varying from 3 to 50 shares. The stock does not cost the employe one penny. It is paid for from the dividends accumulating and while it is being paid for the employe may draw 5 per cent dividend yearly. After it is full paid the employe receives the dividend in full which is 25 per cent at this time, but he does not receive possession of the stock for a period of fifteen years. The stock is held in trust for the employe and by an agreement whereby, if he leaves or is discharged for cause, he forfeits the stock and receives only the amount of par value paid in. If an employe dies or is incapacitated so he cannot work, then the stock is transferred to him or his estate. After the fifteen years of trusteeship are over the stock becomes the employe's property absolutely. The stock forfeited reverts back to the trustees to be reissued to some other employe. This plan has done much to hold the people. Since the market value of the stock is about \$400 and par only \$100 the men feel they have too much at stake to throw away all that equity and they become part and partner in the concern. Up to the present time 796 employes

## EMPLOYMENT PROBLEMS OF THE JOHN B. STETSON CO. 159

have been allotted stock. What has this meant? The following figures show very clearly what it has meant to us:

MEN EMPLOYED BY US	
20 years and over.....	324
15 years and not 20.....	230
10 years and not 15.....	663
7 years and not 10.....	857
5 years and not 7.....	854
3 years and not 5.....	607
2 years and not 3.....	462
1 year and not 2.....	262
Total.....	4,259

It must be remembered that while we now employ about 4,400 people twenty years ago we only employed about 600 and more than half of these are still in our employ.

Three years ago we added the physical examination feature. Every applicant, before he is given employment, must undergo a physical examination. We give the applicant a card to a doctor at the Stetson hospital. The doctor examines the applicant and sends his report to the employment department. If the result of the examination is favorable, the applicant is sent for and given work, if not favorable the report is filed and the applicant does not hear anything further about it. The doctor's report for the year ending October 31, 1915, shows the following result:—Three hundred and eleven applicants were examined, of whom 78 were rejected. Seventy had defective vision of whom 22 were corrected by glasses. Of the numbers rejected, 4 were in the advanced stages of consumption, 10 in the incipient stages of consumption, 21 had a family history that was extremely bad and would have made them bad risks, 5 were rejected for deformity, 3 for blood pressure, 1 for syphilis, and 12 for lice. One of the surprising features of the examination is brought out by the number of applicants who are lousy.

Our beneficial report for the year shows that of a total of 4,400 employes only 520 applied for benefits and 85 per cent of these were away for only two weeks; 45 had the grippe, 56 bronchitis, 61 rheumatism, 16 gastritis and 4 typhoid fever. The company uses every effort and spares no expense to conserve the

health of the employes and with the bonus plan and the employes as stockholders we are like a big family with interests that are mutual. If the employes have any grievance they can feel free to talk with their foreman or the management at any time and are welcome to do so. Differences and difficulties, if any arise, are always settled in this way.

## THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PERMANENT CONTACTS WITH THE SOURCES OF LABOR SUPPLY

BY JOHN S. KEIR,

Department of Industry, University of Pennsylvania.

A well-known scientist is reported to have faced a certain problem, and after looking over the field to have simply said, "Gosh." When one approaches a study of the organization of the sources of labor supply one feels very much the same way.

The scientific consideration of the human element in the carrying on of big business is a practically new departure. But it has come to be recognized that, all other elements aside, excessive hiring and firing is an economic loss, a loss in which both the employer and the employe are vitally affected.

It is recognized that when we speak in the language of the dollar sign, we speak a tongue that is common to all.

One of the first factors entering into the cutting down of labor turnover, is the securing of proper employes. In many plants functionalized employment departments have been established to "handle" each employe to the mutual benefit of the man and of the firm: they examine each applicant; they determine his particular fitness for one position or another; and, after the man has been hired, they keep in touch with his work through data furnished by foremen and other sources. Other plants, in place of a department, simply appoint a man who is responsible for hiring such men as, in his judgment, will prove valuable to the organization. These employment officials go under a host of titles and are really little more than employment clerks.



Both the employment departments and the employment clerks, it will be noticed, throw almost the entire emphasis on the work *after* the worker comes into the plant. Of course, the chief emphasis should be in this direction. But for our particular discussion the question presents itself, "Is it not possible to go even one step further back?" What of the workmen, unknown and unsought, who pass a firm's doors endlessly and fruitlessly? In that stream are high-grade men the firm wants; new blood suited to its needs; and perhaps indispensable in the long run. How is the firm to know this and recognize the man? How are the men to recognize their rightful destination; or, knowing, what sign can they hold up for the employer? The employer must make the first move. Before he can stop or dam up the stream of workmen, he must follow it to its sources—the sources from which the supply of labor emanates. Having the sources of the labor supply intelligently lined up, the employer can, at least, point the way by which some organizing and improving of these sources may be brought about. He is the most vitally concerned; he must bear the responsibility of the problem.

It must not be supposed that the field has been entirely barren of effort. Perhaps the first step—and a most important and productive one—has been the coöperation with the various schools and colleges.

Certain types of industry require men with technical training. Some concerns have turned to the technical schools and colleges to supply this demand and have established with them close and permanent relationships. One of the best examples of this is the General Electric Company of Schenectady. This company has 73 colleges on its list, and 8 foreign institutions, to which it goes for picked men. To supplement the theoretical knowledge of the college class room, the company provides for a student engineer's course. During the past 12 years 3,450 student engineers have entered the works at Schenectady, Pittsfield and Lynn. The number of men engaged annually varies between 200 and 400, depending upon industrial conditions. To enter this course a man must have a technical college training or its equivalent, and of course, the proper endorsement of the college authorities and other personal recommendations.

If cases of this sort were the only kind, then the man without

a technical training would be decidedly handicapped. However, the Western Electric offers a like opportunity to the untrained man. Aside from engineering, the work of the company is divided into two general groups, namely: manufacturing and commercial. Each year a representative of the company goes the rounds of the colleges, describes the opportunities offered by the company, and, of the men that come to him, endeavors to pick those whom he judges best fitted. Another firm which has started the ball rolling in the right direction is the Otis Elevator Company. It yearly selects and takes on a number of college men for training.

In order to secure desirable men for positions in the Far East, the Standard Oil Company has adopted a training system. College men are generally chosen for this work, but any American between the ages of 18 and 21 is eligible. Various phases of the oil business are taught and trips are taken to several of the company's plants. Men are dropped from time to time if they fail to meet the requirements as laid down by the company. If the student passes the course successfully, he is given further training in the foreign field at the beginning of his work. Thus the company is able to have constantly at hand a body of picked men. Other companies, not so widely known, perhaps, have followed essentially this same plan. The Rand Company of North Tonawanda, N. Y., is one. The Bamberger Department Store of Newark, N. J., is an example of a concern, other than a manufacturing plant, that is making a special effort to reach back to the ultimate sources of supply so that it will be in a position to make the best choice of men.

In order to fill the need of men who cannot afford to go to college, extension courses are offered in some of the larger cities, by Columbia, the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania, and others. These extension courses generally exist with the coöperation of employers, and indeed, depend on that coöperation. As an illustration of the regard in which employers hold the extension school, the story is told of a barber who worked in one of the hotels; and attended the evening classes. Among his patrons were men well up in the industrial and commercial world. Soon after it was known that he was taking the extension course, he was offered a job by one of these men; a position much superior to the one he was then occupying. Thus, such coöperative activi-

ties not only improve the sources of supply but also single out the man worthy of promotion.

Working along this same line, we find evening schools conducted by colleges and Christian Associations. These, too, as a general rule, receive the hearty support of employers.

One of the most successful fields for the organization of a labor source has been found in the high schools. Thus the Curtis Publishing Company of Philadelphia, through its employment department, aims to keep in personal touch with the principals of all the schools in the city. The company, as far as possible, tries to acquaint the various school heads with the type of girl or boy it requires. When a position opens, it is a relatively simple matter to call up the principal of one of the schools and obtain a suitable person for the job.

In some cases the school systems are largely moulded by the industries or industry of the town. Such a case exists in South Manchester, Connecticut, where the Cheney Silk Mills are located. The Cheney mills found that employes who were graduates from schools in Manchester had not been well trained or thoroughly grounded in some of the fundamentals of education. Accordingly the mills made an offer to the town authorities, that, provided the town kept up its appropriation, they would contribute enough more to bring the schools up to standard. This offer was accepted by the town authorities and they follow, to a large extent, suggestions laid down by the mills.

In this connection, perhaps the bulk of the work has been done by the department stores. Strawbridge and Clothier of Philadelphia, for instance, have an arrangement with the William Penn High School of that city, whereby a number of girls, during vacation time of each year, act as part of the selling force of the store. The Dennison Manufacturing Company, in order to train girls for work in its office, each summer provides employment for a number of high school students. These girls are given positions, whether there is any particular need for them or not. The company feels that the results justify the expense to which it is put. Possibly the most extensive work has been done in Boston under the auspices of Simmons College and the Women's Educational and Industrial Union. By coöperation with such concerns as the following: Jordan Marsh Co., Gilchrist Co., Shepard Co., Wm.

Filene Sons Co., R. H. White Co., E. T. Slattery Co., there has been established a School of Salesmanship. The students are selected from the regular selling force, and must be approved by the store superintendent and the director of the schools. Girls who have had a high school training are preferred. Tuition is free and students attend the school without reduction of wages. The course occupies three hours each day, and is extended for three months. Courses in salesmanship, important features of textiles, color and design, economics, arithmetic, personal hygiene, English and merchandise, aim to teach, as part of the purpose of the course, "right thinking towards the work as a profession and to arouse a feeling of responsibility and interest." The work is supplemented by practical talks by a store representative. Similar courses in salesmanship are open, also, to the students in nine of the Boston High Schools. These, too, coöperate with the stores. Many of the girls work in the stores on Saturday, or even on Monday if their school record be good enough to warrant the absence.

Simmons College and the Union also offer a year's course for teachers of salesmanship and related subjects. This is fundamental, because in a great many places where the coöperation of stores and industrial plants with the schools might be brought about, there is not a sufficient supply of teachers for the schools. By teachers, we mean teachers with the proper training. A high official of one of our largest manufacturing concerns made the statement not long ago, that work in their instruction schools is more or less handicapped by the fact that it is almost impossible to find teachers who can instruct the classes in the subjects with which the company desires particularly to have them conversant.

There is still another way in which the schools and manufacturers may coöperate. The Cass Technical High School of Detroit has worked out a series of specifications for particular jobs. If a man wants to be a machinist he follows out one set of specifications. If he wants to be an electrician he is trained after a different formula. This particular school was among the first in this field, and has perhaps done more than almost any other in helping to bring about some specific training for certain jobs, before the candidate enters upon his service.

This sort of organization is not confined entirely to high school students. A great many children never get beyond the grades.

In order to enable the members of this group to carry their studies further, a system of continuation schools has been started. Continuation schools may be of two kinds: (a) compulsory, (b) voluntary. The former may or may not be of assistance to any one manufacturer, except in the general improvement due to better education. Almost every state now requires that working boys and girls between the ages of 14 and 16, be allowed to attend school, during business hours, a certain number of hours each week. In a school of this kind, there is a constant demand for teachers who are able to give courses dealing with the practical side of life, along with the fundamentals.

Voluntary continuation schools are chiefly of the part time variety. In some instances colleges and high schools, by coöperation with manufacturers, arrange to have their students spend part of each day doing actual practical work in the factory. The report of the Committee on School Inquiry, City of New York, gives a very comprehensive statement of this coöperative plan as it exists in the New York high schools. The University of Cincinnati applies this same plan to its men of university grade.

Perhaps the real voluntary continuation schools are those carried on within the factory. Some of these have already been mentioned in passing. Another instance is the J. G. Brill Company of Philadelphia, which established such a school just a year ago.

The problem of vocational education is one on which, at the present time, a great deal of stress is being laid. One of the most extensive studies in this direction which has been carried on has been made in Richmond, Virginia. This city has made a study of the several trades, printing, building, plumbing, metal trades, etc., and has made, in coöperation with employers, suggestions in regard to the kind of education which is suited to the needs of each case. It recognizes that the bulk of the work must be done either in part time or evening schools, in order to reach the majority of the workers. It recommends that these schools be of two types: (a) of the general order, (b) of the industrial order. It is worth while to stop and point out specifically some of the lines of training in the latter group. For the *moulders*, for instance, the following courses are recommended: (a) Shop mathematics; (b) Properties and composition of irons and alloys, with special reference to furnace

fixtures; (c) Outlines of history of iron making; (d) First aid for burns and care of health in foundry conditions.

*For machinists:* (a) Shop mathematics, with special reference to calculation of working speeds, feeds and measuring instruments; (b) Mechanical drawing with special reference to machine parts; (c) Elements of mechanism; (d) Properties of metals with special reference to high and low carbon steels; (e) Designs of jigs and shop appliances; (f) Theory and practice of cutting tools; (g) Construction of various specialized machine tools.

Nor was this study entirely confined to trades in which men predominate. With the exception of offices and department stores, the white girls in Richmond are employed in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits. These operations can in the main be more quickly and satisfactorily learned in the factory than in the school, largely because the school lacks trade information. The *Survey* does not believe that a trade school is the answer to this. It recommends that courses, aimed to train in the practical arts, be added to the general education of girls over 13 years of age. This training is to begin in prevocational courses in the upper courses in the upper grades of elementary schools. In making this recommendation the *Survey* recognizes it is without precedent, but it is simply used to meet Richmond conditions.

A similar survey to that carried on in Richmond was made in Minneapolis, Minnesota. Both of these instances simply illustrate the general movement toward a more efficient lining up of workers for various specific trades and occupations through the coöperation of employers with educators and other public officials.

While the schools of various sorts are the largest single factor by which this particular phase of the employment problem has been met, they are by no means the entire story.

Next in order for consideration are the employment bureaus. These are of two kinds, namely: public and private. Of the latter type little need be said. Some are good, some bad—mostly the latter.

Public bureaus have been in existence since 1892. At first they served as a labor market, a place where the employer could make known his wants, and where the employe might find a job. In the course of time, because the bureaus have served in a large measure only the unskilled laborer, people have come to look upon

them as public clearing houses for that sort of worker. But gradually this attitude has been changed. The bureau which has probably done most to effect this alteration is located in Cleveland. This bureau has attracted equally the employer of the skilled and unskilled operator, the day laborer and the college graduate. This is so unusual that it is worth while to consider the plan of the Cleveland bureau more at length. Briefly stated it is as follows:

(1) By taking over all the scattered employment bureaus maintained by Y. M. C. A.'s, etc., the labor market is centralized. The finances of the bureau are maintained by the state, the city and by private funds.

(2) To centralize a community of interest. This is brought about by coöperation of the employer, labor organization and others particularly interested.

(3) To investigate both the employers and the applicants. This work has been particularly effective in cases where girls were to be employed.

(4) To follow up the applicants that are placed for the period of one year. This tends to make the bureau pick, through its experience, a round peg for a round hole. It also makes the successful candidate work harder on the job.

The advantages of a bureau such as this are: (a) it commands the confidence of both the person to be employed and the employer; and (b) by thus combining the efforts of all, a great deal of unemployment with its accompanying economic waste may be cut down; (c) a lot of preliminary interviewing may be saved the employment manager. So successful has been the work of this office, that in the girls' and women's bureau alone, of the 38,849 people who applied, 15,392 received jobs, and some 19,000 were referred to positions. The work showed an increase of 45 per cent over the previous years. Thus the employment departments in Cleveland have a dependable source of supply on which they can call at any time. It is to be regretted that Cleveland stands almost alone in this respect.

Still another factor which operates toward a dependable labor supply is the employers' relations with one another. The Employment Managers' Association in Boston has demonstrated the value of these associations in regard to one particular subject. This group has agreed that since through their connection with each

other they see over the whole field, the right position shall have the right man irrespective of his present firm. That is, a firm may have an able man whose advancement is obstructed by the man ahead; if an advantageous position opens with another concern his employer sees that the man gets the better job. This works to the advantage of both the man who hires and the man who is to be hired. The former gets a good man, and the latter is no longer dependent upon the decease of the man ahead for his promotion. On first view, this is an excellent scheme, but its efficacy is questioned by many business men. Few firms are willing to let a good man go, even for his own advantage, when his departure will be a loss to the concern involved. But at least, the idea betokens a healthy change in a city where the employes of department stores were once threatened with discharge if they even talked with a representative of another store.

All the methods which we have so far discussed, have been more or less indirect. One firm has tried the very direct method of canvassing the territory adjacent to its plant, in order to be assured of a steady source of labor. Instances of this practise thoroughly carried out are rare.

But schools, employment bureaux and the rest deal with workers who are coming in from the outside. Is there not a source of labor supply to be organized within your own organization? The answer is obviously, "Yes."

In any plant, the friends of the people who are working in the plant form an ever-present supply. Some concerns indeed rely on this almost entirely. The Dennison Manufacturing Company, for instance, gets its information about a man to be employed, not so much from his former employer, as from employes within its own plant who are friends of the applicant.

There is this to be said. We are all conversant with the old adage anent to birds of a feather. If by better selection and better training, we are able to get better employes, shall we not through the operation of the tendency discussed above, be able to gradually raise our entire force to a higher level? That is, if selection and training improve the type, almost automatically the source from which the type is drawn will improve.'

Within the organization itself, promotions and transfers often unearth a man whose light had been hid under a bushel. Mr.



Reilly of the Dennison Manufacturing Company in another section of this issue has shown what his company has done in this respect.

The Western Electric Company, which has already been mentioned, aims to promote men from its own ranks as far as possible. When a vacancy occurs, the man next in line is first considered for the position. This has resulted in the filling of many important positions with comparatively young men, but the company has been sufficiently successful under their direction to warrant confidence in this policy.

In the problem of employment management, one or two concerns have stood out prominently as laying stress on the human factor. The reputation for this has gone abroad, and these concerns find that very reputation a means of having always on hand the type of operatives they most desire. Thus the Feiss Company of Cleveland experiences no difficulty, at the present time, in getting all the workers of the sort it wants. Hart, Shaffner and Marx of Chicago are in the same position. The people who are going to apply for work know beforehand what the company expects of them, and what, in turn, the company will do for them. A great many are mechanically eliminated without the necessity of even going to the factory. Of those who do apply at the factory and get positions, the majority seem to stick, as witness the small labor turnover.

The work of the labor unions along this line of endeavor has been practically negligible. It is an angle of approach which, for some reason or other, seems to have been entirely omitted.

A widely known professor in one of our larger universities once made the statement that he was always glad to see a member of the teaching staff go. That no matter who he was, the stimulus which a new man brought into the organization, more than offset the effects of the first man's leaving. Possibly this overstates the case, but everyone recognizes that new blood is of value to any organization. Let us not carry a good thing too far and over-stabilize our working forces. But by organizing the source of labor supply, it is hoped that the value of new blood will be infinitely enhanced. But as regards the problem in general, so far we have merely ruffled the surface.

## PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT BUREAUS AND THEIR RELATION TO MANAGERS OF EMPLOYMENT IN INDUSTRY

BY HILDA MUHLHAUSER,

Director, Girls' & Women's Bureau, State-City Labor Exchange, Cleveland.

For many years, indeed since 1892, public employment bureaus have sprung into existence to provide a clearing house for the employer and the unemployed—a labor market where the employer could make known his demands and the seekers after work could make known their abilities. As time has gone on, the public employment bureaus have come to serve almost entirely the common labor market, so that the American public today looks upon these bureaus as a clearing house, not for all the laboring classes, but for that portion whose work is entirely of a physical nature. Gradually, however, the standard once set by public employment bureaus is being raised; even as these bureaus are ceasing to be located in basements and are being placed on the ground floors, so are they now compelling the industrial world to realize that they do stand on the ground floor in this modern cycle of industrial unrest and overwhelming unemployment. Of the public employment bureaus in America (not including private employment bureaus), only one has undertaken the tremendous task of raising the entire standard of public employment bureaus so as to meet the need of the managers of employment in industry. I refer to the Cleveland office which not only is a center for the laborer and the employer demanding skilled and unskilled labor, but is also a magnet that draws to it the college graduate, the specialized men and women who never before dreamed of using a public employment office. A vocational guidance department, a recreation and also an immigration department, mark this Cleveland office as unique among the public employment bureaus in the country, and the Cleveland idea is but a beginning in the vast plan that shall eventually make the public employment bureau the great tool at the command of the managers of employment in industry.

The Cleveland plan briefly stated is this: First, to centralize the labor market by taking over all the employment departments of separate organizations, such as the Young Women's Christian Association, the settlements and institutions. Included in this group of independent organizations was the Vocational Guidance Bureau, the forerunner of the present Girls' & Women's Bureau, which, as a private organization maintained by private funds, was consolidated with the women's department of the State-City Labor Exchange. As a result of this combination the Girls' & Women's Bureau of Cleveland began to carry on in a vital and effective way its centralized work. Financial support was secured from both the state of Ohio and the city of Cleveland. In spite of the fact that both their budgets were reduced to comply with their platform of economy, the state and city granted initial funds this year to carry on our work. The Bureau, therefore, is financed by city, state, and private funds.

After an investigation of private employment agencies was made, we found that many of these agencies were not only misrepresenting the positions they offered, but were actually sending girls to houses of ill-repute. Although the private agencies fought us through the courts, a city ordinance was adopted on February 15, 1915, regulating private employment agencies. As a result of this ordinance, thirteen of the thirty-five agencies failed to comply with the regulations and disbanded.

Our next step was to centralize community interest, to secure the cooperation of employers, labor organizations and interested individuals. In order that our Bureau obtain as broad a view of conditions as possible our advisory board, which met monthly, was composed of representatives of labor and capital and local organizations such as social settlements and the chamber of commerce, the retail merchants' board and the federation of labor. The vital problems involved in the placing of girls and women were discussed and many ideas of immediate practical value often had their birth at these meetings. For instance, at the time of the garment strike we decided that our position as a public employment bureau was not to side with either the manufacturers or the strikers, but to avoid sending girls to those factories involved without first telling them the exact conditions prevailing. Our fair attitude on this question won for us the approval of both sides.

It was always our policy to investigate employers' calls, and our survey of Cleveland industries, carefully and thoroughly made, enabled us to do intelligent placing. We secured all information concerning hours, wages, sanitary conditions, busy seasons and opportunities for advancement. We faithfully live up to our slogan: "Never send a girl to an uninvestigated place." Thus, through personal investigation, we are able to save the girl from the possibility of exploitation.

Not only do we investigate employers but also all applicants for work. Our corps of investigators includes a group of twenty-five trained workers, many of whom volunteer their services.<sup>1</sup> We secured the industrial and home record of all girls. We went even further, and secured the coöperation of school teachers who sent to us those children who intended to leave school. Our vocational guidance department often prevailed upon these young folks to stay in school, and in many instances, when financial stress prevented them from continuing their education, we provided scholarships through a fund established by the Federation of Women's Clubs.

Our follow-up work, finding out what becomes of those applicants we place, is continuously done for one year after they enter industry.

The result of our complete records was an understanding of each applicant, which, while unobtainable by employers, was absolutely invaluable to them. For instance, if an employment manager, for some economic reason or as a matter of preference, wished to secure girls who were living at home, there was no avenue through which he could obtain such girls other than our Bureau. Thus progressive employment managers came to realize that one way of reducing the labor turnover of girls and women was by having a personal interest in them as well as by securing in return the vital active interest of the employe in her work. To this end the employers found the Girls' & Women's Bureau an essential factor for the efficiency of their own business, and in one month 17,000 calls for girls and women were received. In time, perhaps,

<sup>1</sup> The class in Sociology of Western Reserve University also give volunteer service to the Girls' & Women's Bureau under the supervision of the director. They do special investigating and receive credit in their college course for this work.

all employment managers will come to realize the value of using public employment bureaus. Think of the time wasted by employment managers in interviewing the applicants, many altogether unqualified, who flock in large numbers in response to newspaper advertisements or help-wanted bulletins. Consider, too, from an economic standpoint the saving it would be to employers to forego the large item of expense involved in advertising by utilizing a Bureau such as ours, conducted in a fair and intelligent manner.

Why is it necessary thus to build and create ideal public employment bureaus; why is it important in this modern day of advertising with all the many avenues for reaching and securing labor, why should the public employment bureaus be *the* central exchange where labor and capital shall meet and bargain? First of all, because the public employment bureau commands the confidence of the workingman and woman which the private bureau and, in most cases, the employment managers themselves have failed to gain. Just as a mother trustingly sends her child to public school because she has faith in the state, just as men send representatives to Congress having faith in the nation, so does labor send her children of modern industry trustingly to the public employment bureau knowing they have but to knock and they will be admitted to the house of opportunity.

Secondly, that great waste which every year in normal times constitutes over 3,000,000 able-bodied men out of work at least three months of the year, that great economic waste, can at least partially be stemmed by the joint efforts of all the public employment bureaus. At the first conference on employment held in San Francisco August 2, called by Hon. W. B. Wilson, United States Secretary of Labor, the nucleus of a plan was drawn whereby all city, state and federal bureaus, all public employment bureaus, shall be linked together in one unending chain of opportunity for the unemployed. A committee of twelve was appointed representing the city, state and federal groups which shall work out plans in detail for carrying out this great nation-wide idea; the central thought being to bring the man and the job together, not only in one state, but in every state; to bring the supply of labor

to that place where there is a demand; to transfer the oversupply of labor to those localities where it can be utilized.<sup>2</sup>

With such concentrated and widespread effort as this city-state-federal plan involves, the managers must realize that the public employment bureaus are a force and power in the labor market of the country, and, knowing this, cannot afford to ignore them in the vast employment departments in industry. Everyone is crying out in protest against the wasteful labor turnover, employers and managers are seeking some solution to this drag on the wheels of modern industry.

I firmly believe, and others who have given the matter a great deal of thought agree with me, that if the managers of employment in industry and the leaders of city-state-federal employment bureaus would get together, the cylinder through which this waste flows unstemmed would have a bottom and a top to check the shifting labor conditions. The public employment bureaus being the bottom would stop the leakage caused by the inability of the employe to find the place for which he is best fitted. The employment managers would be the top, conserving the best ability which they have thus secured, so as to keep it from flowing out only to be turned over and over.

True it is that seasonal occupations are a factor in contributing to the cause of unemployment. But if we would give the question our best thought, even this great obstacle might be partially removed. If a man picks cotton in the southern cotton fields for a short season only, why not send him, when that work is completed, to the place where he can do other work of a similar nature? And

<sup>2</sup> Committee members—Chairman, Ethelbert Stewart, chief statistician of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics; Secretary, Miss Hilda Muhlhauser, Director Girls' & Women's Bureau, State-City Labor Exchange, Cleveland; C. L. Green, U. S. Department Labor, Inspector in charge employment and distribution, U. S. Barge Office, New York City; Dr. P. L. Prentis, Inspector in charge U. S. Immigration Service, Chicago; Henry M. White, U. S. Commissioner Immigration, Seattle; Charles B. Barnes, Director Bureau of Employment, 381 Fourth Ave., New York City; Justin F. Denechaud, Secretary, State Board of Immigration, New Orleans; Luke McCoy, Secretary, Illinois Bureau of Labor Statistics, Springfield, Ill.; Edward W. Olson, State Labor Commissioner, Olympia, Washington; H. J. Beckerle, Superintendent, public employment bureau, Milwaukee, Wis.; Harry Donoho, Superintendent, municipal free employment bureau, Los Angeles, Cal.; G. Harry Dunderdale, Superintendent, city employment bureau, Boston, Mass.

if 5,000 miners are out of work in Pennsylvania due to lack of mining there, why not send them to Ohio or West Virginia where there is a demand? The United States Secretary of Labor hopes to have a bill put through Congress making it possible for the railroads to grant reduced rates to such men and also to women, who are leaving one place to find work in another under city, state or federal guidance. This will be a great common denominator in the labor equation.

The employment managers in industry should utilize this vital force and cooperate in carrying out this plan. Of course there may be danger places, the question of unions and other organizations will arise, but only by the combined efforts of employment managers, railroad magnates, labor unions and city-state-federal employment bureaus, can any scheme for the distribution of labor be successful. Just as a small employment bureau, if it be successful, invites the cooperation of all elements concerned or effected, so must this larger plan of distribution when launched, be manned by a crew of sturdy thinkers and workers on the wild tossing sea of industrial competition and labor unrest.

The managers of employment in industry cannot possibly solve the question alone, the government cannot solve it alone, the laborer cannot solve it alone, capital cannot solve it alone, even with commerce and opportunity by its side, but the moulding together of all these elements in the great melting pot of cooperation, stirred by the master resource, shall in the end produce the well-balanced figures of labor and capital hand in hand on the heights of the world, with their child satisfaction peacefully following after them.

## WRITTEN SPECIFICATIONS FOR HIRING

By R. J. BURKE,  
Detroit Steel Products Co.

The essential function and purpose of written specifications for hiring is to define and describe man and job and their mutual relation, so as to afford a working basis of common agreement and understanding among the directly interested personnel of the organization.

Written specifications for hiring are largely a product and result of modern scientific management. The spirit and program of this form of management is best evidenced by the writings and practical work of Emerson, Taylor, Gilbreth, etc. In substance their aim and ideal is to standardize, functionalize and generally organize plant, equipment, personnel, etc., to best practicable advantage. Mr. Harrington Emerson defines efficiency as the right thing, done in the right manner, by the right man, at the right place and in the right time. It is quite manifest that Mr. Emerson has built his whole definition around and on the personal element. The right thing, the right manner, the right place, the right time are "right" by virtue of being predetermined, recorded standards and it logically follows, therefore, that the "right man" must be so by accepted definition and description.

In purchasing materials a certain quantity and quality is secured for a certain price and the material is usually bought because best adapted for its particular, intended use. Specifications are drawn up giving exact kind, sizes, dimensions, etc., as required by intended use and for given money.

In purchasing labor, does not the same relation between commodity, service, and price hold true? Labor should be purchased solely because the individual man has attributes, qualities and degree of fitness that make him an efficient selection for the particular job at an economical price.

The employer, whose motive for being in business is generally to make a profit, does not want to pay for any more or less ability than he can use, and as a good business man should not. His



specific work calls for certain essential qualifications and he wants the best that the market affords at a price. Therefore the value from the business man's point of view of having written specifications which outline what the job is and is not, and describe what the individual should be and need not be, is obvious. If these specifications were scientifically drawn up and followed closely and intelligently in the selection of help the result would be to fit the right man in the right job at the right price. This would then seem to be a fundamental method and remedy to reduce the labor turnover. Also, of assuring to the employer that he is getting and paying for his labor on a basis of set service and performance, and if, as a result of such happy selection, each man found more joy in his work and pride in its performance, it would be a large step toward industrial idealism.

It is desirable that the specifications be written by one person, who should have good power of synthesis and analysis, a philosophic, judicial mind, and of course the literary ability to give in so many words an accurate, reliable and adequate description and definition.

If the plant or organization to be dealt with in this way has not already an organization chart or tree one should first be drawn up. This should show the structure of the business by divisions, sections and departments and list the special classes and kinds of work within each so that a title may be given each operation or "job" for which somebody is usually hired. As, "power press hands," or, if it is thought advisable to attempt a finer and more elaborate division,—power press A, power press B, etc.

Following is a representative list of such titles used to cover all jobs in one of the press departments of a large metal ware business:

- 1 Foreman.
- 1 Solderer.
- 1 Die setter.
- 2 Power press "A."
- 3 Power press "B."
- 1 Power press "C."
- 2 Bench hands.
- 3 Foot press hands.

When the various jobs have been classified by title or designation in each department and the one who is to write the specifica-

tions has obtained at least a fair acquaintance with the general nature, organization and aspects of the business the following method of attack is suggested.

First, select some particular department and after ascertaining from competent authority its general kind of work and relation to the other departments, spend some time watching the employes at work, observe their motions, efforts, habits, system. *What they do and how they do it.* Talk with several employes and get their idea and description of their respective jobs, as well as of the department as a whole. It is also a good plan to get the opinions and ideas of persons not directly engaged in any work in that department but who in the course of business come more or less in contact with some phase of its activities.

Note the physical surroundings and general conditions. Make copious notes.

The next step is to analyze the various jobs from the point of what they do and *why* they do it. Then having satisfied ourselves of what is necessary and essential, a rough definition may be drawn. This should cover in general a description of the particular job and what would seem to be required by way of specific person to fill the job,—the physical, intellectual and character essentials. When completed this should be submitted for the opinion of those engaged, directly or indirectly, in the work. More often than not several changes will be found necessary because *reading* the description as a whole, often points out misstatements and inadequacies to the man in the shop whose mind is not always organized to fully and exactly express himself in conversation.

It is a chief consideration to be well borne in mind that each specification, before being adopted, should have as full and sincere *understanding* and *approval* of those who are to have authority over the person described, as can be had by a practical accommodation of the various ideas and opinions into one single definition. This allows for all the advantages that accrue from a spirit of common council and makes for the successful use of the specifications.

It is also a good plan to make express statement of what the employe need not be so as to check, if possible, the petty notions and prejudices of some and make clear the intentions of the management. This would cover politics, religion, race, nationality, etc.

To those interested in work of this kind, I would suggest that they read Dr. Blackford's book, *The Job, The Man, The Boss*, and especially Hugo Munsterburg's *Psychology and Industrial Efficiency*. The point of view of both is interesting and should be of considerable help to anyone engaged in the writing of specifications for hiring.

Following are a few sample specifications of a foreman, a press hand, and a factory planner, respectively.

*Foreman*

Department X—Section X

Ideal: all Foremen

Dependable, willing competent man who can strike best practicable adjustment between the factors of maximum production, minimum time, most efficient motion, least effort, best quality and promote "Spirit of the Hive" by reciprocity, coöperation and mutuality.

*Storekeeper* Department 233

Department X—Section X

Storekeeper: Ideal, See Department No. 15, "Foreman"

Has charge and immediate supervision of all raw stock used in works. He receives same from cars and disposes of it as requisitioned. A practical familiarity with tin plate, sheet and band iron, wire, rivets, etc., is, therefore, essential, that he may be able to measure, gauge and identify general quality and grade of same. He must be intelligent enough to read and write, understand and appreciate the purpose and function of such clerical forms as requisitions, manifests, etc., used in shipment of ware from plate mill to machine he delivers same to, and have a good command of the ordinary arithmetic operations, reading and writing. He should have a good visual memory, a regard for the systematic arrangement and efficient location of his material, and a close knowledge of same.

As a foreman he must be able to direct and "get the work out of" a gang of common, ordinary laborers. To some extent he must have the gruff personality to command the respect, get the enthusiasm and confidence of men of this class, and type. He should be patient and even-tempered enough to be constantly "bothered" for material and readjustment, etc., and yet ready to

serve the production end at every opportunity; must speak English, and Polish, if possible; must have absolute integrity and honesty.

*Power Press "A"*

Department X

**Power Press "A":**

Should have had experience on small press and bench machines or work similar—to acquire knack, carefulness and speed rather than any special skill. Physically such operatives should have considerable endurance and stamina for the work is in itself machine-like, and 90 per cent of it is done on the feet. Height about 5 feet 2 inches to 5 feet 5 inches, with weight proportionate—sturdy physique and from 17 to 19 years of age. Good muscular coördination and of such order of intelligence as is satisfied and inclined to reduce its work to terms of continuous, single-grooved habit.

As a natural corollary it is obvious, therefore, that an over-responsive, overkeyed, nervous organization would be dangerous, on account of accidents, and would also make the work disagreeable, and hence, not a "good job" from employe's standpoint. To make for a permanent force, other things being equal, it is very essential that the intelligence be not overactive or imaginative, and that the employe be such as would consider himself acquiring nothing beyond his expected stipend and the knowledge of running that kind of machine.

As a general proposition he must be plastic enough to fit into the spirit as required above by definition of a foreman and, therefore, not "fresh or a smart Aleck."

*Factory Planner*

Department X

**Factory Planner:**

Might be defined as a factory clerk, experienced and familiar with the general ware, its special kinds, sizes and classification by item and having an appreciation of the general process and sequence of manufacture, seasonal variations, shop practicalities, sufficient to program a miscellaneous volume of work with most efficient net result. He must be able to tactfully obtain, organize and put into effective motion the active coöperation of each foreman and therefore, have adequate, reliable and immediate knowl-

edge, records and aides (as an order and progress clerk), so that he can further and, possibly, check the quality and extent of the foreman's coöperation. The progress file and schedule-of-work record run by the planner on orders pending, in process and available is in large measure arranged and built on the accepted promises of the foremen in consultation with the planner, and is adapted as closely as circumstances permit to the demands of the general storekeeper, hence, good power of analysis and synthesis, ability to form a safe average judgment, tactful persistence and a retentive memory are essential qualifications of the planner.

The ideal planner would have a thorough appreciation of the full possibilities of men (*i.e.*, labor); equipment (machines); supervisory forces and responsibility and be able to strike the best practicable adjustment between the desired volume of production, various elements of time, promises given and accepted, departmental and factory coördination, and obtain maximum production and quality in minimum time and cost, with least effort and waste to the various factors of production.

As an organization the planning office might be likened to a clearing house and in its most undeveloped state as simply a place of clerical record, for immediate and reliable reference of the superintendent, of orders pending, in process and available, and a place where the respective foremen obtain their data. Logically, the chief planner should develop and evolve from the organization.

## SELECTION OF EMPLOYEES BY MEANS OF QUANTITATIVE DETERMINATIONS

BY WALTER DILL SCOTT, PH.D.,

Department of Psychology, Northwestern University.

### *Non-Quantitative*

Historically it has been the practice of many commercial and industrial organizations to recuperate their forces of employees by the employment of young boys and girls as helpers for menial service. The wages paid these employees were small and no careful selection was deemed essential. These helpers were given no systematic instruction. There was no plan in routing them from one position to another in order that they might learn the whole or any significant part of the business. Promotion from the ranks was insisted upon in many instances even though no attention was given to preparation for such promotions. The children who accepted such positions were frequently those who had already failed in school. Their failures were mainly due to lack of interest in school work and this lack of interest could usually be traced to a lack of native intellectual ability. The ranks were, therefore, filled by many who had already proven themselves to be incompetents. No attempt was made to make the most of this defective native ability and yet the executive assumed that the higher positions must be filled by recruits from this untrained group of intellectual weaklings. This absurd method of selection is still in existence in many firms.

In certain houses the selection was based upon an inadequate estimation of the technical ability of the applicant. This ability was judged by the number and nature of positions previously held or by a sample performance on the part of the applicant. This sample performance in some cases meant a try-out for one or more days.

In some instances the native ability of the applicants has been estimated but inadequately. This judgment was based on the ability of the applicant as expressed in general terms by friends or by some statement as to the grade in school to which the applicant

had attained. Not infrequently the statements as to the intellectual ability were supplemented by general statements as to the moral character and health.

In all the methods thus far referred to no records were kept of the findings of the employer and, in fact, no records could be kept because none of the findings were reduced to quantitative determinations or any sort of terms of measurement.

### *Quantitative Determinations*

During the last two years the writer has been attempting to reduce to quantitative determination all methods heretofore used in selecting employees and to supplement these where necessary.

One factor frequently recognized in the selection of employees is that of the *Previous Record*, but unfortunately this very important factor is frequently regarded as useless because of the impossibility of securing trustworthy and useable information from previous employers. In attempting to secure more trustworthy and useable information the following blank has been devised and used successfully.

.....1916

.....  
.....

DEAR SIR:

Mr.....of.....has applied to us for a position as salesman and given you as reference. He states that he was employed by you as..... for a period.....

Will you please advise whether this information is correct?  
.....

Why did the applicant leave your employment? .....  
.....

Please place a check mark in the space below that indicates the character of his service:

	Good	Fair	Unsatisfactory
Work.....	( )	( )	( )
Conduct.....	( )	( )	( )
Ability.....	( )	( )	( )
Character.....	( )	( )	( )

Would you be willing to re-employ him? .....

Would you recommend him for the position applied for?

.....  
 Out of ten men filling the position which the applicant held with you, what would be his comparative rank? .....  
 (If he would be the best, please mark his rank 1; if the poorest, please mark his rank 10; this estimate is of course only an approximation, but we will greatly appreciate your best judgment in the matter.)

Sincerely yours,

This blank does not encourage the former employer to use general and meaningless expressions, but whatever he says may be readily used in quantitative determinations. Unfortunately a great flexibility seems necessary in the use of the blank but where possible a demand is made that this blank should be filled out in full by the three last employers if the applicant has had that many. With these blanks before him the employment manager can change the data to a percentage basis. For instance: if all the previous employers fill in all the blanks under "Good" and put a (1) in the last paragraph, the applicant is then given 100 per cent on Previous Record. Corresponding percentages are given for all the various combinations found in the blank.

The *Physical Condition* of the applicant is judged by an experienced physician who makes his reports in quantitative terms. His viewpoint is not that of longevity but of health and vitality in relation to the service to be performed. The applicant whose physical organism seems best adapted for the type of work contemplated would be given 100 per cent on physical condition. Anything less than an ideal physical organism is graded less than 100 per cent depending upon the degree of defectiveness. Although experiments have been carried on, as here indicated, satisfactory results have not yet been secured, but, at least, a good beginning has been made.

The *Native Intellectual Ability* of the applicant is determined by means of a series of mental tests which test, not the learning, but the native ability. The series of tests employed are adjusted to the general type of applicants and the nature of the service to be rendered. For some positions emphasis is placed on inventive ability, on others tact, on others initiative, on others quickness of



thought, etc. The applicant is then graded by a percentage figure indicating the native ability in each of the qualities under consideration; as well as by a single figure to express the entire native intellectual ability so far as tested. The blank here reproduced is one that has been used with good success in testing salesmen for several organizations. The applicant is given 100 per cent in speed if he completes the blank in ten minutes; 0 per cent if he completes it in 60 minutes; 50 per cent if he completes it in 35 minutes, etc. He is given a grade of 100 per cent in accuracy if he makes no errors. Correspondingly lower grades are given for various mistakes or numbers of mistakes. No attempt has been made to determine definitely the particular mental ability tested by this blank. Although its use has been discontinued because of improved substitutes it might well be given as a fair sample. It was never given except as one of a series of tests, as no adequate conclusion can be based on the findings of a single test.

## TEST I.

*Read the General Directions before you do anything else.*

## General Directions:

Do what the printed instructions tell you to do.

Do not ask the examiner any questions about the examination.

Do not ask any other person who is taking the examination any questions or watch anyone to see what he or she does.

Work as rapidly as you can *without making any mistakes*.

If you do make a mistake, correct it neatly.

Do 1 first, then 2, then 3, and so on.

1. Write your name and permanent address here.

.....  
 .....

## Instructions for 2, 3 and 4:

After each word printed below you are to write some word, according to the further directions. Write plainly, but as quickly as you can. If you cannot think of the right word in about 3 seconds, *go ahead to the next*.

- |   |  |   |
|---|--|---|
| 2. Write the <i>opposites</i> of the words in this column, as shown in the first three. | 3. Write words that fit the words in this column, in the way shown in the first three. | 4. Write words that tell what sort of a thing each thing named is, as shown in the first three. |
|---|--|---|

good—*bad*  
 day—*night*  
 up—*down*  
 long—  
 soft—  
 white—

drink—*water*  
 ask—*questions*  
 subtract—*numbers*  
 sing—  
 build—  
 wear—

lily—*flower*  
 blue—*color*  
 diamond—*jewel*  
 oak—  
 measles—  
 July—

far—  
up—  
smooth—  
early—  
dead—  
hot—  
asleep—

shoot—  
scold—  
win—  
answer—  
weave—  
wink—  
mend—

shark—  
quinine—  
beef—  
canoe—  
banana—  
Atlantic—  
Alps—

5. Add 17 to each of these numbers. Write the answers as shown in the first three.

29	46	
18	35	
60	77	
64		61
49		71
62		33
57		38
68		28
74		65
53		41
67		50
25		42
40		58

6. Get the answers to these problems as quickly as you can.

1. What number minus 16 equals 20?
2. A man spent  $\frac{3}{4}$  of his money and had \$8 left. How much had he at first?
3. At 15 cents a yard, how much will 7 feet of cloth cost?
4. A man bought land for \$100. He sold it for \$120, gaining \$5 an acre. How many acres were there?
5. If  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a gallon of oil costs 9 cents, what will 7 gallons cost?

7. Write opposites for this column, as shown in the first three. If you cannot think of the right word in about 10 seconds, go ahead to the next.

bravery—*cowardice*  
friend—*enemy*  
true—*false*

serious—  
grand—  
to win—  
to respect—  
frequently—  
to lack—  
apart—  
stormy—  
motion—  
forcible—  
straight—  
to hold—  
after—  
to float—  
rough—  
to bless—  
to take—  
exciting—  
clumsy—  
unless—

8. Write in each line a fourth word that fits the third word in that line in the way that the second word fits the first, as shown in the first three lines. If you cannot think of the right word in about 10 seconds, go ahead.

color—red; name—*John*  
page—book; handle—*knife*  
fire—burns; soldiers—*fight*

eye—see; ear—  
Monday—Tuesday; April—  
do—did; see—  
bird—sings; dog—  
hour—minute; minute—  
straw—hat; leather—  
cloud—rain; sun—  
hammer—tool; dictionary—  
uncle—*aunt*; brother—  
dog—puppy; cat—  
little—less; much—  
wash—face; sweep—  
house—room; book—  
sky—blue; grass—  
swim—water; fly—  
once—one; twice—  
cat—fur; bird—  
pan—tin; table—  
buy—sell; come—  
oyster—shell; banana—

9. Do what it says to do as quickly as you can, but be careful to notice just what it does say.

With your pencil make a dot over any one of these letters *P O H I J*, and a comma after the longest of these three words: *boy mother girl*. Then, if Christmas comes in March, make a cross right here.... but if not, pass along to the next question, and tell where the sun rises..... If you believe that Edison discovered America, cross out what you just wrote, but if it was some one else, put in a number to complete this sentence: "A horse has .... feet." Write *yes*, no matter whether China is in Africa or not ....; and then give a wrong answer to this question: "How many days are there in the week?"..... Write any letter except *g* just after this comma, and then write *no* if 2 times 5 are 10..... Now, if Tuesday comes after Monday, make

two crosses here.....; but if not, make a circle here..... or else a square here..... Be sure to make three crosses between these two names of boys: *George..... Henry*. Notice these two numbers: *3, 6*. If iron is heavier than water, write the larger number here....., but if iron is lighter, write the smaller number here..... Show by a cross when the nights are longer: in summer?.... in winter?.... Give the correct answer to this question: "Does water run uphill?"..... Do and repeat your answer here..... Do nothing here (*6+7=.....*), unless you skipped the preceding question; but write the first letter of your first name and the last letter of your last name at the ends of this line:.....

10. Place in the bracket preceding each English proverb the number of the African proverb to which the English proverb corresponds in meaning.

*English Proverbs.*

*African Proverbs.*

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| (Q) Married in haste, we repent at leisure.      | 1. One tree does not make a forest.   |
| (P) Answer a fool according to his folly.        | 2. "I nearly killed the bird." No one can eat "nearly" in a stew.   |
| (I) One swallow does not make a summer.          | 3. Full-belly child says to hungry-belly child, "Keep good cheer."  |
| (Z) First catch your hare.                       | 4. Distant firewood is good firewood.   |
| (7) Adding insult to injury.                     | 5. Ashes fly in the face of him who throws them.  |
| (S) Curses come home to roost.                   | 6. If the boy says he wants to tie the water with a string, ask him whether he means the water in the pot or the water in the lagoon. |
| (Y) Distance lends enchantment to the view.      | 7. The ground-pig said: "I do not feel so angry with the man who killed me as with the man who dashed me on the ground afterward."    |
| (3) We can all endure the misfortunes of others. | 8. Quick loving a woman means quick not loving a woman.   |

Just as soon as you finish, give your paper to the examiner so as to get credit for having completed the work before time was called.

The *Technical Ability* of the applicant is reduced to quantitative determinations by various devices. Applicants for statistical positions are tested by means of the following statistical blank. This blank was devised for and used by an organization having a large amount of statistical work of the general type here indicated. The applicant is given 100 per cent in speed if he completes the task in 25 minutes and he is discredited 2 per cent for each minute thereafter. He is given 100 per cent in accuracy if he makes no mistakes. Five per cent is deducted from his grade for each error.

His handwriting is determined by the appearance of his copy

of the names and the numbers which immediately follow them. This transfer to quantitative determinations is made by means of the Ayres' Scale for Handwriting.

NAME .....

Perform all the additions and multiplications called for in the following problems:

ADDITION EXAMPLES.

17	26	27	72	23	45	52	19	45	23
42	51	24	14	47	13	86	78	67	72
38	47	83	39	86	68	23	67	78	36
91	82	19	81	54	77	35	23	37	68
54	63	45	26	36	86	67	86	96	39
41	53	67	78	86	17	42	38	91	36
52	67	86	37	32	26	51	47	82	26
86	34	23	96	44	27	24	83	19	45
23	78	45	72	36	72	14	39	62	63
35	19	67	23	68	23	47	86	54	54
<u>479</u>	<u>520</u>	<u>464</u>	<u>538</u>	<u>532</u>	<u>454</u>	<u>441</u>	<u>566</u>	<u>631</u>	<u>462</u>

MULTIPLICATION EXAMPLES.

7986	7869	9867
4523	5324	3425
<u>23956</u>		
15722		
399308679	7968	7698
319443542	3254	5423
<u>36210574</u>		

Transcribe this page onto the next page. Make every figure and letter so that it can be read easily.

W. H. Abelmann .....	9685247
W. H. Abelmann .....	1352680
Edward Adam .....	573828
Edward Adams .....	753823
Wm. Anderson .....	56308
Wm. Anderson .....	56308
Peter Andersen .....	48365
Peter Anderson .....	48365
Benj. Andruskowitch .....	100085
Thomas Andruskoweit .....	110085
John Anglin .....	842745
Thomas Anglim .....	842745
E. J. Atchison .....	960261
E. J. Atcheson .....	960261
L. A. Auston .....	960162
Bachalc Wm. ....	372819
Bachale Wm. ....	272819
J. Balderton .....	100278
J. Balderson .....	102278
August Bansback .....	26710
Chas Banschback .....	95525
Chas Barnett .....	52617
Chas Burnett .....	82910
Henry Burnett .....	111456
Thomas Burrett .....	867543
Andrew Bartoli .....	142567
Paulina Bartold .....	55555
John G. Battershill .....	42890
A. Batterson .....	81392
A. E. Bauermeister .....	185
Henry Baumeister .....	67540
Wallace Beaman .....	10025
T. Baeman .....	56470

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[illegible]

# SELECTION OF EMPLOYEES

191

Look at each pair of numbers. Make a cross after every pair where the two numbers are *not* alike (as shown here):

907328	907329×	760023	760023
216540	216540	297500	297600×
856728	847628×	107910	107910
700035	70035×	864271	864271
380270	380270	915823	715823×
286090	289060	329865	329865
976534	976534	574052	574052
821004	821004	738216	783216
598362	598362	895422	895422
774819	747189	635767	635767
612345	612345	942424	942424
400705	400005	432615	432615
309268	309268	133002	133302
978882	978882	325961	325961
538620	538620	473820	473820
700214	700214	562143	562942
800000	800000	997723	997723
613579	613572	714926	714926
200140	200140	831125	831125
531251	531251	642030	642030
732124	732124	214728	214728
414362	414362	192563	192365
349093	349093	643215	643245
955785	95785	571326	571326
267682	267682	800026	800026
127003	127030	304349	304349
281114	281114	515420	515420
620259	620259	915656	915656
731622	736122	767817	787617
443378	443378	821738	821738
		133508	133508
		702645	702645
		610124	611124
		503763	503763
		921821	921821
		869030	863090
		274502	274502
		485734	485734
		697685	697685
		806960	806960
		378117	378117
		145900	145900
		238392	238392
		39273	39273
		901284	901284
		861357	861357
		845825	845825
		646935	646935
		767561	767561
		385000	380000
		466799	467699
		674887	674877
		589746	589746
		291968	291968
		109590	109590
		323041	323041
		638542	638542
		596169	596169
		405970	405970
		924441	92441
		486798	486798
		719060	719060

The technical ability of the applicant for a selling position is determined by means of a selling performance as indicated by the following "Instruction to Applicants" blank. Each "Buyer" estimates the selling performance on a percentage basis. The estimates of these several "Buyers" are combined into a single grade expressive of the applicant's technical ability as a salesman. Whatever the technical ability is, it must be expressed in quantitative terms before it becomes serviceable.

## Instruction to Applicants

In Room A is a merchant who is to be regarded as a "buyer." You are to enter Room A, introduce yourself to Merchant A, and try to sell him some kind of merchandise. You will spend

five minutes with Mr. A, then pass on to Room B and repeat your selling talk to Merchant B. You will keep this up till you have called on all the "buyers."

You may sell any line of merchandise. The following are examples: automobiles, breakfast food, clothing, fountain pens, life insurance, office supplies, real estate, rubber goods, sporting goods, tobacco, typewriters, etc.

You may make the same talk to each "buyer." If you decide to sell an automobile, then you may assume that each of the merchants is an automobile dealer. If you decide to sell a breakfast food, then assume that each "buyer" is a grocer, etc.

Present your merchandise for five minutes in such a way that the "buyer" will actually want to purchase your line. Sell as you would if the "buyer" were a real prospective.

Prepare your line of talk in advance!

The *personality* of the applicant is an important factor but one particularly hard to reduce to quantitative determinations. The method which the writer has been employing is to have several "Interviewers" pass judgment upon the applicant. This judgment is based on personal appearance, tact, industry, promise of usefulness to the company, etc. Whatever the qualities are that are judged the "Interviewers" must summarize their judgment in a single figure, ordinarily, but not necessarily, a percentage figure. The judgments of all the "Interviewers" are then combined into a single figure expressive of the personality of the applicant.

Some of these fine quantitative determinations cited are of more importance than others but all must be combined into a single figure. This may be done by weighting the different figures according to their relative importance. The advantage of these different quantitative determinations and of the one summarized quantitative determination is that it makes it possible to compare these original estimates with later success. The adequacy or inadequacy of the parts of the test or of the whole system of testing can thus be accurately determined. In this way any particular test is eliminated if the prognosis based on that test fails to correspond to the later history of the worker. The chief advantage of the methods indicated above is not in having the right methods of testing to start with, but in having a method of handling results which make it possible to eliminate the unsuccessful factors in the



test and to strengthen those factors which are successful. This enables us to develop tests in the line of success as indicated by practice and not within the line which might be assumed by theory. If this method should claim the prerogative of "scientific," it would base the claim not upon the fact that it utilizes the findings of the medical examiner, nor upon the fact that it utilizes the findings of experimental psychologists, but upon the fact that it reduces the entire process to measurable terms which may be checked up by known and recognized standards.

## THE USE OF MENTAL TESTS IN VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE<sup>1</sup>

By GUY MONTROSE WHIPPLE,

Professor of Education, University of Illinois.

*Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:*

When Mr. Davis, just a few days ago, asked me to take the place of Dr. Bassett, who has been unfortunately prevented by illness from filling the engagement assigned him on your program, I consented with the understanding that the presiding officer in introducing me would apologize for the unavoidably hasty preparation and somewhat too sketchy character of my offering. I am unable to present to you anything like a comprehensive survey of the application of mental tests to vocational guidance, but have limited myself to presenting a few of the general principles that seem to me operative in that application and to illustrating, by reference to results recently obtained from a single mental test, something of the service that tests may render in the direction of diagnosing degree of general native ability.

I suppose there is little doubt that the majority of occupations are chosen by chance, which is equivalent to saying that they are not chosen at all. A considerable fraction, I suppose probably a majority, of those gainfully employed might, under very slightly changed conditions, have been in some other vocation than the one

<sup>1</sup> This paper was read by the author before the National Vocational Guidance Association at Detroit, February 22, 1916.

they are following. Nevertheless, there is little doubt that certain *types* of occupations or certain *levels* of occupation are pretty definitely selected or foreordained for every worker. Once I had passed my pre-adolescent conviction that to be a locomotive engineer was the acme of bliss, I never entertained any doubt but that I should devote my life to some profession. I think I might have succeeded as a lawyer or a physician. I think that an expert in vocational guidance might have discovered by a few tests even in my early high school career that I had a bent toward intellectual pursuits. I think he might also have discovered that I had a fondness for music, but no aptitude in the execution of music sufficient to justify a career as a musician. I think he might also have discovered that, while able to do creditable work in high-school and college mathematics, I did not show any special mathematical talent. I think he might have discovered that I succeeded quite well in tests that put a premium upon the use of language and that he might have augured that I could succeed as a teacher of languages (which was, as a matter of fact, one of my early college ambitions): I doubt very much, however, whether he could have discovered by any system of mental tests that I should ultimately devote my attention to psychology and its applications to educational problems.

These rather personal reflections I introduce to indicate my conviction: (1) that there is a tendency, even though not a clearly conscious tendency, for individuals to gravitate toward that type of occupation that is generally suited to their ability and inclinations; (2) that certain occupational levels are delimited by fairly definite boundaries over which some individuals may pass readily and others not at all; (3) that the application of mental tests may be expected to determine some of these boundaries and some of these individuals, but (4) that we cannot expect mental tests to yield any simple set of measuring rods by which school children may be sorted out precisely, mechanically and complacently into various occupational groups.

The psychologist, in my judgment, would better wear a veil of modesty and not seek to emulate the boastings of physiognomic charlatans who claim to have selected 12,000 persons for 12,000 jobs without one single mistake by their system of concave and convex faces!

It is in a modest spirit, then, that I shall consider a few of the aspects of the question: what can be hoped for from the psychologist in vocational guidance? More specifically, is there any chance that mental tests may be used to select persons for a position or to select positions for a person? The latter problem is confessedly far more difficult than the former. Though we admit that the selecting of a proper position for a person is very difficult, we may yet indirectly accomplish something toward it in a negative way. That is, it is possible that in attempting to select the right persons for a position, we may at least discover what different callings a given individual ought *not* to enter.

Now, the development of mental tests has been in two fairly distinct directions. In the first place, there have been developed systems or combinations of tests (of which the Binet-Simon tests are easily the best-known example) for estimating somewhat roughly the *general level of mental ability* of an individual: it is in this sense that we speak of a child as two years mentally retarded or of an adult as being average, inferior, in the top 5 per cent, etc. The Binet tests do not permit reliable diagnosis above the age of ten or eleven years; on this account they are of little use to the vocational expert, save that they would enable him to cull out at any stage during the elementary school period pupils of distinctly inferior mental ability, or, for that matter, to detect pupils of distinctly superior mental ability. The perfection of a system of mental tests diagnostic of general intelligence in the adolescent and adult years is a problem that is interesting several investigators. We are making some attacks upon it at the University of Illinois, and I shall presently set forth a few of the results as tokens of progress in this direction.

In the second place, there have been developed numerous mental tests aimed at the measurement in a more exact manner of *specific mental abilities*. Some of these tests may obviously be useful in the selection of individuals for certain occupations. A simple illustration is afforded in the use of tests of color-blindness to keep color-blind individuals from entering the naval or marine service, in the use of tests of auditory acuity to select applicants for work in telephone exchanges or in the use of tests of tonal discrimination as proposed by Seashore for preventing unmusical children from wasting undue time in the study of music. The principle involved here

is simple enough, but its extension in practice presents many difficulties. It is evident, I mean, that to lay out all the boundaries or barriers that surround a given calling implies a very precise and exhaustive analysis of the abilities that are demanded by that calling. So far as I am aware, no psychologist has as yet presented us with such a complete and comprehensive analysis of the mental aptitudes that are essential for any single occupation.

In principle, once more, such an analysis appears relatively easy. It seems as if almost anyone could lay down the demands of stenography and typewriting—a fair degree of retentive memory, a good “ear,” a reasonable amount of motor skill and dexterity, a reasonable readiness in learning new associative connections, especially between the sounds of certain verbal elements and the execution of correlated movements of the pencil. It seems as if almost anyone possessed of a working knowledge of experimental psychology and mental testing could then lay out a series of specific tests for these several capacities, determine standards of performance in them, and check them up by examining groups of successful and groups of unsuccessful stenographers and typists. I think myself that this program could be carried out, yet the fact remains that no one has accomplished it—perhaps because commercial schools will not pay the expert.

Moreover, most of the attempts in this general direction (the hypothetical analysis of a calling and the construction of laboratory tests that are presumed to measure the needed abilities)—most of the attempts in this direction have been so academic and theoretical in character as to make little impression upon the hard-headed man of business, or even upon the expert’s colleagues. A case in point is the proposal of Münsterberg to measure fitness for the work of the sea-captain by the dealing of cards in his “Situation Test” and the thinly veiled irony of Breese, of Cincinnati, who, according to a recent article, discovered by this test that one of his students who displayed unusual quickness of decision in a real emergency got a very low rank in the test, whereas the person most fitted for sea-captaincy of all those tested by him turned out to be a “co-ed”! The moral is self-evident. Academic and arm-chair theorizing and testing must be checked by the “acid test” of experience. We must find out by actual observation of the success or failure of

every individual tested which ones of our mental tests do really do the diagnosing for us.

I find objections, likewise, to the notion that all that it is necessary to do is to test the individual by the use of actual *samples* of the occupations for which he is being considered. Naturally, the person who wanted a new bookkeeper and who went to a commercial school to get one, might very well give him a problem in book-keeping to test his abilities. But the real issue, as I understand it, is: how can we discover before the student ever starts on a commercial course that he has a reasonable chance for success in that calling? We want to *predict* as well as to select.

As a matter of fact, the most hopeful type of work in the field of mental testing for vocational guidance is, as Dr. Hollingworth has pointed out in a recent article,<sup>2</sup> the administering of *miscellaneous* tests of a sort that promise well and the subsequent selection of the best of these tests by the purely pragmatic standard of "delivering the goods." In other words, we test a considerable number of persons by a number of tests; we then keep tab on their careers and eventually discover which of our tests were really most useful in diagnosis, which tests correlated best with the actual performance of our examinees. You are doubtless all familiar with the elaborate scheme of this sort now under way at Cincinnati. Work of this sort is bound to be tedious, but it promises well for the future.

So much for the general principles that seem to me operative in the use of mental tests for vocational guidance. I propose in the remainder of the time allotted to me to present some results recently obtained by the use of a mental test merely as a sample of the rather striking correspondence that obtains between the outcome of certain mental tests and actual achievement in certain forms of mental effort.

We decided at the University of Illinois to apply a number of mental tests to 200 or more students in the Urbana High School with the idea of comparing results in the tests with results in different types of school work and with the general intelligence of the students as estimated by their teachers. It would be impossible here to describe these tests in detail. Suffice to say that we sought in our selection of them to probe the mentality of the students from a number of different angles, and that any final determination of

<sup>2</sup> *School and Society*, June 26, 1915.

their intelligence would imply the pooling of the results of several tests. I speak today of preliminary results obtained from a single one only of these tests.

This test is known as the Analogies Test, or the Mixed Relations Test, and is described fully in my text-book.<sup>3</sup> The materials for this test consist of a series of twenty small cards, on each of which are printed three words. The first and second words stand in some sort of relation to one another; as soon as possible on seeing the card the student must name a fourth word which stands in a similar relation to the third word given on the card. The four words constitute a sort of verbal proportion. Thus, *King: Kingdom = Emperor: ?* Again, *Balloon: Air = Cork: ?* Again, *Winter: Summer = North Pole: ?* The experiment is conducted individually. As each card is shown, the experimenter starts a stop-watch; he stops the watch and reads the time when the subject utters the needed fourth term. If the student is unable to name the correct fourth term within 30 seconds, the time is recorded as 30 seconds and the next card is shown. The student's record is finally calculated as the average (or the median) of twenty trials with twenty different cards.

We shall eventually test about 200 students. The results already obtained show that school grade and age play a certain part in the outcome. As to relation with age, consider for a moment the following averages for sophomores 14, 15, 16, 17 and 18 years of age, respectively; they run 11.6 sec., 12.5 sec., 13.7 sec., 14.7 sec., 15.3 sec.—clear evidence that the younger the sophomore, the quicker, on the average, is he to detect the logical relations of the analogies test. The interpretation of these figures is that, on the average, the younger the pupil in a given high school class, the more intelligent he is.<sup>4</sup>

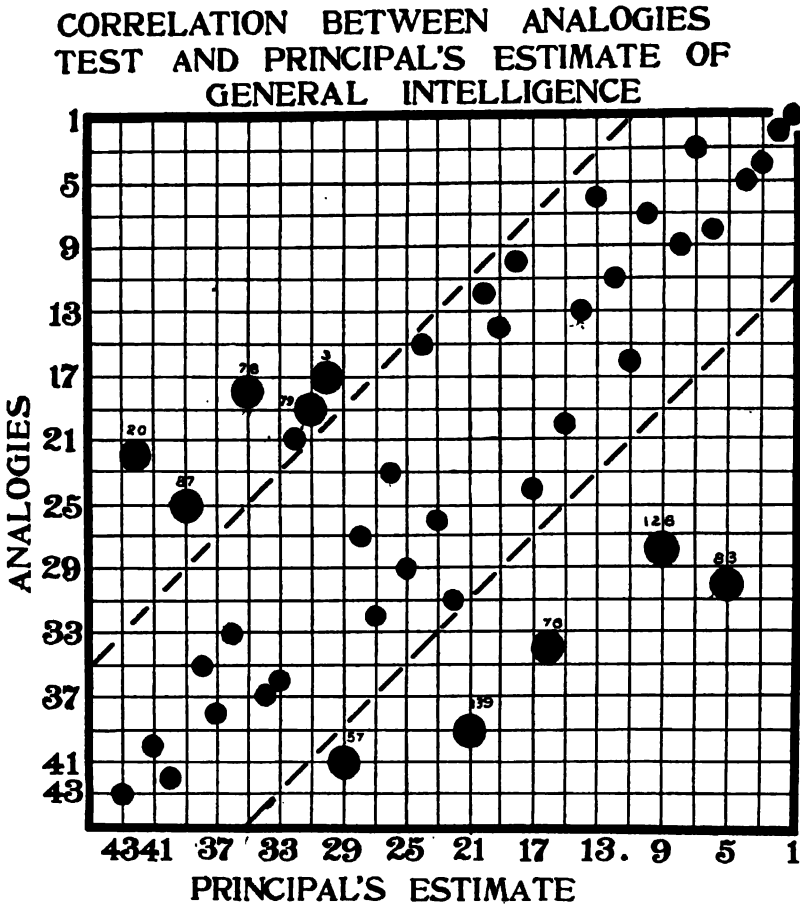
But these differences between groups arranged by classes or by

<sup>3</sup> See *Manual of Mental and Physical Tests*, 2d edition, Baltimore, Md. (especially under Test 34A in Part II).

<sup>4</sup> Those who believe that the tendency of older pupils to drop out of the high school is due to a failure on the part of the school to provide work suitable to their greater maturity need to consider whether they are not reversing the statement. It is much more likely that the older pupils drop out of the high school because they are intellectually incompetent to do the sort of work that is normal and proper to the high school.

ages are insignificant when compared with the differences of native ability revealed among individual students.

A few figures will bring this out. Correlation by the method of rank-order between performance in this test and the general intelligence



gence of forty-three high school freshmen as estimated by their English teacher was  $r = +0.61$ . The same correlation based on general intelligence as estimated by the high school principal was  $r = +0.74$ . This particular correlation is shown graphically in

figure 1. Here, each circle represents a high school freshman: his circle is located a distance *up* corresponding to his standing in the *analogies* test and a distance to the *right* corresponding to his *intelligence* as estimated by his principal. Number 1, best in our test, is Number 1 in the principal's opinion: Number 2 in our test is Number 2 in the principal's opinion: Number 3 in our test is Number 7 in the principal's opinion: Number 43 in our test is Number 43 in the principal's opinion. All the circles lying between the two parallel dotted lines evidently group along a line running from northeast to southwest, with such occasional fluctuations as might be anticipated (fluctuations quite as likely to be due to mistaken judgment of the principal as to failure of our test to measure ability accurately).

But outside the parallel lines are several circles that may well disturb the experimenter. These are cases in which the outcome of the test fails more or less conspicuously to accord with the principal's estimate and they may dispose you to be sceptical of a psychologist's claims to measure ability. But not too fast! Let us scrutinize a few of these exceptions.

Case 83<sup>5</sup> is a girl rated 5 in 43 by the principal and 30 in 43 by the *analogies* test. Her school grades are found to lie in the 90's with an average for the year of 93. Here our test certainly seems to have "missed fire." On asking the girl why she did so poorly in our test we discover (what she had said nothing of before) that on the day when she was tested she had just returned to school after a two weeks' illness. We do not guarantee our test to work under such conditions.

Case 126 is rated 9 in 43 by the principal and 28 in 43 by the test. But we find that his average school grade is but 83, with a range of 79 to 87, where the pass mark is 75 and exemption is at 90. There is a strong probability that his intelligence is overrated by the principal. The boy is honest, robust, congenial, wholesome and much liked by the principal as a fine fellow in the school—sufficient explanation for the overrating of native intellectual ability.

<sup>5</sup> On the chart displayed at Detroit these 'exceptions' were indicated by red bands surrounding the circles (see the larger circles in figure 1). The numbering was merely used for convenience in referring to the list of students under investigation. The reader can locate the cases by reference on figure 1 to the rating given in each case by the *analogies* test and by the principal's estimate.



Case 139 is a girl ranked 21 in 43 by the principal and 39 in 43 by our test. The school records show that she never got a mark above 83, that her average mark is only 78 and that she barely passed in algebra and physiography. The fact that she has talent in drawing and painting and that some of her work has been on exhibition in the superintendent's office may very well account for the principal's overestimation of her general intelligence.

Case 78 brings out a touch of humor. This girl was ranked by us 18 in 43, but by the principal relegated to thirty-fifth place. On telephoning the principal to discover why he made such a decision we discovered (unfortunately, after this chart was made) that the principal "had the wrong pig by the ear." He was ranking another girl of the same name, and he agreed that our ranking of the girl we had tested was entirely right.

Case 20 is ranked by our test as average (22 in 43) but given by the principal a rank of very poor (42 in 43). Here we are inclined to agree with the principal's ranking, if intelligence is indicated by school performance. This boy is notoriously lazy, irrepressible, a shirker, an only child and a spoiled one. The experimenter's subjective estimate of his ability was recorded as "average," which agrees exactly with the outcome of our test.

Our data suggest very clearly these conclusions: when ability is strikingly superior, school performance is superior, whether the student is industrious or not. When ability is strikingly inferior, school performance is quite inferior whether the student is industrious or not. When ability is of average amount, school performance is distinctly affected by industry and zeal. Most of the divergences between the test results and the school's records or the teacher's estimates pertain to the position of these students of average native ability.

Finally, I wish to speak briefly of the peculiar relation between the analogies test and algebra. Early in our work we found that students who did very poorly in the analogies test quite frequently reported algebra as the high school subject which was most difficult for them, whereas students who did excellently in the analogies test almost invariably preferred algebra to other studies and secured high grades in it. I shall not stop to discuss why this relation ob-

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**44** ■■■■ **40** ■■■■ **36** ■■■■ **32** ■■■■ **28** ■■■■ **24** ■■■■ **20** ■■■■ **16** ■■■■ **12** ■■■■ **8** ■■■■ **4** ■■■■ **1** ■■■■  
**FAILED** ■■■■ **75-79** ■■■■ **80-89** ■■■■ **90-99** ■■■■  
**13 SEC.** **9.3 SEC.**

tains, save to hazard the guess that algebra puts a high premium upon ability to perceive and handle logical relations and that this ability is also demanded in the analogies test. I shall demonstrate the nature of the relation by a few figures and a graphic representation. The correlation between the mathematical ability of 30 freshmen, as estimated by the teacher of algebra in the Urbana High School, and the ranking of these freshmen in the analogies test reaches the extraordinary amount of  $r = +0.78$ . The correlation between the actual grades in algebra of 43 freshmen and their standing in the analogies test reaches the equally surprising amount  $r = 0.71$  (P. E. about .07). This last relation is shown in figure 2, to which your attention is now called. Here each rectangle represents one high school freshman. The cases are arranged in order from right to left, according to their performance in the analogies test. Number 1, at the right, is best in our test; Number 43 at the left, is poorest in our test. Their grades in algebra are represented by different fillings of the rectangles. Solid rectangles mean "failed in algebra." Unfilled rectangles mean "secured a mark of 90 or above in algebra." Rectangles with horizontal cross-lines mean "poor in algebra" (grades between 75, passing, and 79). Rectangles with a diagonal cross-line mean "medium in algebra" (grades between 80 and 89). Notice the following features. The highest 6 students in our test get 90 or above in algebra. The poorest 4 students in our test all fail in algebra. Take a point of division represented in our test by a speed of 13 seconds. Below this score are 27 cases; 15 of them fail in algebra. Above this score are 17 cases; not one of them fails in algebra. Take another point represented by a speed of 9.3 seconds in the test. Above this mark are 11 cases of which 8 gain grades in algebra of 90 or above.

There are on this chart, naturally, a few instances in which the grade in algebra does not accord so neatly with performance in the test. I have an adequate explanation of them.\*

\* Case 53 is ranked 7 in our test but gets only 83 in algebra. She is a girl who is known in the school as a 'character.' She is carrying seven subjects and is reciting at every period of the day. Her morals are not of the best and she apparently spends most of her time outside of school in walking the streets. She is known as a sporty personage and shows indications of being a pathological liar. These conditions are sufficient to explain why, although seventh in ability, according to our test, she receives a mark of only 83 in algebra.

Case 85 ranks 8 in our test but barely passed in algebra. It is found that

What I have presented is but a portion of the results that have been secured from the application of a single mental test. I leave it to your judgment whether these results are not sufficiently significant to justify my original contention that there is a place in the public schools for work with other mental tests than the Binet-Simon system to which attention has been thus far restricted. Could any one ask for a better diagnostic of future success or failure in algebra than the results of this analogies test alone—a test that can be applied to any student within fifteen minutes? When other tests with which we are working and of which I have said nothing at all—tests that, for example, show interesting correlations with linguistic instead of mathematical ability—are included, it will be seen that it is no fanciful dream to declare that the psychologist is not far from a position in which he can render most valuable assistance to school authorities by the examination of *individual* students for the diagnosis of their mental equipment, their personal abilities and disabilities of mind.

he comes from a very poor home, is very dirty and slovenly in appearance, but has evident ability, because he won a prize for the construction of a kite in competition with a large number of boys. We find on further investigation that he missed a test in algebra that he failed to make up, which accounts for his grade of 75.

## ADOPTING STANDARDS TO MEET TRADE TRAINING REQUIREMENTS

BY E. G. ALLEN,

Director, Mechanical Department, Cass Technical High School, Detroit, Mich.

The authorities at Cass Technical High School have found it necessary to issue certificates to evening school and continuation students who have completed various lines of work. When the time came to classify a man as a machinist, the question "What is a machinist?" was put to various employment managers, shop foremen and machinists themselves without finding a clear-cut analysis of the trade requirements.

According to agreement, however, certificates must be given and some school authority must vouch for the ability of the one obtaining such a certificate. Diligent inquiry brought very little help from the employer. Only a very few employers have given any thought to the definite educational or trade requirements necessary for the positions they have to offer. The usual answer one gets when approaching a business man or an employer concerning the definite knowledge his employee should have is "Teach him to think" or to use more exact terms "Teach the boy to use his head and we will do the rest." This, of course, is very definite knowledge upon which to work, and is the very thing for which public schools were established.

After nearly a year of systematic endeavor to establish standards in trade training the instructors at Cass Technical High School have compiled an outline, or schedule, for the various machines in the machine shop, and for bench work, assuming that the man who can operate satisfactorily the lathe, planer, shaper, milling machine, and drill press, and can do vice and assembly work, should be classed as a machinist. Those who can operate only part of these machines should be classified as a lathe hand, a shaper hand, etc., according to the machine or machines he is able to operate. The outline for each machine is made up as follows:

Only the outline for the lathe is given in this article.

Beginning at the left-hand column and reading from top to bottom, is a list of machine operations. Crossing the outline from left to right is given, approximately, the knowledge of the tools, machines, etc., which is required in the corresponding division under the head of machine operations. Full columns mean that the information is general.

These outlines are being used as follows: Students applying at the school for admission into the day or evening classes are given an outline covering the particular machine about which information is sought. If it be, for example, the lathe, the student is asked to check all that he knows about the lathe. This gives at once a starting point, and what is more important, places before the applicant the requirements necessary to qualify as an operator on that particular machine. The combined outlines meet the requirements of the trade.

The management of Cass Technical High School will make arrangements to give all applicants an examination covering the outlines. Those who can qualify according to the schedule and who can show not less than two years' practical shop experience with one company will be given a machinist's certificate by the Board of Education of Detroit.

In making up these outlines each machine was considered as an independent unit. All the information necessary to a complete mastery of the machine was scheduled regardless of how much that information might overlap onto the requirements for other machines.

Finally a grouped chart was made showing special requirements for each machine and the knowledge common to all.

Such a schedule of special and general requirements places before each operator a graphic illustration of just what part of the machinist's trade he has covered, when he has mastered one machine, and also what special information he must obtain if he expects to advance to another machine.

As stated above when a man has demonstrated his ability to do any part of the work called for in the schedule he is given a certificate stating exactly what he can do. This makes it possible for employment managers to employ men more intelligently and it is hoped that in time will lead to the demand that all tradesmen carry certificates issued by the public schools.

# Machinist Requirements for Engine Lathe Work

Machinist Operation	Knowledge of Machine and Attachments	Tools used on Machine	Machinist's Tools	General Shop Knowledge	Mathematics	Drawing
<p>Core of Centers.</p> <p>Turning on Centers.</p> <p>Turning on Mandrel.</p>	<p>Know, care and use of the principal parts of Machine.</p> <p>Carriage, apron, cross-bed, tail stock, tool post, change gears, split die, lead screw, splinter rest, follower rest.</p>	<p>Wrenches, Dies, Gauges.</p> <p>Tool-post set of tools.</p> <p>Car, to include: Tempering, Grinding, and oil setting.</p>	<p>Steel Rule, Square, Hammer, Center Punch, Scriber, A.W., Dividers, Try Square, Inside and Outside Calipers, Inside and Outside Vernier Calipers, Center Gauge, Combination Set, Protractor, Center Indicator, Vernier Caliper, Bar Caliper, Drill Gauge.</p>	<p>Time Cards.</p> <p>Tool Chests.</p> <p>General knowledge of Safety and Sanitation.</p> <p>Bells.</p> <p>Calipers, to include: Outside, Inside, and Cutting Circle.</p> <p>Center Heads.</p> <p>Lathe Bed.</p> <p>Compound Slide Rest.</p> <p>Motor Drive.</p> <p>Pits and Pitches.</p> <p>General knowledge of Thread Systems.</p> <p>Special Threads: Double, Triple, and more.</p> <p>Mean and Use of Standard Pitch.</p> <p>Polishing Materials.</p> <p>Use of Lathe.</p>	<p>Common Fractions.</p> <p>Proportion.</p> <p>Simple Percentages.</p> <p>Use of Formulas.</p> <p>Measurements of Angles.</p> <p>Measurements of Areas and Volumes.</p> <p>Making and Reading of Solids of right-angled triangles, Radii, Distances, and Circumferences of Circles.</p> <p>Cutting Speeds.</p> <p>Feeds per revolution.</p> <p>Back gear ratios.</p> <p>Thread Computations.</p> <p>Thread Measurements.</p> <p>Centering of Threads.</p> <p>Mechanisms as applied to: Force, Motion, and Power.</p>	<p>Reading of drawings to the extent of ordering work and making reports on job and comparing with mechanical requirements.</p> <p>How to make drawings for ordinary machine parts.</p>
<p>Chuck and Face-plate work.</p> <p>Drilling.</p> <p>Boring.</p> <p>Reaming.</p>	<p>Various kinds of chucks: Independent, Universal, Combination, Collars or Feet-plates.</p> <p>Steady rest, Follower rest.</p>	<p>Face Plate Mountings.</p> <p>Bolts, clamps, parallel strips.</p> <p>Drills, and drill grinding for various metals.</p> <p>Split and double flut drills.</p> <p>Drill Sockets.</p>	<p>Center gauge for shaping Thread tools.</p> <p>Thread Gauge.</p> <p>Thread Micrometers.</p>			
<p>Thread Cutting.</p>	<p>Use of Change Gears, Lead Screw, Carriers, and Cross Bed Index.</p>	<p>Tool-post set of tools for Thread Cutting, Dies.</p>				
<p>Turn Tumbling.</p> <p>Knurling.</p> <p>Knurling.</p> <p>Polishing.</p>	<p>Turner attachments.</p> <p>Compound rest.</p> <p>Yell stock adjusters.</p> <p>Back-off or relieving attachment.</p>	<p>Knurling Tools.</p> <p>Files.</p>				

## PROBLEMS ARISING AND METHODS USED IN INTERVIEWING AND SELECTING EMPLOYEES

BY KATHARINE HUEY,

Manager, Employment Division of the Employment Department, The Curtis Publishing Company.

In a highly developed manufacturing plant where each section of each division is a complicated machine, there offers a possibility for almost every kind of labor. Each section is in itself an organization of which each employe is a vital factor. How to find the right man for any of the several thousand vacancies when such an opening occurs is the problem of the employment manager. Although he cannot be expected to know the intricacies of these several thousand jobs, he must understand the dovetailing and the interdependence of each department on the other.

A particular analysis of every department in chart form with its individual positions listed regarding duties, compensation and possibilities, should be in the hands of every employment manager. It should comprise such points as:

- (a) Nature of the work.
- (b) Specific importance.
- (c) Working conditions (involving physical or nervous strain).
- (d) Range of wages.
- (e) Hours.
- (f) Permanency.
- (g) Age limits.
- (h) Sources of supply.
- (i) Educational and personal requirements.
- (j) Necessary experience.
- (k) Opportunity for promotion.

Though an arduous task, the compiling of such a chart by the employment manager personally will be of utmost value to him.

Every position is in reality a potential vacancy to the employment manager who should know its demands so well that in his later task of interviewing applicants, he can readily decide in which particular groove his prospect belongs.

The manager must know more, however. Not only the job



itself but the individual tastes, prejudices or idiosyncracies of each department manager must be thoroughly understood. However ridiculous it may seem, it behooves the employment department to cater to these whims. If a manager is known to consider tall, slender, dignified women more efficient than small, brisk, energetic ones; other things being equal, give him what he wants and reserve the energetic, nervous type for his fellow manager who in his turn, may interpret poise and calm as indications of stupidity and sloth.

### *The Prospect File*

It should be the aim of the manager to have at all times upon his list, the names of applicants for practically any vacancy that may arise. This is not possible in times of general industrial activity when the labor market is small, as the most desirable material is idle but a short time. Each locality will have its particular problems. In Pennsylvania, at the present time, owing to the Child Labor Law, effective January 1, 1916, which provides that minors under sixteen attend school eight hours a week, the sixteen-year-old boy is in great demand. This is due to the fact that employers who need only one boy, cannot always conveniently arrange for the boy's periodical absence and hence will only employ boys over sixteen, with the result that an efficient boy of sixteen is rarely out of work. For this reason to keep on hand a file of intelligent sixteen-year-old boys has been found to be impossible. On the other hand, on account of the small demand, a list of desirable errand boys under sixteen can be well maintained and a new employe procured from this list immediately.

## SOURCES OF SUPPLY

### *Present Employes*

Employees of the company should be encouraged to consult with the employment department for the purpose of stating their inclinations, ambitions and desires for promotion. A careful list of these employes should be kept together with an analysis of their capabilities and aspirations. In case of vacancies, these employes should be given an opportunity for promotion.

Department managers should be obliged to send the names of employes who are about to be discontinued on account of decrease in work, to the employment office at least forty-eight hours in advance of the date fixed for their departure so that they may be trans-

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ferred to vacancies in other departments; or failing such, be considered for re-employment at a future date.

In filling every vacancy, it is obvious that present and former employes should be given preference. Not only is the employe, trained in the policy of the company, better fitted for more important work than the new employe, but by systematically endeavoring to promote the efficient workers, the loyalty of the force is increased and the greatest cause of discontent removed.

### *Daily Applicants*

The next source of supply should be derived from carefully kept classified records of those applying at the employment office. Hours for interviewing should be set aside daily and should include the hour from twelve to one since many of the best prospective employes who are employed elsewhere, seek new opportunities during their luncheon period.

### *Schools, Colleges and Technical Schools*

Schools should be visited and graduates encouraged to register with the employment office. Moreover, personal contact with the principals and heads of the employment departments of each school should be one of the duties of the employment manager. The schools are ready to coöperate. The public trades and commercial schools in particular are making a sincere effort to meet the needs of the employer; and they are entitled to his encouragement.

For the most part, the candidates supplied are desirable. One tendency alone on the part of school authorities is difficult to combat. The pupil's value is too often judged on the academic standing alone without regard to the personality of the individual. This is but natural since the academic scale has been for so long the only basis of measurement within the school. Business colleges, typewriter companies and manufacturers of office devices are frequently valuable sources of skilled office labor.

Societies, heads of the Y. M. C. A.'s, and the Y. W. C. A.'s, state employment bureaus and social service committees, frequently suggest the names of worthy candidates. Assistance from these sources is not without its drawbacks, however, as the employment manager must occasionally expend much time in interviewing protégés obviously unfit but sent by social workers who have

become so interested in their "cases" as to be very naturally blinded to their limitations.

### *Written Applications*

Letters of application are daily received at the employment office. Those who by past experience and present inclination appear to be desirable candidates should be given an opportunity to call for a personal interview. In this way a constant stream of potential material is being received.

### *Advertisement*

From time to time blind advertisements should be inserted in the daily newspapers to replenish any type of labor that appears to be scarce. A few of the most promising replies are selected and the writers sent for immediately. Others should be sent a general letter to call at their convenience.

Last and in times of great stress, resort must be had to the open advertisement, whose only redeeming feature is quick action. These are the most important sources of supply.

## REQUISITES OF THE EMPLOYMENT OFFICE

### *Location*

The employment office should be located on the ground floor and equipped with both a house entrance and a street exit. It should comprise a large waiting room, a detail office and a separate office for personal interviews.

### *Service*

The clerks and assistants in the employment office should be not only possessed of poise, presence of mind, cheerfulness of disposition, discretion and abundance of tact, but they should be imbued with a sense of loyalty to the company as a whole and a realization of the fact that their department is primarily one of service.

As in the case of employes in any service department, the nerve strain on the personnel of the employment department is frequently excessive, owing to the fact that all demands, even if unreasonable, must be met with the greatest cheerfulness. It is important, therefore, that the personal relation between the employment manager

and his staff should be pleasant and informal and that his assistants should be encouraged to bring their problems to him at all times. This not only acts as an outlet for the employe, but has the added effect of bringing to the employment manager's attention, many conditions in his own and other departments that need readjusting.

With convenient quarters and intelligent and sympathetic assistance, the daily interviews of applicants can be handled efficiently and in order.

### *Personal Qualifications*

What characteristics do we require in these prospective employes? Each position has, of course, its particular demands, hence general rules that will apply to individual cases of selection are difficult. From the job of laborer, where much brawn and some brain is needed, to the position requiring all brain and no brawn, the variations of qualifications are legion.

Applicants divide themselves into three main groups: those employed elsewhere who seek a better opportunity; the unemployed, and those classified as unemployable. These patently undesirables must be eliminated from the desirable and possible applicants.

Each applicant should fill in an application blank containing information regarding his age, education and previous experience. This application, presented to the manager previous to his personal interview with the applicant, gives him an opportunity to estimate the qualifications that the candidate should be expected to possess in view of his past experience.

In the case of clerical or office help, handwriting and the accuracy with which questions on the application blank are answered, serve as a preliminary guide to the mental qualifications of the candidate, though this theory is most unsound in the case of applicants for unskilled labor. Each applicant desirable or possible, should be granted a private interview with the manager.

### *Appearance*

Personal appearance is the first impression the manager obtains. Appearance should not be interpreted to mean general effect or dress, which should be considered in their proper places. It is the face of the applicant and most particularly the expression of his

eyes and mouth which are of utmost importance in the estimate of the employer.

I lay emphasis on this point as much of the unnecessary "hiring and firing" of help may be attributed to the fact that the prospective employer, misled by the general pleasing appearance of his young applicant, and mistaking personal vanity and fashion's conventionality for an indication of neatness and efficiency, frequently hires hastily only to discover subsequently that he is burdened with an ornament instead of an implement.

### *Cordial Reception*

Even where the manager has fifty or more interviews a day, he should obviously expend as intense interest on each of his numerous applicants as he would naturally show to an occasional visitor. To greet the candidate by rising and shaking hands not only relieves the formality of the situation and dispels much of the applicant's self-consciousness, but also gives the manager an indication of personality through the firmness or flabbiness of the grasp. Since, however, custom, education and social training are all factors entering into the heartiness and spontaneity of the hand-shake, it should be regarded not as indelible evidence but merely as a possible indication.

### *Expression*

The manager should, on greeting the candidate, look at him attentively and earnestly and during the first part of the interview, study his face carefully. This not only gives him an opportunity to discover whether his candidate's expression betrays intelligence, earnestness and candor, but adds much to putting the candidate at his ease and inspiring him with the confidence which he needs in order to display his qualifications to the best advantage.

### *Character Analysis*

Some employers justly claim to be able to determine the characteristics of an individual by analyzing all physical conditions such as the height of his brow, the curve of his nose and the shape of his head. Though not an adherent to this method I am not unappreciative of the fact that productive scientific study has been conducted along these lines and that on this basis, careful and

efficient selections have been made. Even if this method is followed, the employment manager must have in addition an understanding of the more usual human characteristics and tendencies. He should be able to interpret in his applicant with some degree of accuracy, such qualities as: the firmness of his eye, the set of his jaw, the self-assurance of his manner, the degree of culture of his speech, as well as noticeable mannerisms.

He should ask such questions as serve to draw out the applicant since his point of view is generally more important than the actual information. Occasionally the reverse is true and the candidate becomes verbose, requiring not "drawing out" but "pinning down." Under these circumstances, it is sometimes necessary to make him account fully for his employable time.

#### *Purpose and Team Sense*

What is his purpose in applying? Has he any serious reason? Has he heard "it is a nice place to work?" Has he a friend working here? Is he seriously seeking work or did he just "happen in?" His attitude toward the economic scheme in life in general, however crudely stated, furnishes more of a guide towards purpose than any assertion he may make of his desire to obtain new work and his attitude toward previous employment is of utmost significance. Where he worked, under what conditions, what hours he observed and how monotonous or diversified his task, are questions that will not only elicit specific information but will reveal in nearly every case whether the applicant in his previous employment had the all-important qualities of loyalty and "team sense." An applicant instinctively possessed of "team sense" comprising willingness, cheerfulness and confidence, is a risk so safe as to be a golden investment to any employer. The ground work is there ready for unlimited development. The loyalty will follow if he is suitably placed and if he receives from his employer the coöperation to which he is entitled.

#### *Home Conditions*

Questions regarding the individual's home, responsibility, the number in the family and the number of wage-earners will bring out pertinent information. It is at this point, with an understanding of the home, financial, and housing conditions of the applicant

that his clothes and general appearance begin to bear a real significance. His tastes and aspirations should be ascertained and he should be encouraged to enlarge upon the kind of work he would prefer to be engaged in.

### *Health*

The physical status of the applicant so far as weight, healthy condition of the skin and alertness of movement are concerned should be taken into consideration in the general estimate; the actual physical condition of each prospective employe should, however, be scientifically determined by a medical examiner.

These are some of the general characteristics desirable in all employes: intelligence, serious attitude towards work, willingness, earnestness, "team sense," loyalty and good health. At this point comes into play the manager's knowledge of the various jobs and the specific assignment of the applicant.

### *Assignment*

His prospective employe, John Jones, he recognizes as desirable so far as personal qualifications and characteristics are concerned but into which of the various holes this particular peg shall be thrust, depends largely upon the candidate's previous education and experience. From the company's point of view, he must become a permanent employe. This can only be accomplished by placing him either in the work he feels he wants and for which he is fitted, or failing that in a position that will develop along the desired lines. From the employe's point of view, he must be aided, encouraged and stimulated to develop steadily. This is not the only problem to be solved regarding John, however. The other all-important element of his prospective manager enters in. Granted two or more jobs of more or less similar nature, for which manager is John best fitted temperamentally? Mr. A. would not take him because he is too young, while Mr. B. would not desire him because he has had too much experience. Mr. C. would reject him because he is employed at the present time, but there is Mr. D. or Mr. E. whom he will suit in every respect. If neither Mr. D. nor Mr. E. has an opening, John Jones' application will be assigned to a folder together with a full description of him, there to remain until there is a demand for his services. As a guide in making a written analysis

of the candidate, multigraphed cards bearing the following headings are found to be useful:—

<i>Qualifications</i>	Personality	<i>Type of Mind</i>	Executive	<i>Mentality</i>	Super. alert	<i>Remarks</i>
	Build		Detail		Alert	
	Weight		Promotive		Average	
	Appearance		Accounting		Slow	
	Expression		Clerical		Dull	
	English		Selling			
	Initiative		Mechanical			

This preliminary "sizing up" and classification of an applicant cannot be done too carefully. On the accuracy with which the analysis is made, depends the dispatch with which subsequent positions are filled.

#### *Unexpected Demands for Labor*

In times of sudden pressure of new work, when the supply of available names on file will not meet the demand, recourse must be made to open advertisement, from the applicants to which a more hasty selection is of necessity made. There is only one redeeming feature to open advertisement and that is the rapidity with which temporary workers may be secured.

#### *Filling Requisitions for Help*

Where the function of the employment office is not to employ but to recommend candidates for positions, applicants fitted for the position in accordance with the company's standard, who in addition, suit the personal requirements of the manager should alone be recommended.

When vacancies occur, the classified files must be consulted and the most suitable applicants summoned. In cases of skilled office workers such as stenographers, typists, estimators, addressers, comptometer and multigraph operators, tests should be given for speed and accuracy and the standardization division (if there is one) should furnish the requirements for these tests. Recommendations or references from outside sources do not prove infallible, but should in all cases be investigated.



*Knowledge of the Labor Market*

The number of applicants sent for must exceed the number of positions vacant in proportion to the supply of the labor market. To use the case of the young boy in Pennsylvania, should a request be received for two sixteen-year-old boys, seven or eight of the most desirable applicants on the file would not be too many to send for as the chances are that 50 per cent will be satisfactorily employed. If the request on the other hand, be for two boys under sixteen, on account of the present lack of demand, three boys would be enough to summon.

*Outlining the Position*

Before any applicant for a prospective position is recommended, he must be told what the general nature of his work will be and given exact information regarding working hours, salary and the possibility of advancement. He should be encouraged to ask questions about the work and should not be recommended if he shows the slightest hesitancy in complying with the conditions.

With every applicant recommended for a position, there should be sent a card which demands either the acceptance of the applicant or a complete explanation as to why he is not satisfactory. The following form has been found expedient:

Mr. Jones (Manager of Business Office)  
Harry Smith has been interviewed and is recommended to you for the position of Errand Boy.

After you have interviewed this applicant, please ask him to return at once to this office.

When applicant is accepted by you, an immediate medical examination will be arranged. Please state here when you wish applicant to report for work

If case of rejection, you will greatly assist this Division in intelligently referring applicants to you by explaining below in what way he has not satisfied your requirements.

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After the applicant is engaged by his new manager, he is examined by the company's physician. The physician on passing the prospective employe, sends him with his certificate to the employment manager, who after giving him an introductory note to his foreman, should embrace the opportunity to congratulate him on having obtained the position and explain to him that the function of the employment department is not merely to employ but to assist all employes to maintain satisfactory employment and to that end, it is always ready to consult with employes at any time. A cordial invitation to report on his progress should be extended.

### *Reports*

All cards of recommendation should be filed according to departments and monthly reports made of the number of candidates accepted and rejected. The reasons for rejections not only serve as a guide to the employment manager for future recommendations, but also give him definite data on which to work when the rejections from any one department become either frequent or whimsical.

Finally, careful reports by departments must be maintained to show by month the number of employes engaged and discontinued. To a very great extent the labor turnover may be said to measure the efficiency of the employment department.

The labor turnover must be no idle speculation. It must be accurate and so devised as to show by running figures its improvement or retrogression.

### *Functions of the Employment Manager*

To sustain a service department for the executives, an advisory bureau for the employes, to fill vacancies with the minimum loss of time and with the maximum satisfaction to executives, and to secure for those vacancies only those who will become permanent employes; to transfer those employes not needed in one department to fill vacancies where pressure is great, to help to maintain a contented, permanent working force, these are some of the problems of the employment manager.

## THE VALUE OF THE APPLICATION FORM

BY CHAS. P. AVERY,  
Marshall Field & Company, Chicago.

By many of those seeking employment, the application form is considered a "necessary evil" and one of the numerous trials of the unemployed. Few seem to realize the fact that its value is twofold:—First: to the applicant; Second: to the employer.

The larger value is assuredly to the applicant, for the application form frequently decides the vital question "to be or not to be" the accepted suppliant. The second value is dependent upon the insight and experience of the employer.

### *The Form*

Is the brief or detailed application form of more value? This must be judged from the scope of the employment bureau, and the number of employees considered as a normal force. The more detailed the form, the more frequently will a marked hesitancy be manifest on the part of the applicant, when asked to "fill out and return." Some application forms request the prospective employee to place a check against his or her predominant characteristics, enumerating thirty to fifty such, as "honest, ambitious, prompt, careful," etc. One such form was returned to a superintendent with the astonishing but befitting notation "self praise is no recommendation."

### *Request for Form*

The attitude of applicants when requesting form of application conveys some idea of the intensity of the desire for employment. On the theory that "the more urgent is the need for a position, the more industrious will be the worker," a close observer will note hesitation of some in proffering the request for a blank as compared with the anxiety of others to embrace the opportunity offered by this form of introduction to the employer. "Do I have to fill this out?" "May I take this home and mail it to you?" and such questions, often indicate a reluctance signifying the lack of an urgent desire for employment. The one who will accept "anything" at

least shows a strong desire for employment even though his ability may be very limited. The familiarity of some when requesting a blank at once suggests their adaptability to certain classes of work, and a corresponding unfitness for other duties where reserve is essential. The applicant who has not graduated from eighth grade at school and who asks "Say Jack, can I get a job here?" would probably be suited for the shipping division, but surely not considered seriously for floorman.

#### *Acceptance of Form*

Application blanks when accepted with a slight reluctance on the part of applicant would seem to indicate some lack of interest in the vacancy to be filled. Such hesitancy might also be due to lack of confidence, while an eagerly grasped blank in most instances very clearly exposes an earnest desire to qualify for any suitable position. There is a peculiar smile to be noticed occasionally when an applicant has been presented with form of application. Observation has led the writer to recognize this as the forerunner of a misrepresentation, and personally styles it a "slipped one over" smile. Careful analysis of the information submitted on the form will usually bring to light the deception occasioning this particular expression.

#### *Filling in the Form*

Some persons exhibit as much apparent mental effort in this process as does the average layman when studying an abstruse legal document. The mental processes are slow, and such an applicant should be placed at work not requiring rapid thought nor quick decisions. To some individuals, the required facts are not easily nor quickly recalled, resulting in a longer time to furnish information asked for. The delay of some may be occasioned by a desire to conceal the true facts, which, when given rapidly and with assurance have the suggestion of assurance supported by absolute truthfulness.

#### *Presentation of Form*

Whether via mail or in person the presentation of the form offers a study in personal values equal to any other phase of the employment processes. To throw the application on the employer's desk, to hand it upside down, second side up, folded in two or rolled

like a mailing tube, all suggest a lack of training and thought, and tend to detract from the qualifications of the applicant. A dirty application will be usually presented in a slovenly manner while the reverse will usually obtain in the neatly written and clean paper.

### *Contents*

A form lacking in neatness and badly written would disqualify an applicant for an office position, especially if the spelling was incorrect. Such an applicant, however, might possibly be a splendid mechanic or general utility man. Incomplete detail in the application proffered might also deter a decision in the direction of a position requiring care and attention to detail.

The accuracy of the information submitted must be assured, and any corrections or erasures will act as interrogation points on the subjects so changed. Age and salary seem to be most subject to these "changes of mind."

### *Deductions*

The completely filled blank now acts as a representative of the applicant, and will make his appeal as forcefully as the effort and knowledge he has put into its data. This material will guide the employer in placing the applicant at work where his greatest value and knowledge may be utilized.

If unable to at once find a suitable place for applicant, the blank may be marked to indicate work for which he or she might be considered later, *e.g.*, trucker, bookkeeper, machinist, draughtsman, errands, sales, telephone, etc. From the personal characteristics of the suppliant the form may also be used to record the grade in the class indicated.

1st grade	11 = specially good	—12 = very good.
2nd "	21 = good	—22 = fair.
3rd "	31 = poor	—32 = unacceptable.

### *Prospects*

Names of "prospective employees" may now be listed on cards or charts and filed under the classification for which they are considered eligible. The applications may be filed alphabetically for quick reference and later consideration. This file of "prospects" may be used to great advantage in such business houses as employ

large forces of help. A vacancy occurs and the file gives the suitable prospects with phone numbers and addresses.

### *Information*

References of all employees should be attached to applications, and filed numerically or alphabetically in a file of "current" blanks. Should personal information be required regarding an employee, this file will contain just as much as the application form has required, plus the references. Promotions may be arranged with the coöperation of this valuable personal file, which, with the record of transfers from one department to another considered as added experience, will enable the superintendent to gauge possibilities for future advancement and responsibility of employees.

When an employee leaves the firm, his application and references may be marked with record of conduct and reason for leaving, and transferred to a "Left" or "Former Employees" file. Answers to inquiries from future employers may be made from data compiled and the complete record may be referred to and refiled in the "Current" file if former employees are reengaged.

### *Summary*

From the foregoing it is evident that the application form has an ever increasing value from the moment that an applicant first approaches the employer, to the severance of their interests. With such an understanding it would seem that a fairly detailed form has the advantage over the short blank. The value to the applicant corresponds exactly with that to the employer inasmuch as his saleable assets are presented concisely to the employer. The psychological phases of acceptance and presentation may be played upon by both parties in proportion to the requirements of the position to be filled.

## THE NEED FOR AND VALUE OF PHYSICAL EXAMINATION OF EMPLOYEES AS ILLUSTRATED IN THE WORK OF THE RIKE-KUMLER COMPANY

BY FREDERICK H. RIKE,

President, The Rike-Kumler Co., Dayton, Ohio.

The inspiration for, and the realization of the value of, a physical examination of employees came to our company from the opportunity of observing this same work as it has been done in The National Cash Register Company of this city for a number of years, and also from the testimony of the management of that company as to the benefits derived.

The Rike-Kumler Company operates a department store in the city of Dayton. The determination to apply a physical examination as a test of employment took definite form in the spring of 1912, when we moved into a new store with largely increased space and the opening of many new departments. These new departments included a large restaurant and tea room, a lunch counter, a soda fountain, a bakery, ice cream making, candy manufacturing and a market department. Our ambition to make these departments thoroughly sanitary, clean and attractive led us to the very natural fear that we might have external conditions all they should be, and yet, without some check and information as to the people actually doing the work, we might unknowingly be harboring filth and disease more dangerous than open dirt and disorder. It was this need that decided us on physical examination and definite physical requirements as a test for employment.

Again, our employees number from 600 to 850 people, and our experience with certain cases of tubercular trouble and other diseases emphasized the necessity for some means of protection of the members of our store family from each other, and also the great desirability and importance of safeguarding our customers.

Again, our experience had shown to us that had we possessed accurate information as to the true physical condition of our employees, we should, in a number of instances, have been instrumental in suggesting changes in location and in mode of living

that might have saved years of life for work and earning capacity. We felt keenly our responsibility in this regard, and this in no small way fixed our determination to undertake this work.

Another consideration leading to our decision was our belief in this work as a means of developing individual and collective efficiency in our whole organization. We have been doing educational work among our people for a number of years, and the value of mental equipment was always recognized, and definite means were taken to supply it. In the same way, good health was recognized as a very important factor in the success of our business, and yet nothing was done to emphasize its importance. The store superintendent charged with the duties of employment, without a physical examination, must rely on his superficial observation and the integrity of the applicants' statements relative to health. Supported, however, by a physical examination, his investigation may be confined to the applicant's other qualifications for the position he or she desires to occupy. Thus was the need for such work demonstrated to us.

The value of physical examination of employes has been proven by our actual experience. Here is the testimony of our present store superintendent:

Our house physician, nurse and hospital perform such valuable service to our business in the way of keeping our people on the firing line, in the way of economy to our employes and ourselves, that to dispense with it would be an unwise move. Stores not having such facilities do not realize that the investment would pay large annual health dividends.

An outline of the way this work is handled may be of interest. We have a small but well equipped hospital and are prepared to take care of first aid treatment in case of accident, and there are beds for temporary rest in acute cases. The work is done by a house physician who devotes a definite part of each day to the task. A nurse is employed who devotes her full time, and is in charge of the hospital and the demands upon it in the doctor's absence. The service rendered is free of any expense to the employes and is only compulsory to the extent of the initial or entrance examination.

At the time we began the work of physical examination, we made a compulsory examination of all the people in our employ, and somewhat to our surprise we met only a minimum of objection



and criticism. Each applicant for a position is examined when employed, and is required to measure up to certain definite standards. First of all, there must be freedom from contagious diseases or epilepsy; they must be fairly sound as to the special senses, particularly sight and hearing; throats and teeth are carefully examined; the heart and lungs must be in a reasonably sound condition, and if hernia, varicosities or flat feet are present, they must be under proper control.

Every employe is free to call on the doctor or may be sent by the department head to him during his hours. In order to give some idea of the use that is made of this service by the employes on their own account, our records show that on an average we give more than 350 treatments to our employes monthly, and that customers are taken care of to the average of about fifteen per month.

On account of having this service available, we have educated our employes to use it promptly, with the result that we have almost wholly eliminated septic infections or blood poisoning resulting from minor accidents. Approximately 75 per cent of our employes are women. Women who must be on their feet suffer more at the menstrual period than those who may be at rest. One of the great functions of our service is the relief of this suffering, and we have found that not only is relief possible, but that many days of employment are saved both for the employes and ourselves through the ability to render this service scientifically and promptly.

The house physician has charge of all matters relating to store sanitation and is ready at all times, and does give to employes advice on any topic relating to diet, hygiene or general health.

It has developed in our work here that about 5 per cent of all applicants for positions, and who would, without a physical examination, be employed, are shown to be unfit for service by such an examination. The reasons for their rejection classify themselves in the order of their importance as follows:

First, Venereal diseases.

Second, Tubercular troubles.

Third, Skin troubles of a contagious nature.

Fourth, Eye diseases of a contagious nature.

Fifth, Physical unfitness not of a contagious nature.

In addition, we find that there are about 5 per cent whom we put in a doubtful class, but whom we employ. Those employed, however, under these conditions, are examined weekly and this examination is compulsory until we are sure that they are able to do their work safely and improve in their physical condition while doing so. Those coming in this class are frequently under weight or are in poor physical condition, owing to their having done work for which they were unfitted.

These examinations also give the house physician and the employment officer the ability to work together and to shift a person from one position to another for which that person is better fitted physically.

Fully 25 per cent of the applicants have minor defects which are corrected when their attention is called to them, but which would be neglected if they were not examined. Oftentimes these defects are unknown and a distinct gain has been made to the person examined and also to the company for which he or she must work. These minor defects classify themselves as follows:

First, Defective teeth.

Second, Nose and throat troubles.

Third, Defective vision.

Fourth, Flat feet.

Fifth, Varicose veins of different types.

Sixth, Slight hernia.

All of these are usually corrected promptly, and our observation shows that attention to these minor details results very soon in an increase in general health and a greater capacity for work.

The remaining percentage is found to be in good condition when first examined. Inasmuch as ours is the only mercantile firm in the city to exact physical examination as a qualification for employment, we find a number who, knowing themselves unfit, will not submit to an examination and leave rather than submit to it.

In the past four years, by the precautions we have taken and the physical examination insisted upon, we have been able to protect our employes so that we have not had one acute eruptive contagious disease develop during their service. True, some have developed outside of the store, but we have been fortunate enough to get them away from their employment and under the care of

their physician forty-eight hours before the contagious condition appeared. We have had venereal disease and tuberculosis develop within the organization, but examination has revealed these conditions and enabled us to eliminate those affected from the service.

One of the startling and impressive facts that has been developed is that our records show that the majority of applicants infected with venereal disease have been those applying for positions in our kitchen, soda dispensing, and market departments.

As a concrete example of the conditions that are met from time to time, your attention is called to the following cases:

Last fall the cashier in one of the departments on the second floor came to work complaining of a sore throat. As soon as the store opened, she went to the hospital. The nurse found conditions serious and sent her home immediately. Two days later the information was brought to the store that she had scarlet fever, but due to the prompt action taken here, no one was exposed. The cashier, too, having medical attention early, had every advantage in fighting the disease and the chance of a light attack and a quick recovery.

A similar case was that of a saleswoman in the basement department who developed diphtheria several days after the physician had insisted that she go home and stay there.

One of the bus boys serving in the dining room was found to be in the incipient stages of tuberculosis. He was transferred to other work and was regularly observed by the doctor with the result that he is steadily improving.

Just at the holiday time Dayton was confronted with an epidemic of the grippe, and it would be difficult to estimate the good our institution derived through what might be termed first aid work in warding off the attacks of this disease. We would undoubtedly have been unable to supply substitutes to fill the places of those who would have been afflicted. This point brings up the fact that the benefit of our physical examination and the work done by the physician and nurse is evidenced by the raising of the percentage of regular attendance to a very high mark.

We, in common with other merchants and manufacturers, are very much concerned about our "labor turnover" and are endeavoring to get the "labor turnover" as low as is possible.

We believe that our work in the matter of physical examination and service is going to help us reduce this percentage.

As was pointed out earlier in the paper, we are making constant endeavor to train our employes, employing an educational director who not only gives lessons as to materials and to the method of store service, but who teaches our people many elementary branches. Our physical examination prevents our training those who are unfit and enables us to give our best efforts toward those who are not otherwise handicapped.

Our experience thus has demonstrated that compulsory physical examination of employes has tangible and intangible value. Our store life is lived with a feeling of security that would otherwise be impossible. We are conscious that, in addition to providing all the material comforts for our patrons, we have taken steps to protect them from unknown and unobserved dangers. We believe there is an actual dollar and cents value in the increase of the percentage of regular attendance among our employes and in the fact that we are not wasting effort in the training of the physically unfit.

We feel there is a splendid moral effect in the impression that every employe must receive from our insistence on a physical examination, in that they put a new value on health and all the means that may be used to acquire and keep it. Undoubtedly it has increased our general store efficiency and has better enabled us to render the kind of service we owe to the whole community.

## INTRODUCING THE NEW EMPLOYEE

BY CHARLES L. PEARSON,

German American Button Company, Rochester, N. Y.

It is customary for most corporations to include among their assets an item for "good will," which is supposed to represent the value of what their customers think of them. But how much is it worth to a corporation to have the good will of its employees, based on mutual understanding and a spirit of coöperation? It has been conservatively estimated that it costs from upwards fifty dollars to break in a new employee. If a plant has the good will of its employees, how much of this expense can be saved by not having to break in so many new employees? The future may see the "good will" of the employees classed as an asset no less in importance than the good will of the customers.

The good will of the employees is not necessarily based on wages alone. Unless the working conditions also produce health, happiness, and an understanding of the spirit of the organization, a stable force cannot be maintained. These things are not, however, necessarily dependent upon so-called "welfare work," which too often smacks of paternalism.

A modern industrial plant is a very complex organization made up of many individuals, each one necessarily intent upon the duties and responsibilities demanded by modern efficiency in production. And what of the stranger who enters this hive of industry? Shall he drift in almost unnoticed, do his daily work for a time and drift out again unnoticed? Or is it possible to make him feel that he is to be treated as an individual human being and not as a machine, as one who has come to stay and who is of enough importance to be given some personal attention?

In the plant of the German-American Button Company at Rochester the proper introducing of new employees to personnel, policies, and social activities is a very important function of the labor bureau. It is the policy to develop personal relations and mutual understanding right from the start, to deal with the employee as an individual rather than as a "number."

Likely candidates are interviewed by members of the labor bureau and application records are made. Men interview the male applicants and a woman interviews the women applicants. A well equipped hospital is maintained, with a nurse in constant attendance, and all applicants considered desirable are required to pass a physical examination by the plant physician before acceptance.

Good health is an important factor and it is necessary that employes be physically fit for their tasks. To illustrate: the matching of colors or shades requires good eyesight and employes having weak eyes or who are color blind should not be assigned to this work.

If the applicant is approved by the physician, he is told by the interviewer that he has been accepted and is instructed when to report for work. The time designated is not the usual starting time of the factory, but some hour within the work period, the time set being dependent upon the number to be placed at work. When the new employe reports for work, he is not taken directly to his department but has another talk with the manager of the labor bureau. At this time the following points are explained:

1. Personnel.
2. Use of hospital, dispensary, and rest rooms.
3. Lunch room.
4. Hours of work.
5. Use of coat rooms.
6. Method and time of paying off.
7. Registration.
8. Rules regarding tardiness.
9. Earned vacation plan.
10. Reason for and value of rest periods.

The new employe is then taken to his department and introduced to his foreman and to the instructors who are to educate him in his duties. On the way to the department he is shown the nearest toilet room.

If the new employe plans to use the lunch room, arrangements are made by the labor bureau with an old employe to see that he gets to the lunch room all right and is introduced to others at the same table. The employment manager is responsible for seeing that this is done. Employes are not permitted to remain in departments during the lunch hour.

About two weeks after the new employe starts to work, he is sent for by the employment manager at a time agreed upon with the foreman. He is then given an opportunity to bring up any points concerning organization or activities that are not clear. This gives him an opportunity to make complaints regarding his treatment or relations with others.

At this interview some of the social and educational activities are also explained. The endeavor is to acquaint the new employe with the spirit of the organization and arouse his interest. The general topics explained at this time are:

1. Educational courses.
2. Library.
3. Suggestion system.
4. Use of park and recreation grounds.
5. Associated Recreation Clubs.
6. Progress Club.

These clubs are social, recreational and educational organizations controlled entirely by the employes.

Individual records are kept, showing the progress and development of the employe, covering earnings, attendance, deportment, suggestions made, and other items of a personal nature. These records are used in determining future advancement.

It may seem that all this is unjustified extravagance; but if such development of personal relations creates good will and mutual understanding, is it not worth while? The experience of this company indicates that it is.

## THE INSTRUCTION OF NEW EMPLOYEES IN METHODS OF SERVICE

BY ARTHUR WILLIAMS,  
The New York Edison Company.

One of the problems—perhaps the greatest—before the business world of the United States at the time this article is written is how will the industries of the United States be affected when the war in Europe is brought to a close? That business in this country will be affected is a belief too universal to require discussion. Whether a trade war will follow the military war and the nature of such a contest and its permanent effects, as well as temporary changes, is the problem for which so many are earnestly seeking a solution. If there is to be a trade war, permanent in character, in what respect are the industries of the United States prepared? Plant and equipment of United States industries are probably equal to plant and equipment of any other nation. For example, our railroads have increased the weight of their rails, the size of their locomotives, the capacity of their cars and the weight of their train loads to a point where further development will be difficult if, indeed, much further development is possible.

Plant and equipment in our factories have likewise kept pace with the development of our railroads. The electrical industry of this country is superior, both in its manufacturing and operating branches, to the electrical industries of any other nation. With the use of manufactured power, especially electric energy, production has ceased to be the predominant factor in industry. Prior to the outbreak of the European war, in almost every line of industry, the ability to produce was greater than the demands of the available markets; nor was the problem of transportation at all perplexing. In fact, there was much idle equipment. The predominant problem of industry for the past thirty years has been to stimulate consumption and thus increase demand.

An analysis of plant and equipment of American industries in comparison with similar industries in other countries indicates the United States should be able to hold her present trade, other than



the present unusual demands, as the result of the war. But an analysis of the personnel of industry—if this term may be used to identify the workers—does not show so favorably in comparison.

Germany has long trained her workers and other of the leading nations have established facilities for training the so-called masses to a much greater extent than has been done in the United States. While it is true, then, that the industries of the United States have set the pace in the development of plant and equipment, it is not true that they have kept abreast of other leading nations in training the workers.

Our commercial world is now, however, fast realizing that the vast body of men which makes up our great armies of industry and commerce possesses a store of potentialities which as yet has received hardly more than an awakening touch. With this realization has come another—that to stimulate these powers the employer must provide some form of definite training to fit his employes for the requirements of his particular business. This statement should not be interpreted as a reflection upon the educational standards of our various school systems. If it must be construed as a criticism, it may be directed at the economic system which enables so many of our boys and young men, girls and young women, to enter business with their educations only half completed, or perhaps hardly begun.

It is not my purpose to quote figures, showing how many boys and girls leave school before finishing the elementary courses, nor to point out the small percentage of those who finish the high school courses, nor even to refer, other than in passing, to the small part of the whole—less than 5 per cent—who enter business with the advantage of a college or any other considerable degree of secondary education. These things are self-evident to one who contemplates the vast armies of unskilled and untrained men and women—for today women must be included in any consideration affecting the welfare of our industrial workers.

The problem of the half trained boy in business is not greater than that of the middle aged man. The boy in the first years of his business life can shift from job to job and each time he makes the shift secure perhaps a slightly increased wage. The grown man, however, must stick to his position because he is capable of filling no other, and oftentimes he is employed largely through the

sentimentality of his employer. If by some misfortune he finds himself among the job hunters, his chances of doing as well for himself in another place are decidedly lessened. All of this is due primarily to the fact that either during his years of preparation for business or after he has entered the business field, the opportunities of finding and developing his best characteristics have been neglected.

While much attention is now being given to the subject of employment, very little is actually known as to what methods may be devised by which can be determined the work for which a certain type of individual is best fitted. There are those who contend that this information can be ascertained by psychological analysis of individual characteristics, and, as a result, the best work for that person will be readily discovered. The second theory, and one which seems better suited for practical application, holds that the only way to determine the line of endeavor in which an individual will be most successful is by actual experience and accomplishment. It is because of these things partly that the employers of today are alive to the need of some constructive method of fitting employes for and advancing them in service. Corporations everywhere are either active in some form of educational work on behalf of their employes, or at least are considering the best methods for selecting employes and of applying training to insure best results in their business.

This new activity, which is really the fifth great subdivision of any large industrial enterprise, might aptly be termed "employee relations." It takes its place and is coming to be recognized as having equal importance with the other larger elements in the management of any considerable employing body. By way of amplifying this statement, it might be pointed out that when the first industrial corporation was organized, it consisted of three general subdivisions—production, financing and accounting, and marketing. It was soon recognized, however, that an important element was lacking, and the element of traffic or the transportation of products of industry was necessarily added as an executive or administrative requirement. With provision for these four subdivisions, executives of our industrial organizations, until very recent periods, have believed they were fulfilling all of the demands to be properly made upon them.

✓ More recently, however, attention has been given to the personnel or the human elements of the organization, with the result that there have come into existence, with varying degrees of effectiveness, activities which have entirely to do with employe relations specifically to the employing organization and in general to industry as a whole. Under the broad scope of "employe relations" the work is carried on of careful selection of employes and of fitting them for the specific and the best service of the employer. Under this heading also may be grouped the employer's efforts toward education, general as well as specific, the establishment of social organizations, sick and death benefits, of pensions or service annuities, of profit-sharing or partnership, home acquiring and savings and loan activities. ✓

By way of a change from a presentation of generalities to the consideration of a specific instance of corporation activity along educational lines, may be mentioned the educational work of The New York Edison Company. This now covers three organized fields—technical and practical engineering, accounting and the commercial service. While the actual training of the individual is of the first importance, it is nevertheless essential that the personality and the attitude of the student employe, as well as the graduate, shall be closely observed. A part of the value to be derived from training a man lies in the opportunity which this period of training gives the employer to study and analyze his characteristics, to become familiar with his personality and to find out about him those things which will best fit him for the service of his employer—which perhaps, and probably, shall fit him best also to fulfill the obligations and opportunities of his own life. 7

To meet these conditions the company in question has established in connection with its educational work a record system, for the purpose of determining the relative efficiency of the employes in the accomplishment of its work—the rendering of a satisfactory public service. These records are kept by card indices through which the past and present services of the employe can be quickly determined and based upon these performances his chances of the future and of fulfilling higher positions may be determined with a fair degree of accuracy. The tendency is growing to promote or demote or occasionally request the resignation of employes as a result of the studies of these indices. With the establishment of

the company's commercial schools in 1911, part of the primary work of that year consisted of a survey of the men and, in this connection, the necessary facts about their earlier education and employment, as well as the results secured in their present employment were obtained and recorded.

In the commercial department of the company there are more than five hundred employes, ranging from the office boys to the heads of departments, and everyone below the position of manager falls within the scope of the company's educational and record system. The plan becomes effective the moment anyone enters the company's service, and, as indicated, it includes every representative of the company, large or small, who comes in contact with the public, either directly or by telephone or correspondence. This personal record continues as long as the employe remains in the service of the company. Blanks are provided for each item of information, the earliest entries including the name, address, age, the bureau entered and the immediate position. Then is recorded the education of the employe, whatever it has been, grammar school, high school or college, followed by the list of positions previously held. A new employe is assigned to minor duties, so that he may become acquainted with the organization and aims of the company, its recognition of responsibility to the public as a feature of service, in fact, all the more important duties of the position which the employe occupies. His capabilities and attitude toward his work are under constant observation and at suitable intervals are made matter of record. This is as important to the employe as to the company, as, at least eventually, all of these records form a basis for increases in salary and promotion to higher positions. They often form also a basis of recommendation to other employers who might have perhaps more immediately opportunities for the higher positions.

In passing it might be said that an employe, who has rendered good service, going out to take a higher position elsewhere, always goes with the fullest good will of the company. Perhaps the greatest encouragement to faithful service is the realization that it will be recognized outside as well as within the company and this also greatly encourages those who remain to better individual development and a higher degree of general service. The employes of the company are entitled to first consideration when promotions are in

order. Their records are carefully studied and promotions are made wherever practicable from the ranks of the company. In the absence of special circumstances, new men take the lower positions.

The general method of "hiring and firing" is not followed. If a man is employed for some specific position in which he does not make good, effort is made to find another position in which his term of past service can be used cumulatively to the advantage both of the employe and of the company. The man who perhaps cannot get along with one manager may work cheerfully with another, or who cannot perform one kind of service may perform excellently another kind of service.

When the personal records, especially the earlier records, show an unfavorable report, transfers to different positions and departments are made, often with excellent results. Frequently, an earlier report of unsatisfactory service will be corrected by later reports. Frequently, also, inefficiency on the part of employes is not radical or permanent, but may be a matter of adjustment, either through a better understanding of the service required or a change in environment in which the employe has greater personal aptitude to render satisfactory service.

These human records are constantly becoming more accurate. As time passes they are based less and less upon the opinions of one person or even two or three persons, but become the result of a variety of surveys and studies in which the composite result will average a high degree of accuracy. One important point is that the record shall be made at the time—not left to memory or hazy impression. After a fair period of time the record should be a complete picture by which the employe can be identified by anyone fairly acquainted with him.

It should not be inferred that this "human survey" is the complete record by which an employe is judged. The employe's school work, covering a two years' course, is a part. Then there is the record for attendance, for coöperative or "team," as well as initiatory, effort, and even further effort is made to select men that are of the executive or administrative type. The commercial schools are conducted within the company's time and, it would seem needless to say, at the expense of the company. Enrollment and attendance are compulsory. Classes meet weekly and every alternate week there are written examinations based upon questions distrib-

uted before the lectures. At the end of the year the student must have a rating of 75 per cent to pass, or falling below that point he must re-enroll and begin all over again. If he gets what is called the "C" rating, which is between 75 and 82 per cent, a special course of instruction is taken through the summer, with a later examination in the autumn, when it is expected that the student will have gained at least a "B" or possibly an "A," the highest rating the company school gives. If he still has no higher than the "C" rating, so far as the school courses are concerned the results are considered of an unsatisfactory nature. But the student has an opportunity at any time, through a course of study and examination, to improve his rating and this opportunity continues so long as he is in the employ of the company. Failing to get even the lower rating, however, does not mean that the student shall be discharged. The result of the school course becomes a permanent part of the student's record, influencing his position and salary to a certain extent, but not in any final sense. There have been instances in which the school record is exceedingly poor, but the service of the employe as a whole of a very high and valuable order—and this after all is the end desired.

There is one feature in favor of the corporation school which is found in no other. This is the immediate application in some practical way of the information the student acquires. Thus the lesson of today may be applied and used tomorrow and the student is immediately impressed by its value and effectiveness. On the contrary, the students of the primary and secondary schools, including the colleges, are studying at far greater distances from their activities and the application is not as immediate or direct, and the educational effort is much less efficiently made.

Reference has been made to the training classes of the company to which all new men are first assigned. It is here that the first opportunity occurs to study the personality of the new employe and it is here that he gets his first impression of the character of the service into which he has entered. It frequently happens that in advancing from the training classes to a position of greater responsibility the new employe is assigned to work for which he is temperamentally unfitted. This, however, soon becomes apparent and he is tried out in another position and, if necessary, still another until finally he reaches the work in which his best efforts may be

absorbed. In the case of new men this is a simple proceeding, but with older employes, the problem is more difficult. The man who has been in the company's service any considerable period of time has in this experience an asset which is or should be of value to the company; he is acquainted with the service of the company and in acquiring this experience he represents a certain investment which should not be willingly lost. Usually it is some time before a new employe, in other than the operating departments, makes a direct return upon the salary he receives, thus representing a certain investment on the part of the company. Naturally it would be undesirable to lose this investment, if it can be conserved.

The result of the school courses is summed up finally in certificates, the highest being the "A" grade and representative of the type of man that ordinarily would fill the position of a general agent in a public utility. He must be a man acquainted with the technique of the service, with questions relating to public matters, with contracts, and have a certain degree of executive or administrative ability, through which he can direct the services of other men. The holder of this certificate need not of necessity have had practical experience in all of these directions, but in the judgment of those in charge of the educational work he must possess qualifications which would fit him for such a position.

With the four elements of our industrial life so amply provided for and the growing recognition of the importance of this fifth—this newly recognized element—there would seem to be little doubt but that the permanent and constructive activities of the country in industry and commerce will go forward by leaps and bounds, beyond our highest expectations. If there has been a weakness in our industrial life, it has been in our relative disregard of the benefits of general as well as specific education, and, broadly speaking, of the essential welfare of our industrial workers. With this element of weakness removed, and with human beings as sanely and as wisely regarded and protected as we have in the past protected our machines and our tangible properties, nothing will be needed to maintain our industrial, our financial and our human supremacy in this world.

## AMERICANIZATION: A CONSERVATION POLICY FOR INDUSTRY

BY FRANCES A. KELLOR,

National Americanization Committee, New York City.

The appointment of the Naval Consulting Board signifies a new departure in the preparedness campaign which has been thrilling the country for many months. It signifies the wane of the propagandist movement and the dawn of a constructive program; the supplanting of agitation by action; the routing of denunciation by coöperation.

We are in the future to hear more of industrial preparedness than of military preparedness. We are not only to have more battleships, but to conserve men; not only to increase our production capacity for ammunition, but to steady our labor market to make this possible. No other nation in the world would think itself equipped to give battle, to endure the strain of long campaigns and sieges, to mobilize and train an efficient army, that had the seasonal occupations, the heavy labor turnover, and the employment system that prevails in America. No other nation would be considered efficient that had millions of men in its midst not speaking the national language, not of its citizenship, from whom it asked nothing but manual toil and to whom it gave little but the pay envelope.

We hear much these days of a new term. It is called *Americanization*. We use it rather glibly—it sounds well, but what does it mean? It means somehow or other that America shall profit by what immigrants bring in addition to their labor; it means that along with rights go duties; it means that Americans must give more to the foreigner than a job and a bunk to sleep in; that in some way we must all have a more common understanding of the opportunities and ideals of America; of the meaning of her institutions and liberties; and that we can converse in a common language and stand up under one flag.

Americanizing America is the task and responsibility of Americans. There is no subterfuge, excuse, or sophistry by which



native born sons can escape this duty. Like Mr. Ross and Miss Repplier, many bewail the fate of the American who lives in a tenement or town made unendurable by foreigners, but the custody of America's institutions, liberties and destinies belongs to native born Americans. The trouble is they have found it easier to retreat than advance, easier to move than to change their environment, easier to ostracize than to tolerate and educate their foreign born neighbors. Making money and being comfortable and not seeing the other side of American life has been the easiest way out.

We are face to face with two fundamental propositions in our Americanization movement. Our citizenship toll is heavy in our waste of men. The very essence of preparedness is to keep every man in America in the best possible physical and spiritual condition, and the place to do it is the industry, and the industrial community.

Important as the cities are, the strength of this nation does not rest in the greatest cities. There are east of the Alleghenies some 500 so called munitions plants, upon which we must rely mainly in time of war. Not one is in New York City or Boston. The most vulnerable point in our transportation system is not at the terminal; it is at the various points from which supplies and men must be started with ease and rapidity and carried along, and the coördination of the interlocking systems throughout the country. The Lake Superior copper region may in a moment become more important than any seaport city. We must therefore look to our thousands of industries scattered throughout the land for our fundamental preparedness.

Americanization which looks to the unity of all peoples in America behind America's flag on American soil, so far as it relates to industry, covers three main subjects. Our existing industries have so overgrown themselves and everything else that we have to arrive at our goal chiefly by processes of elimination. In our response to war orders and building of plants we seem in some instances to have forgotten every standard of health, decency and comfort. We build plants without houses for workmen; we build houses without sanitation or comfort; we build towns without streets or government almost over-night; we work men overtime until the symbol of America is the dollar—therefore we have to build our Americanization platform by *elimination*.

The first fundamental proposition in industrial preparedness

is the elimination of the physical toll by such physical construction of the plant as will give the best possible conditions in light, air, freedom from dust, wash and lunch rooms and appliances for preventing and for dealing with accidents.

The second fundamental proposition is the elimination of production tolls by economy in administration, elimination of waste, etc., by the adoption of so-called efficiency methods.

The third fundamental proposition is the elimination of citizenship tolls, (because in the last analysis the country pays the bills) by the adoption of methods which will conserve workmen and stabilize the labor market.

The labor turnover in this country in various industries is appalling. Germany would consider it military suicide and France would deal with it as a national disgrace. With our seasonal industries, our indifference to responsibility for dovetailing, our methods of employment, we find the average industry employing anywhere from two to five men to keep one at a cost of \$30 per man for every one employed. I submit as a fundamental proposition that we cannot use to any great advantage any of our chief Americanization agencies—the school, the naturalization court, the home, the community responsibility, personal friendships or a stake in America—with the man who goes from industry to industry, from town to camp, and who finally comes to regard the saloon as the one agency adapted to his needs and always open. By our present system the immigrant peasant who has lived all his life in his home village, becomes the itinerant workman of America and the greatest of our state “trotters.”

We shall never stabilize the labor market by legislation. We may facilitate it by a national system of employment exchanges which may also point the way, but the task is to be done in every small industry and every large industry under the spur of economy and in a spirit of national preparedness. The industry must install an employment department under capable management which will enable it to know its men and place them in the first instance effectively throughout the plant. This must be supplemented with a fair system of promotions and transfers based on efficiency records; and dismissals should not be made without giving the employe a hearing and attempting adjustment.

Most important in stabilizing the labor supply is the wide ex-

tension of insurance to include accidents, industrial diseases, health, sickness and service annuities. The basis of securing these is the widest possible education upon the subject of labor turnover—its cost and causes. We need first a campaign on labor turnover as a menace to preparedness which will cause every employer to look into his own status on this subject.

The Naval Consulting Board through its sub-committee on Industrial Preparedness is to secure a census of the industries; to find out what American industry can actually produce in munitions of war; to apply that knowledge in a practical way which will put the plants of this country into the service of the government behind the army and navy; to form "such an organization of skilled labor as will not get off the job when war comes, that will not allow skilled workers to go to the front only to be pulled back later, more or less demoralized, to tasks from which they should never have been taken."

If we agree that with the reduction in waste in employment should go increase in citizenship then we must also know our present resources in men, in terms of how many are unable to use our language, how many are illiterate, how many are ineligible to service because they owe allegiance to another country, how many are below par because of bad housing and other remediable living conditions. Knowing this, we can proceed to the constructive side and find out our capacity for expansion and increased power, measured by the extent to which we change these conditions.

The stand already taken by the Packard Motor Company and other concerns that a knowledge of English or willingness to learn it and to acquire citizenship are conditions precedent to employment marks the beginning of a new era. To the answer that this forces citizenship without preparation I desire to point out the precedent long established by law by which men cannot get employment without their full citizenship papers in Arizona, California, Idaho, New Jersey, Louisiana, Pennsylvania and Wyoming, to say nothing of restrictions in many or most states requiring citizenship for owning a dog or a rifle, for profiting by insurance provisions and for a number of other rights and privileges which we are accustomed to consider open to all.

It is the essence of justice that no man be deprived of the opportunity to earn his living because of lack of knowledge of

English and citizenship unless every facility be provided for learning these and fitting himself for citizenship. It is, however, true that our schools will remain empty, even with compulsory education laws, as in Massachusetts, that our citizenship preparation and examinations will remain in most instances a political farce, until industries make American citizenship their immediate responsibility.

This done, I think we shall find that we need a second melting pot—the civilian training camp. We have found that the industry creates an immigrant colony, and class and social distinctions. The workmen frequently never meet or shake hands with a “real American.” The day’s drill, the camp drudgery, washing the dust off alongside a stream, the dog tent, with their magnificent opportunity for formal team work and informal fellowship may supply the melting pot we have missed. They will certainly give back to industry men of greater value as workmen, and to the country incomparably better citizens.

### SOME IMPROVEMENTS IN EXISTING TRAINING SYSTEMS

By J. W. DIETZ,

Manager, Educational Department, Western Electric Company, Chicago, Ill.

“When in doubt blame the public schools.” It is a much easier thing to do and one gets so much larger an audience than when we take up the question—“How about our own training systems in business?” The fact that there is already some appreciation of the need of comprehensive training systems in business, is excuse for the prophecy that they will find their definite and proper place.

Of course some still insist that their training work is only temporary because of the failure of this or that agency to furnish the necessary supply of trained employees. But there are others, and we are finding them more frequently in business today who are constructively answering the question—“Is there not now and will there not always be definite training work for business which

will have to be undertaken in business by business people?" They are answering the question by analysis of the needs of their particular organization, then building upon varying individual educational foundations by extending (not duplicating) the efforts of other educational agencies.

No training system will function properly unless it is built upon a clean-cut realization of the particular needs it is designed to meet. Woe be unto the system which exists because "we want to do something nice for our young folks." It sounds well to be able to say "Oh, yes, we have a school"—but is it delivering the goods? A training system is a service department and must be judged by the service it renders to the organization which is paying the bills.

Frankly one of the difficult things in educational work within business is to remember that the product of a "training department" is training just as clearly as that the object of a "sales department" is sales, more sales and better sales. Unless those responsible for the educational work can keep this point of view we can hope for but little real service to an organization. It is possible to keep this point of view and still cooperate with those who are responsible for immediate results in production or distribution.

If we are sure that the desired product is training—real training, more training and better training, then let us look to our machinery—our system. It takes one of rather generous temperament to speak glowingly of existing training systems. There are many existing excellent educational features, methods or experiments in many varied industries and organizations, but there are as yet no "corporation school systems" as there will be in progressive business organizations within the next ten years. It is not too early, however, to expect the experimental, the empirical work of the present to give evidence of a scientific shaping into a definite functional business unit or perhaps even into a recognized part of a more comprehensive educational system.

Existing training plans for employees at work may be broadly divided under four heads when their purposes are considered:

- (1) To teach a particular task.

Typical cases are the training of operators for one machine in a works in which there is a minute division of

labor, or the office worker, such as a filing clerk, involving a short series of closely related duties.

(2) To teach a trade.

The training of apprentices as of machinists or printers.

(3) To teach a business as a whole.

Where it is essential for those who are to accept responsibility in the direction of a business to have a broad knowledge of that business, its products, its methods, its markets, its policies and its personnel.

(4) To teach subjects related to a task, a trade or a business.

Largely an opportunity for voluntary study as an aid in increasing present efficiency and preparation for advancement.

#### GENERAL IMPROVEMENTS

Let us consider a number of fundamentals applicable to any of the foregoing four needs, all of which, or any one of which may be the urgent present educational need of a business.

1. *Organization and Administration Problems Are of Prime Importance*

If they are fairly met at the beginning many subsequent problems are much more likely to be correctly solved. The fixing of definite responsibility for this sort of work pays as big returns as does similar definiteness in other phases of business. It is entirely too optimistic to hope for results by delegating supervision over educational work to one who is already busy on "regular work." The temptation to let things slide under the pressure of more tangible work is a real handicap. Not until an organization recognizes its training work on a par with other activities will it get real results. Arrangements for advisory council are essential to success, but it is better to have one man give his full time and his best thought and energy to the educational supervision problems of an organization than to have ten men giving a tenth of their time.

This carries with it too the recommendation that such a work be dignified by an organization unit title, which means its finances

should be handled as are those of any similar unit. This means at once that the work is established to get results.

Plans and records become a definite part of the system and no permanent success can be hoped for without them. It is essentially a long-time investment, and records are vital to the measuring of the returns as well as development of the plan. How else can we make a conscientious study of our mistakes?

### *2. Selection of Students*

Without question the most vital single item (and the one in which there is room for definite improvement) is the securing of the right employees to train. Every step toward more definite training is a step toward more careful selection of employees. Here is a splendid opportunity for coöperation between the employment department and the educational department in the case of new people coming into organization or between the educational department and other operating departments when old employees are to be developed. Here again, the keeping of adequate records and using them is of utmost importance. Study of known successful employees is going to be our safest guide for the selection of new employees. No educational plans, however well organized or administered, can be successful without the right sort of human material to be developed. Many present difficult problems will automatically solve themselves when we give proper attention to this part of our problem.

### *3. Educational Methods*

Knowing as we all do the great variations in native ability, as well as previous educational opportunity, we have been either careless or too optimistic in some of our plans. We still insist too much upon forcing our people to fit our plans rather than taking the pains and thought to make our plans flexible enough to fit the various needs of our people and our organizations.

Not until from most careful analysis and study we have set certain standards of achievement can we free much of our present training work of the element of time serving. Closer supervision and more intensive instruction are going to show us when we have achieved the results we are striving for, and at the same time point out the futility of mere time serving as an educational tool.

We need to know more about what to expect from certain

educational methods. We need to choose the method to fit the result expected. We are too careless in checking results. We hope, for instance, that our people get certain information through lectures, but if we check results we are almost certain to be disappointed. We need to be much more critical of our methods if we expect results from an educational viewpoint. Concrete problems and laboratory methods are much more worthy of our faith.

### SOME SPECIFIC IMPROVEMENTS

#### 1. *In Teaching a Particular Task*

No task, however trivial, is so unimportant that it is not worthy of thought and attention from the standpoint of instruction. In the smaller organization the danger is from the feeling that the number of people to be trained is small; therefore, its importance is underestimated. In the large organization there is such a great variety that the temptation is to feel that to make an attempt to instruct all new people is hopeless.

We must bear in mind the point that now we are expecting all new employees to learn their tasks practically without assistance. This is expensive, but how expensive and wasteful of time, material and effort can only be shown in comparison in concrete cases where better methods are used.

Where from six to fifteen new employees are being trained on fairly similar work, a full-time instructor can prove enough in savings to warrant his appointment. The instructor is responsible for the formation of proper work habits from the start. He discovers inaptitude or fitness for the task. He teaches some resourcefulness without the expensive wastes of the unsupervised method. He arouses interest in relation of a particular task to the work as a whole. He overcomes the hesitancy of the average new employee in asking for help. Working new people in groups tends to avoid discouragement on account of comparison of results with experienced workers before proper time has elapsed to gain proficiency.

Whether you have one or a hundred employees to "break in," definite decision as to the distinct ends to be accomplished and a record of the plan tried in their accomplishment will prove worth while.



## 2. *In Teaching a Trade*

The old plan of teaching a trade where the journeyman or foreman was considered responsible for instructing the apprentice, was simply a continuation or repetition of the indefinite plan of permitting people to learn a single task. It was always assumed that the period served would give the variety of experience.

There has been some tendency to swing entirely away from the old plan into a full time instruction shop, and there are a number of apprentice plans being worked on this basis at present. It was a natural conclusion to reach after so universal discouragement over the old method to meet present conditions.

The plan which at present gives greatest promise of results is one in which full responsibility is still given to the apprentice training department and they are held responsible alike for the initial instruction on particular tasks or machines, for experience in regular departments under normal shop conditions (as opposed to full time in a separate instruction shop) and for such related study as is considered necessary.

It seems fair to expect the most improvement in apprentice plans along this line. Some obvious advantages are the reduction in the amount of equipment in the school shop. The variety of equipment is necessary, but duplication is not necessary for the sole purpose of having equipment available upon which to practice to gain speed. A larger number of apprentices can be handled with a given investment in instruction equipment. A very close correlation between practice and study is possible. The alternate assignments throughout the course giving, first, school shop experience, and then the regular shop experience, will give the best knowledge of actual work problems and contact with workmen.

The full authority of the apprentice supervisor will give the opportunity to select productive work of the most value educationally.

## 3. *In Teaching a Business as a Whole*

More and more emphasis is being placed on the furnishing and placing of apprentices to gain a broader knowledge of a business than can be gained from experience in single department, or even a group of departments.

Offering a variety of experiences will aid in increasing the versatility of employees as well as their breadth. We can look for the biggest improvement when we study and analyze the experience to discover the best order of assignment. What seems the most logical from the standpoint of organization of the business, will not necessarily prove the ideal arrangement from an educational point of view.

It has been proven that it is much better to teach and give experience in assembly departments before assignment to work in process departments where work is done on isolated parts. The attempt to have a new employee, who has no general knowledge of your product, follow the process through from raw material to finished product, will prove expensive in time as opposed to the plan for acquiring the more general knowledge first.

In every organization there is much material already accumulated which, if made accessible and organized into a plan, may be made a productive force rather than an encumbrance to a file of records or correspondence. Starting with a company's own advertising matter a course of related study can be built up which will prove of value to the progressive employees who are interested in broadening.

A method which is coming into use is that of taking old employees from their regular duties and giving them instruction in groups on phases of the business which are related and considered essential to the best coöperation and results. Plans which are laid on strictly an educational basis with definite programs for every part of the work will bring results which often justify taking employees from their regular work for periods as long as six or eight weeks.

Definite intensive instruction with close checking of work done will pay as big returns with experienced and older employees as does similar effort with new people.

There are in every business certain fundamental things which it would be to the organization's advantage to have many of its employees know. There must be as definite plans to teach this general knowledge as the more specific knowledge of detailed tasks or trades.

#### *4. In Teaching Related Subjects*

In every business there are certain related subjects which are real working tools. Mechanical drawing for the ability it gives to read blueprints is almost a universal shop demand. Electricity and magnetism reaches very intimately into many businesses.

The big opportunity within business is to take these fundamentals, use concrete illustrations and problems from your own business and help your people to see how those fundamentals are interpreted in their every-day work. There are people in every organization anxious to fit themselves for advancement within a business by such study. The by-products of such a plan are large. The pupils profit, the instructors are better for it and the organization has discovered its progressive employees.

#### *What May We Expect?*

While better and more progressive efforts in our training plans for employees are not the panacea for all industrial ills, we may with confidence expect some very definite results.

They will show us both the cost and the value of systematic training and development of employees in business.

They will stimulate and aid efforts for the more careful analysis of work and employees for that work.

They will serve as a point of contact between public and corporate interests in all grades of education.

They will be a distinct factor in the reduction of "turn over."

They will serve as a most important factor in the advancement of democracy in industry.

## RECORDS AND REPORTS OF WORK

BY J. W. BANCKER,

Assistant General Superintendent, Western Electric Company, Chicago.

During the past few years the application of scientific analysis to the problem of industrial management has occupied the attention of many companies. This analysis has been largely directed to the solution of the problem as it was affected by the factors of materials, processes and equipment and while it has been recognized that the study of the human element is at least as important as the other elements involved, comparatively little analysis of this factor has been attempted in comparison with the thought and study directed to the others. It is evident from the articles written in the last two or three years and from the general interest now apparent that considerable thought is being given to the man problem and it is hoped that the description of employment methods and records which follows may be of assistance to those interested.

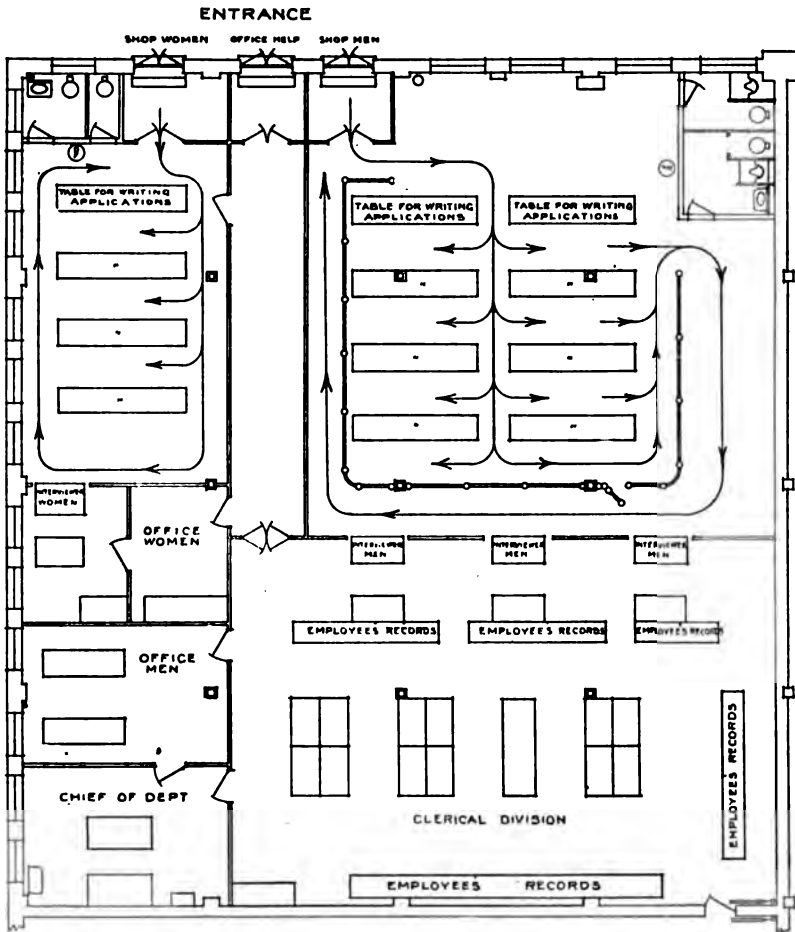
As many of the records of employes at work are those originated at the time of employment, it has seemed advisable to explain somewhat in detail the employment routine. While there are some minor differences between the methods and in the forms used in employing shop employes and office employes, for the sake of simplicity, this description will cover the methods and forms used in the employment of shop employes only.

It was considered advisable in laying out the employment department to divide the applicants into four main divisions: shop men, shop women, office men and office women, and the layout of this department which follows shows how the arrangement of the department accomplishes the separation desired and also indicates the line of travel for each class of applicant.

### RECORDS

#### *The Hiring of Employes*

When additional help is required by any department, a requisition, form 256 GN, is sent by the department chief to the employment department.



As rapidly as these forms are received they are sorted according to the general divisions specified above and added to lists which show the requirements of the works for each class of help. These lists are placed in the hands of the interviewers who are thereby informed as to the total requirements of the works for each class of help.

256 GN (11-16)

**EMPLOYMENT DEPARTMENT**\_\_\_\_\_ **191**\_\_\_\_\_**PROVIDE HELP AS FOLLOWS:**

NUMBER	KIND	RATE

**VACANCY CAUSED BY** \_\_\_\_\_**TEMPORARY } INCREASE IN FORCE ON ACCOUNT OF** \_\_\_\_\_  
**PERMANENT }****APPROVED }** \_\_\_\_\_ **SIGNED** \_\_\_\_\_ **SEC.** \_\_\_\_\_ **FLOOR** \_\_\_\_\_**THIS COUPON TO BE SENT TO THE EMPLOYMENT DEPARTMENT  
WHEN PROPERLY APPROVED****FORM 256 GN**

When the applicant applies personally he is first given a preliminary interview to determine his general fitness for any of the positions which are to be filled. If he seems to meet the requirements or is a desirable prospective, he is requested to fill out an application blank, form 213 GN.

After filling out this blank he returns to the interviewer who carefully scrutinizes the application blank and by questioning the applicants endeavors to determine his ability to fill the position which is vacant.

On certain classes of skilled help it has been thought desirable to have the department head finally interview the applicant before assigning him to the position vacant and in these cases the applicant is sent to the department head with the application blank and form H. W. 1255 enclosed in the pass envelope, form H. W. 1405.

By means of this pass envelope the applicant can be properly directed to the department by the police officers of the works. If the applicant is satisfactory to the department head he so indicates it on form H. W. 1255 and returns the applicant to the employment department with both forms in a sealed envelope. The approved applicant is then given a pass, form H. W. 87

**Western Electric Company,**  
INCORPORATED**APPLICATION FOR EMPLOYMENT**

DATE \_\_\_\_\_ 191\_\_

NAME IN FULL \_\_\_\_\_ (DO NOT USE ALIASES) NATIONALITY \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_ TELEPHONE NO. \_\_\_\_\_

PLACE OF BIRTH \_\_\_\_\_ DATE OF BIRTH \_\_\_\_\_ (MONTH, DAY AND YEAR) MARRIED? \_\_\_\_\_

NAME OF SCHOOL \_\_\_\_\_ FROM \_\_\_\_\_ TO \_\_\_\_\_ DID YOU GRADUATE? \_\_\_\_\_

NAME OF HIGH SCHOOL \_\_\_\_\_ FROM \_\_\_\_\_ TO \_\_\_\_\_ DID YOU GRADUATE? \_\_\_\_\_

OTHER EDUCATION OR TRAINING \_\_\_\_\_

KIND OF WORK WANTED \_\_\_\_\_

HAVE YOU ANY PHYSICAL DEFECTS? \_\_\_\_\_ AMOUNT OF WAGES OR SALARY EXPECTED? \_\_\_\_\_

**FORMER EMPLOYERS**

GIVE THE NAMES OF THE FIRMS YOU HAVE WORKED FOR BEGINNING WITH THE LAST	WHAT WORK DID YOU DO	HOW LONG EMPLOYED?	DATE OF LEAVING?	WHAT WAGES OR SALARY DID YOU RECEIVE?
1. LAST EMPLOYER				
NAME _____				
ADDRESS _____				
WHY DID YOU LEAVE? _____				
2. NAME _____				
ADDRESS _____				
WHY DID YOU LEAVE? _____				
3. NAME _____				
ADDRESS _____				
WHY DID YOU LEAVE? _____				
4. NAME _____				
ADDRESS _____				
WHY DID YOU LEAVE? _____				

HAVE YOU EVER BEEN EMPLOYED BY ANY TELEPHONE COMPANY? \_\_\_\_\_

IF SO GIVE ITS NAME AND ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

DATE OF ENTERING ITS SERVICE \_\_\_\_\_ DATE OF LEAVING ITS SERVICE \_\_\_\_\_

HAVE YOU EVER BEEN EMPLOYED BY THE WESTERN ELECTRIC COMPANY? \_\_\_\_\_ IF SO, WHEN? \_\_\_\_\_

HAVE YOU ANY RELATIVES IN THE EMPLOY OF THIS COMPANY? \_\_\_\_\_ IF SO, GIVE NAMES? \_\_\_\_\_

INTRODUCED TO THIS COMPANY BY \_\_\_\_\_

**REFERENCES (DO NOT REFER TO RELATIVES)**

NAME	ADDRESS	BUSINESS
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

DATE ASSIGNED \_\_\_\_\_ DEPARTMENT \_\_\_\_\_ RATE \_\_\_\_\_

VACANCY, INCREASE, TEMPORARY, PERIOD EXPIRES \_\_\_\_\_

E15 ON  
FORM

READ RULES ON OTHER SIDE

FORM 213 GN

H. W. 1255

## WESTERN ELECTRIC COMPANY, INCORPORATED

MR. \_\_\_\_\_ DEPT. NO. \_\_\_\_\_ DATE \_\_\_\_\_  
 THE BEARER, \_\_\_\_\_ IS SENT IN RESPONSE  
 TO YOUR REQUESTION FOR \_\_\_\_\_

PLEASE FILL OUT BLANKS, AS INDICATED, AND RETURN TO EMPLOYMENT DEPARTMENT WITH APPLICANT.

EMPLOYMENT DEPARTMENT, PER \_\_\_\_\_

TO EMPLOYMENT DEPARTMENT: (ENCLOSE IN SEALED ENVELOPE)

APPLICANT ACCEPTED AT \_\_\_\_\_ PER HOUR \_\_\_\_\_ TO REPORT FOR WORK (DATE) \_\_\_\_\_

THIS ADDITION IS DUE TO { VACANCY  
 PERMANENT INCREASE  
 TEMPORARY INCREASE } IN DEPT. NO. \_\_\_\_\_  
 (ON WHICH PAY ROLL HE OR SHE SHOULD BE ENTERED)

APPLICANT REJECTED ON ACCOUNT OF \_\_\_\_\_

DEPT. NO. \_\_\_\_\_ PER \_\_\_\_\_

FORM H. W. 1255

and sent to the medical department where he is examined as to his physical fitness and a complete record of the physical conditions found is entered on form H. W. 3051 which is filed permanently in the medical department.

H. W. 1405

APPROVED \_\_\_\_\_

WESTERN ELECTRIC COMPANY, INCORPORATED  
 EMPLOYMENT DEPT.

DATE \_\_\_\_\_

**PASS BEARER To**

MR. \_\_\_\_\_ DEPT. No. \_\_\_\_\_

MR. \_\_\_\_\_ DEPT. No. \_\_\_\_\_

Mr. \_\_\_\_\_ DEPT. No. \_\_\_\_\_

MR. \_\_\_\_\_ DEPT. No. \_\_\_\_\_

FORM H. W. 1405



H W 87

**APPLICANTS PASS TO MEDICAL DEPT.**

NAME \_\_\_\_\_ DEPT. \_\_\_\_\_

SENT TO MEDICAL DEPT, FOR PHYSICAL EXAMINATION

DEPT. 1310

SIGNATURE OF APPLICANT

REPORT \_\_\_\_\_ EXAMINING PHYSICIAN \_\_\_\_\_

FORM H. W. 87

The applicant is then sent back to the employment department with pass H. W. 87, indicating whether or not he has satisfactorily passed our physical requirements. If he has he is then given the pass coupon of form H. W. 5243, which specifies the date and the time on which he is to report to work.

H W 3051-A

**PHYSICAL EXAMINATION—MEN**

NAME				CLOCK NO.	DEPT. NO.
ADDRESS				MARRIED SINGLE	AGE
NATIONALITY	OCCUPATION	DATE EMPLOYED	DATE EXAMINED	REFERRED BY	
WHAT DISEASES HAVE YOU HAD? NATURE		DATE	DURATION	COMPLICATIONS	
WHAT INJURIES, ACCIDENTS OR SURGICAL OPERATIONS HAVE YOU HAD? NATURE		DATE	DURATION	RESULTS	
HAVE YOU EVER HAD: HEMIA		RHEUMATISM	FISTULA	VENEREAL DISEASE	
SIGNED _____					
HEIGHT	WEIGHT	TEMPERATURE	INSPECTION & PALPATION OF HEAD & NECK		
TONGUE	TEETH	GUMS	THROAT	NASAL PASSAGES	

FORM H. W. 3051-A

VISION		RIGHT	LEFT	COLOR BLIND	WEAR GLASSES	HEARING		RIGHT	LEFT
AUSCULTATION					PERCUSSION				
LUNGS									
SOUNDS		RHYTHM		SIZE	BLOOD PRESSURE		SYSTOLIC	DIASTOLIC	PULSE PRESSURE
HEART		CHARACTER OF			CONDITION OF ARTERIES		IRREGULAR OR FEMORAL, HEKIMA		CONDITION OF IRREGULAR RINGS
PULSE									
GENITO URINARY SYSTEM		VARICOCELE			HYDROCELE		VARICOSE VEINS		
CONDITION OF ABDOMINAL VISCERA							EXTREMITIES		JOINTS
URINALYSIS		SPEC. GRAVITY		ALBUMEN	SUGAR	SEDIMENT		MICROSCOPIC	
PUPILS	TREMORS	STELLINGMA GABBY'S ROBBERS		SPINE	GLANDS	REFLEXES			
SCARS OR DEFORMITIES FROM OPERATION, INJURY OR DISEASE									
EVIDENCE OF INFECTIOUS DISEASE					ACCEPTED	PHYSICALLY UNFIT		REJECTED	
WHY									

SIGNED

EXAMINING PHYSICIAN

FORM H. W. 3051-A

H W 5243-A (2-14)

**NEW EMPLOYEE'S PASS****WATCHMAN, PASS**

CLOCK NO.		NAME		
TO DEPT. NO.	FLOOR	SECTION	NAME OF FOREMAN	
TO REPORT (DATE)	A.M.			
	P.M.		EMPLOYMENT DEPARTMENT	
REPORTED	DATE			
A.M.				
P.M.		WATCHMAN		
NOTED	NOTED			
EMPLOYMENT DEPARTMENT		PAY ROLL DEPARTMENT		
EMPLOYMENT APPROVED				

EXAMINING PHYSICIAN

PASSES BEARER TO DEPARTMENT INDICATED IF PRESENTED ON THE DATE SPECIFIED. TO BE SURRENDERED TO THE FOREMAN'S CLERK IN EXCHANGE FOR EMPLOYEE'S ENTRANCE CARD, THEN FORWARDED TO THE EMPLOYMENT DEPT. NO. 1086

FORM H. W. 5243-A

H W 5243-B

**NOTIFICATION OF NEW EMPLOYEE**

CLOCK NO.	NAME		
TO DEPT. NO.	FLOOR	SECTION	NAME OF FOREMAN
TO REPORT (DATE)	A.M.		EMPLOYMENT DEPARTMENT
	P.M.		
CLASS OF LABOR (USE STANDARD CLASSIFICATIONS PER INSTR. A-3-D)			
RATE OF PAY		VACANCY INCREASE TEMPORARY	
PER			

SIGNED

FOREMAN

FOR HOURLY RATES:—RATE SHALL BE DETERMINED AND THIS FORM FORWARDED TO EMPLOYMENT DEPARTMENT AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, IN NO CASE LATER THAN FOURTH WORKING DAY PRIOR TO PAY DAY.

FOR WEEKLY RATES:—THIS FORM SHALL BE FORWARDED TO PAY ROLL DEPARTMENT BY SPECIAL MESSENGER AS SOON AS EMPLOYEE STARTS WORK.

FORM H. W. 5243-B

He is also given in pamphlet form copies of the shop rules and the benefit fund plan. The second coupon of form H. W. 5243 is sent by the employment department to the department head to whom the new employe is to report, together with an employe's entrance card, form H. W. 1501 and identification card, form H. W. 411.

NO EMPLOYEE WILL BE ALLOWED TO ENTER THE  
FACTORY WITHOUT SHOWING HIS CARD.

**WESTERN ELECTRIC COMPANY.**  
INCORPORATED

EMPLOYEE'S CARD.

NAME.....

CLOCK NO. .... DEPT. NO.....

SIGNED .....  
FOREMAN.

FORM H. W. 1501-A

HW 1501-A (1-10)

EVERY TIME AN EMPLOYEE COMES IN OR GOES OUT HE MUST REGISTER ON THE CLOCK. AT NOON EVERY ONE MUST REGISTER "OUT" WITHIN 15 MINUTES AFTER STOPPING TIME AND "IN" NOT EARLIER THAN 30 MINUTES AFTER STOPPING TIME.

FOR EACH FAILURE TO REGISTER, A DEDUCTION OF ONE-HALF HOUR WILL BE MADE FROM EMPLOYEE'S TIME.

ANY EMPLOYEE LOANING HIS CARD TO, OR REGISTERING FOR ANOTHER, WILL BE SUBJECT TO IMMEDIATE DISCHARGE.

THIS CARD MUST BE RETURNED TO THE PAY ROLL DEPARTMENT WHEN FINAL PAY IS DRAWN.

IF THIS CARD IS LOST, TWENTY-FIVE (25) CENTS WILL BE DEDUCTED FROM WAGES DUE.

SIGNED \_\_\_\_\_  
EMPLOYEE.

FORM H. W. 1501-A

When the new employe reports for duty he presents the pass to the police officer who directs him to the department to which he has been assigned. Upon arrival in that department he reports to the department clerk who assigns him a clock number, gives him the entrance card, witnesses his signature on the identification card, provides him with locker space and then turns him over to the foreman or his assistant for assignment to work. The department clerk then forwards form H. W. 5243 to the pay roll department as a notification that the new employe has reported and has been assigned to work.

H W 411 (KR-27)

## EMPLOYEE'S IDENTIFICATION CARD

THIS LINE FOR USE OF EMPLOYMENT DEPARTMENT ONLY

SIGNATURE		CLOCK NO. ASSIGNED
DATE OF BIRTH	BIRTHPLACE	
DATE REPORTED FOR WORK	SIGNATURE WITNESSED	DEPT. NO.
SIGNATURE AND OTHER DATA COMPARED		EMPLOYMENT DEPT.
REMARKS		

THIS FORM MUST BE SENT TO THE EMPLOYMENT DEPARTMENT AS SOON AS  
NEW EMPLOYEE REPORTS FOR WORK

FORM H. W. 411

Within four days the department head enters on the second coupon of form H. W. 5243 the new employee's rate of pay (which must be within standard rates set for the class of work to which he is assigned), signs it and sends it, together with the identification cards, form H. W. 411, to the employment department. The employment department, from the information on the application blank and form H. W. 5243 received from the department head, makes out an employee's rate card,

H W 9 (6-13)

NAME (IN FULL)

DATE OF BIRTH (MONTH, DAY AND YEAR)

NATIONALITY		ADDRESS (INST. BRANCH ONLY)				
MARRIED <input type="checkbox"/>	SINGLE <input type="checkbox"/>	VACANCY <input type="checkbox"/>	INCREASE <input type="checkbox"/>	TEMPORARY. EXPIRES		
ENTERED ON PAY ROLL	CLOCK NO.	DEPARTMENT		DATE	RATE	APPROVED
		NAME	NO.			

FORM H. W. 9-A

ENTERED ON PAY ROLL	CLOCK NO.	DEPARTMENT		DATE	RATE	APPROVED
		NAME	NO.			

FORM H. W. 9-B

form H. W. 9, which after being approved, in accordance with certain prescribed instructions, is sent to the pay roll department as a notification to enter the new employe on the pay roll. The employment department checks the signature on the identification card with that on the application blank, forwarding the identification card to the cashier to be used in checking the signatures on pay receipts and sends out inquiries to the references given by the new employe on his application blank. The replies to these inquiries, the application blank, form H. W. 5243, medical department pass, and interview slip, form H. W. 1255, when it is used, are then filed

permanently in employee's folder, form 412 GN, on which is noted the employee's name, department number and employment date.

Form 412 G N

NAME		
DATE EMPLOYED	DEPARTMENT	DATE OF LEAVING

FORM 412 G. N.

This folder is then filed alphabetically.

Employment records are held indefinitely and in the employment department are filed folders for all employees hired for the past five years, those for employees hired prior to that time being filed in a general record room.

As soon as an employee has been assigned to work the department clerk originates record of attendance and earnings card, form H. W. 135, to which is posted each day the number of hours worked, it being indicated each day by means of a symbol whether or not the employee was late. At the end of the week the totals of the number of times late, the day work hours and piece work hours worked are entered, together with a record of the employee's pay which is obtained from the pay receipt.

This is one of the most important records which we keep, showing as it does a complete record of the employee's punctuality, attendance and earnings, also showing his average and minimum earnings per hour for each month and for the six months' period. The data obtained from these cards is used at the semi-annual revision periods later referred to and is used continually by department heads and their superiors in watching the progress of the operators as indicated by their earnings.

When the cards have been completely filled they are forwarded to the employment department and filed in the employee's folder with the other papers, a new card being started by the department clerk for the subsequent period.

J. W. 1984. 16-15)

## RECORD OF ATTENDANCE AND EARNINGS OF HOURLY RATE EMPLOYEES--"MALE"

CLOCK NO. :		NAME :		CLASS OF WORK :		RATE PER HOUR :		PER WEEK :		SPEC. RATE :		DEPT. NO. :	
<div> <div> <div>DATE</div> <div>S</div> <div>M</div> <div>T</div> <div>W</div> <div>T</div> <div>F</div> <div>S</div> <div>THES DATE</div> <div>TOTAL P.M. HOURS</div> <div>TOTAL HOURS</div> <div>PAY RECEIVED</div> </div> <div> <div>DATE</div> <div>S</div> <div>M</div> <div>T</div> <div>W</div> <div>T</div> <div>F</div> <div>S</div> <div>THES DATE</div> <div>TOTAL P.M. HOURS</div> <div>TOTAL HOURS</div> <div>PAY RECEIVED</div> </div> </div>													
<div> <div> <div>1918 OCT. 9</div> <div>W</div> <div>O</div> <div>R</div> <div>16</div> <div>W</div> <div>O</div> <div>R</div> <div>23</div> <div>W</div> <div>O</div> <div>R</div> <div>30</div> <div>W</div> <div>O</div> <div>R</div> </div> <div> <div>1918 JAN. 6</div> <div>W</div> <div>O</div> <div>R</div> <div>13</div> <div>W</div> <div>O</div> <div>R</div> <div>20</div> <div>W</div> <div>O</div> <div>R</div> <div>27</div> <div>W</div> <div>O</div> <div>R</div> </div> </div>													
<div> <div> <div>RATE PER P.M. HOUR</div> <div>AV. MIN.</div> <div>TOTALS</div> <div>P.M. Pay Recd.</div> </div> <div> <div>RATE PER P.M. HOUR</div> <div>AV. MIN.</div> <div>TOTALS</div> <div>P.M. Pay Recd.</div> </div> </div>													
<div> <div> <div>NOV. 6</div> <div>W</div> <div>O</div> <div>R</div> <div>13</div> <div>W</div> <div>O</div> <div>R</div> <div>20</div> <div>W</div> <div>O</div> <div>R</div> <div>27</div> <div>W</div> <div>O</div> <div>R</div> </div> <div> <div>DEC. 4</div> <div>W</div> <div>O</div> <div>R</div> <div>11</div> <div>W</div> <div>O</div> <div>R</div> <div>18</div> <div>W</div> <div>O</div> <div>R</div> <div>25</div> <div>W</div> <div>O</div> <div>R</div> </div> </div>													
<div> <div> <div>RATE PER P.M. HOUR</div> <div>AV. MIN.</div> <div>TOTALS</div> <div>P.M. Pay Recd.</div> </div> <div> <div>RATE PER P.M. HOUR</div> <div>AV. MIN.</div> <div>TOTALS</div> <div>P.M. Pay Recd.</div> </div> </div>													
<div> <div> <div>1918 JAN. 1</div> <div>W</div> <div>O</div> <div>R</div> </div> <div> <div>MAR. 4</div> <div>W</div> <div>O</div> <div>R</div> <div>11</div> <div>W</div> <div>O</div> <div>R</div> <div>18</div> <div>W</div> <div>O</div> <div>R</div> <div>25</div> <div>W</div> <div>O</div> <div>R</div> </div> </div>													
<div> <div> <div>RATE PER P.M. HOUR</div> <div>AV. MIN.</div> <div>TOTALS</div> <div>P.M. Pay Recd.</div> </div> <div> <div>RATE PER P.M. HOUR</div> <div>AV. MIN.</div> <div>TOTALS</div> <div>P.M. Pay Recd.</div> </div> </div>													
<div> <div> <div>W - ACTUAL HOURS WORKED IN DEPARTMENT</div> <div>M - OVERTIME ALLOWANCE IN HOURS</div> <div>H - HOURS WORKED IN RESTAURANT BAND ETC, SEE INSTR NO 50,13*</div> </div> <div> <div>RATE PER P.M. HOUR</div> <div>AV. MIN.</div> <div>TOTALS FOR SIX MONTHS</div> </div> </div>													

**FORM H. W. 135-A**

**EMPLOYEE'S LEAVING NOTICE (REVERSE SIDE)**

WEEK ENDING \_\_\_\_\_

HOURS D. W. \_\_\_\_\_ CHECKED BY \_\_\_\_\_ AMOUNT \_\_\_\_\_ CHECKED BY \_\_\_\_\_

" P. W. \_\_\_\_\_ " " \_\_\_\_\_ " \_\_\_\_\_ " " \_\_\_\_\_

**TOTAL AMOUNT**\_\_\_\_\_

WEEK ENDING\_\_\_\_\_

HOURS D. W. \_\_\_\_\_ CHECKED BY \_\_\_\_\_ AMOUNT \_\_\_\_\_ CHECKED BY \_\_\_\_\_

" P. W. \_\_\_\_\_ " " \_\_\_\_\_ " \_\_\_\_\_ " " \_\_\_\_\_

**RATE PER HOUR**\_\_\_\_\_ **TOTAL AMOUNT**\_\_\_\_\_

**FORM 421**

*Record of Company Property Loaned*

For all company property loaned to employees for their use, such as keys, badges, tools, books, etc., record of company property loaned, form H. W. 5099, is made out and signed by the person receiving the property. This card is filed in the pay roll department, and in the event of employee leaving, payment of final wages will not be made until all of this property has been returned and accounted for.

H. W. 5099 (5-14)

**RECORD OF COMPANY PROPERTY LOANED**

USE SEPARATE CARD FOR EACH ITEM LOANED

DATE	NAME	CLOCK NO.	DEPT. NO.
CLASS OF BADGE		BADGE NO.	REQ. NO.
KIND OF KEY	KEY NO	SET	
MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS			

IF THE ABOVE PROPERTY IS LOST OR CANNOT BE PRODUCED UPON DEMAND, I HEREBY AUTHORIZE THE WESTERN ELECTRIC COMPANY TO DEDUCT FROM MY WAGES THE SUM OF

\$ \_\_\_\_\_ SIGNED \_\_\_\_\_

FORM H. W. 5099

*Transfer of Employees between Departments*

When it is desirable for any reason to transfer an employee from one department to another the head of the department in which the employee works originates form H. W. 2214.

Coupon B of this form is sent immediately to the pay roll department as a preliminary notice that the transfer has been made and is held there as a check against the receipt of coupon A. The A coupon of this form is approved first by the department head making the transfer, then by the head of the department to which the employee is being transferred and finally by the superior of both department heads. It is then sent to the pay roll department where the necessary changes are made on the pay roll, after which it



is sent to the employment department and filed in the employee's folder.

H W 2214-A (1-16)

**RECORD OF TRANSFER OF EMPLOYEE**

NAME				DATE OF TRANSFER		
REASON FOR TRANSFER						
FROM	DEPT. NO.	CLOCK NO.	RATE	CHARACTER OF SERVICE		
				WORK	GOOD	FAIR
TO				CONDUCT		
				ABILITY		
VACANCY OR TRANSFER OF WORK <input type="checkbox"/>				WOULD YOU RE-EMPLOY?		
INCREASE <input type="checkbox"/>						
TEMPORARY TRANSFER				CLASS OF WORK		
EXPIRES						
SIGNED				DEPT. NO.		
APPROVED						
SECURE APPROVALS IN ACCORDANCE WITH G.M.I. 30.111 AND FORWARD AT ONCE UNDER COVER TO PAY ROLL DEPARTMENT NO. 5039						

H W 2214-B (1-16)

**PRELIMINARY TRANSFER NOTICE-PAY ROLL RECORD**

CLOCK NO.	NAME	
FROM DEPT. NO.	TO DEPT. NO.	DATE OF TRANSFER
SIGNED		
DEPT. NO.		
H. W. 2214-A RECEIVED IN PAY ROLL DEPT.		PAY ROLL RECORDS CHANGED
DATE	HOUR	DATE
		PAY ROLL CLERK
COMPANY PROPERTY FILE CHECKED		H. W. 2214-A SENT TO EMPLOYMENT DEPT.
DATE		DATE
	PAY ROLL CLERK	PAY ROLL CLERK

THIS PART TO BE SENT AT ONCE TO PAY ROLL DEPARTMENT NO. 5039 WHERE IT SHALL BE HELD UNTIL RECEIPT OF H. W. 2214-A

FORM H. W. 2214-A AND B

*Re-rating Employees*

In order that the rates of employees may be maintained in accordance with the kind and quality of work performed by them or changed when their position or general class of work is changed, two methods are provided. By the first method the rate of pay

of every employe is considered at fixed semi-annual periods. The names are listed on form H. W. 304 which is self-explanatory and on which department heads make their recommendations for changes in rates.

[illegible]

**FORM H. W. 304**

After these recommendations have received the prescribed approvals, the lists are sent to the pay roll department who make the authorized changes on the pay roll. At this periodic revision the employee's record is carefully considered, it being required of the department head that he give good reasons, not only for such increases as are recommended, but also for not recommending increases in those cases where the rate has remained stationary for any length of time.

Under certain conditions it is necessary to re-rate employees at other than the regular revision periods and for this purpose, a re-rating card, form H. W. 5286 has been provided.

Such a re-rating is authorized in the case of a new employe when it is found that the starting rate is too low for the grade of work performed. In these cases a re-rating may be made within sixty days after date of hiring. A re-rating is also authorized in cases where an employe is changed from one class of work to another for

H. W. 5286-A (1-10)

## RE-RATING REQUISITION

EMPLOYMENT DEPARTMENT NO. 5833			DATE
			191
PLEASE RE-RATE			
CLOCK No.	NAME		
FROM	TO	DATE EMPLOYED	NEW RATE TO DATE FROM
PER	PER		191
REASON			
SIGNED			DEPT. No
FOREMAN			
APPROVED	APPROVED	APPROVED	APPROVED

FOREMEN OR CHIEFS OF DEPARTMENTS SHALL SECURE APPROVALS AND FORWARD AT ONCE TO DEPARTMENT NO. 5833  
IN ACCORDANCE WITH G. M. L. 50.122.

FORM H. W. 5286-A

which the rate paid is different from that on which he has been working. This form is originated by the department head who sends the original to the employment department, retaining the duplicate as his record. The employment department obtains the employee's rate card from the pay roll department, inserts the new rate, obtains the necessary approvals, returns the rate card to the pay roll department and files the re-rating form in the employee's folder.

*Employee Leaving the Service of the Company*

When an employee wishes to leave of his own accord, or is to be laid off due to lack of work in his department, or is to be dismissed for inability to perform the work assigned to him, he is referred to the employment department for an interview. If it is found to be advisable to give him employment at other work for which there is a vacancy, arrangements are made for a regular transfer. If there is no other work available a record card is filled out by the interviewer giving the employee's name, address, department number and class of work. These are filed in the employment department and are used as preferred record of applicants in filling subsequent vacancies. If the employee cannot be used in any other department or is being dismissed for disciplinary reasons, the department head originates employee's leaving notice, form H. W. 421.

H. W. 421		EX-EMPLOYEE'S RECORD						
TO EMPLOYMENT DEPT. NO.			DATE			LAST DAY WORKED		
CLOCK NO.			NAME					
ADDRESS								
REASON FOR LEAVING		CHARACTER OF SERVICE				REINSTATEMENT		
LEAVE OF ABSENCE			GOOD	FAIR	UNSATISFY	NO OBJECTION		
LAI D OFF		WORK				DO NOT RE-EMPLOY FOR THIS DEPT. (FOR REASONS GIVEN BELOW)		
OWN ACCORD		CONDUCT						
SUSPENDED		ABILITY						
DISMISSED		CLASS OF WORK PERFORMED						
DISCHARGED								
REMARKS (GIVE COMPLETE INFORMATION CONCERNING REASON FOR LEAVING)								
SIGNED _____ FOREMAN, DEPT. NO. _____								
THIS COUPON MUST BE DETACHED BY THE FOREMAN OR HEAD OF DEPARTMENT AND SENT AT ONCE UNDER COVER TO THE EMPLOYMENT DEPARTMENT								
-----								
EMPLOYEE'S LEAVING NOTICE								
TO PAY ROLL DEPT. NO.		TO CASHIER NO.		DATE		LAST DAY WORKED		
USE THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION FOR CLOSING THE ACCOUNT OF:—								
CLOCK NO.		NAME						
ADDRESS								
RETURNED _____						TOOL STOCKKEEPER		
TOOLS DEDUCT FOR _____								
BADGE RETURNED			LOCKER KEY RETURNED			DOOR KEY RETURNED		
PAY EMPLOYEE								
AT ONCE		ON REG. PAY DAY		FOREMAN, DEPT. NO. _____				
ACCOUNT CLOSED		DROPPED FROM ROLL		RATE CARD TO EMP. DEPT.				
DATE		DATE		DATE				
PAY ROLL CLERK		PAY ROLL CLERK		PAY ROLL CLERK				
AFTER PAYING EMPLOYEE CASHIER SHALL RETURN THIS COUPON TO PAY ROLL DEPARTMENT								

FORM H. W. 421<sup>1</sup>

The upper coupon denoted "Ex-Employee's Record" after being filled out completely is detached and sent under sealed cover to the employment department where a notation is made on the cover of the employee's folder, form 412 GN, and the record filed permanently in the folder. The lower coupon, designated as the "Leaving Notice" is filled out to show the employee's name, clock

<sup>1</sup> For reverse side of this notice, see p. 263.

number and latest address, and is used first to clear up all indebtedness of the employe for property which has been loaned to him. The employe is then sent to the pay roll department with this coupon where his account is closed and he is given a pay check for the amount of wages due which, after signing, he presents with the leaving notice to the cashier in exchange for the money due him. After payment has been made the cashier returns this coupon to the pay roll department, on receipt of which the employe's rate card is removed from the pay roll file and forwarded to the employment department where it is filed with the other records in the employe's folder.

In addition to the various forms described above which are filed in the employe's folder, complete detailed reports of all accidents, the papers in connection with all benefit payments under our benefit plan, special investigations, notices of salary garnishment, etc., are all finally sent to the employment department and filed in the employe's folder.

All of the employe's folders are filed alphabetically in locked cabinets and can only be sent out of the department to certain designated officials. When necessary to send these folders out of the department, form H. W. 3172 is inserted in their place.

H. W. 3172 (2-14)

**THIS FOLDER IS  
OUT**

**DO NOT REMOVE THIS CARD**

NAME	DEP'T	STATE WHY PAPERS WERE REMOVED AND TO WHOM THEY WERE SENT	DATE	REMOVED BY SIGN HERE

**THIS CARD MUST BE FILLED OUT AND PUT INTO FILE  
WHENEVER A FOLDER IS REMOVED FROM THE LIVE OR  
DEAD FILES**

FORM H. W. 3172

## REPORTS

Reports are of value in showing general conditions and tendencies. In developing the reports issued by the employment department we have endeavored to have them show the volume of work handled and the turnover and stability of the force. The forms shown below are those of reports issued regularly and in order that the figures may be comparable as between months the data is filled in each month on a tracing containing the figures for the previous months and blueprint copies made and distributed to those interested.

Western Electric Company, Inc..  
Employment Department.

Standard Report No. ME-428.8

## REPORT OF WORK IN EMPLOYMENT DEPARTMENT.

	<u>JANUARY.</u>		<u>FEB. to DEC.</u>	<u>Total for Year.</u>
	<u>Wks.</u>	<u>Turns.</u>	<u>Total.</u>	
Applicants Interviewed				
Employed				
New				
Reinstatements				
Total				
Did not Report for Duty				
Net Addition to Pay Roll (1)				
Left Employment				
Left Own Accord				
Laid Off Lack of Work				
Suspended				
Dismissed				
Discharged				
Deceased				
Leave of Absence				
Pensioned				
Total (2)				
Net Gain on Pay Roll (1-2)				
% Net Gain to Net Addition				
% Reinstatements to Net Addition				
Transfers between Departments				

## REPORT M-428.8

Report M-428.8 is of value in showing the net gain on the pay roll in relation to the total number of employees, also the number of reinstatements and the percentage of such reinstatements to the total number employed. These reinstatements cover employees who have previously left the service of the company and have been reemployed. The report is also of value in showing an analysis of the employees leaving the service of the company by the general classifications which we use. This information is tabulated from the leaving notices, form H. W. 421, previously referred to.

# RECORDS AND REPORTS OF WORK

271

Western Electric Company, Inc.,  
Employment Department.

Standard Report No. M-857.2

## LENGTH OF SERVICE OF EMPLOYEES LEAVING.

Length of Service.													Total Per Year.
	Jan. No. 1	Feb. No. 2	Mar. No. 3	Apr. No. 4	May No. 5	June No. 6	July No. 7	Aug. No. 8	Sept. No. 9	Oct. No. 10	Nov. No. 11	Dec. No. 12	
0-2 weeks													
2-4 "													
4-6 "													
6-9 "													
9-12 "													
1-2 years													
2-3 "													
3-4 "													
4-5 "													
5-10 "													
Over 10"													

Total Leaving.  
Total on Roll.  
% Leaving.

## REPORT M-857.2

Report M-857.2 is an analysis of the length of service of employes leaving the company. The report as regularly issued is made up to show an analysis covering the works as a whole, and also by the main divisions of the organization. In addition to the regular reports special reports of the same general character are made up from time to time for the purpose of studying conditions in particular departments.

Western Electric Company, Inc.,  
Clerical Branch.

Standard Report No. A-857.1  
January 1, 1916.

## LENGTH OF SERVICE OF EMPLOYEES. Based on Pay Rolls of January 1st.

Length of Service.	Clerical Branch.		Production Branch.		Operating Branch.		Total.	
	Men. No. 1	Women. No. 2	Men. No. 3	Women. No. 4	Men. No. 5	Women. No. 6	Men. No. 7	Women. No. 8
1 Month								
2 "								
up to 11 months								
1 year								
2 "								
up to Maximum								

## REPORT A-857.1

Report A-857.1 is issued annually and shows the length of service of all employes on the pay rolls as of January 1. As indicated on the report, it shows the number of employes and the percentages to total number of employes for each of the periods indicated for the main divisions of the organization and the works as a whole.

## THE EFFECT OF MOTION STUDY UPON THE WORKERS

By FRANK B. GILBRETH, MEM. A. S. M. E.,

Consulting Management Engineer

and

LILLIAN M. GILBRETH, PH.D.

Motion study makes all activity interesting. While, at first thought, this fact may not seem of great importance, in reality it is the cause of many of the far-reaching results obtained through motion study. Motion study consists of analyzing an activity into its smallest possible elements, and from the results synthesizing a method of performing the activity that shall be more efficient,—the word “efficient” being used in its highest sense.

The process of motion study is such as to interest the worker. While undoubtedly some success could be made of motion study through a trained observer merely watching the worker, we find it of utmost importance and mutually advantageous from every standpoint, to gain the full and hearty coöperation of the worker at once, and to enlist him as a co-worker in the motion study from the moment the first investigation is made. Our methods of making motion study are by the use of the micromotion, simultaneous motion cycle chart, and chronocyclegraph methods. All make it imperative that the worker shall understand what is being done and why, and make it most profitable to every one that the worker shall be able, as well as willing, to help in the work of obtaining methods of least waste by means of motion study. While the process of making motion and time studies through the use of the cinematograph, the microchronometer and the cross-sectioned screen have been so reduced in cost as to make them indispensable



even from the cost standpoint, the process is made even more economical when the worker, or the observed man, does his best work, and endeavors to take a part of active initiative in deriving the motion standards. We find in our practice that the worker is only too glad to do this. In fact, it is usually he, oftener than the observer, who cries out, "Wait a moment till this is done in the best way possible," or "Wait a moment, please, I know a way that I believe is easier." Similarly, when using the chronocyclegraph device; the worker is not only interested in the electric lights and their various paths and orbits of dots and dashes, but is most anxious that these paths shall be those of the greatest skill and the fewest number of motions possible.

The various methods used with these various types of apparatus, which are usually new to the worker, present problems in psychology which are interesting to the worker as well as to the observer. The worker is quick to note that, with the new conditions attending the measuring work, his own process varies for a short time at the beginning from his usual habits, because of the entering of the variables of the apparatus and the strange conditions that it involves. He is quick to notice, also, that this effect of strangeness soon disappears, and that he then works exactly in accordance with his normal method. This period of strangeness, far from being a disadvantage, is, on the contrary, often a great advantage. The worker is almost sure to revert to former habit, and an investigator or observer often gains valuable clues not only to excellent standards, but to necessary methods of teaching those standards, particularly with emphasis on eliminating interference of many wrong habits acquired in trade learning prior to conscious effort for motion economy. It is, therefore, clear that during the period of making motion studies the effect of them upon the worker is educative to the highest degree, for not only does he become interested in what he does, but he learns to think of all activity in terms of motions and elements of motions. The by-products of this are also important, as he is always able afterwards to learn new work much faster and with comparatively little coaching, and as he has that success that usually attends the work of one who knows he knows the least wasteful method of attack of learning the new problems or solving the new task.

The effects of motion study are particularly striking upon the

observer or the man actually making the studies. This is true not only during the time of making the observation, but also during the time spent in embodying the data derived in simultaneous cycle motion charts and in motion models. These motion models, which are wire representations of the paths of the motion, made from the stereoscopic records derived from the chronocyclegraph process have a peculiar educative value that is well embodied in the following statement of a young engineer who spent some time making motion models as a part of that thorough training for motion and time study man which we believe so necessary:

After making a number of models of motions I have changed from a scoffer to a firm believer. I believe not only in their value as an aid to the study of the psychology of motions, but also as to their educational value in the teaching of the motion study man.

I consider them of the same value to the motion study man as is the model of an engine or a mechanical device to an engineer. If the engineer was to study, for instance, a railroad engine, and the only chance he had to study was to watch an engine going by him at express train speed, his impression as to the mechanical working of the engine would be, to say the least, vague.

A motion, in itself, is intangible, but a model of a motion gives one an altogether different viewpoint, as it seems to make one see more clearly that each motion leaves a definite path, which path may be subjected to analysis.

I have made motion studies since making models, and what I learned from making the models has convinced me of their value. In former motion studies which I have made, my attention was always divided, more or less equally, between the direct distance between the starting and finishing points of the motion, the equipment, and the surroundings. I have found that, since seeing a motion, as represented by a model, I am better able to concentrate first on the motion itself, and then upon the variables which affect the motion. This seems to me a more logical method, and I know that I have had better results.

I believe a good method of illustrating how a motion model helps one to visualize is to compare it with the wake left by an ocean liner. When one stands at the stern of a liner, which changes its course often, and watches the wake he can visualize the changes more readily than when unable to see the wake.

It is interesting to note here not only the interest aroused intensively in the subject of motion study itself, but also extensively in the correlation of processes in the industries with general processes outside. The motion study man is a specialist who, because of his work, spends a large amount of time in the close study of motions, but to some extent this intensive and extensive interest is aroused in all those engaged in motion study, whether as observers or observed.

After the results of motion study are actually installed the effects are as great or greater upon those who work under the derived standards. It must be understood that *motion study* always implies *fatigue study*,<sup>1</sup> for the best and least wasteful results cannot be obtained otherwise, and that the worker who operates under these standards, therefore, not only has time to do the work in the best way, but ample time for adequate recovery from the fatigue of his work. This procedure provides directly for his physical and mental well-being. Motion study lays particular emphasis upon this. The great bogey of all who argue against standardization is "the awful resulting monotony." Now psychology,<sup>2</sup> as well as the results in actual practice, proves that monotony comes not from performing the activity the same way every time, but from a *lack of interest involved in, or associated with, the activity*. This interest is supplied not only directly by motion study, but indirectly by the other parts of measured functional management, such as devices for eliminating unnecessary fatigue and for overcoming necessary fatigue.

Besides all this there is the interest aroused and the education resulting from the graphic representation of the results of motion study data to the worker as well as the observer. The pictures of the micromotion films are projected at the normal speed of the moving picture. They are also examined one at a time. The chronocyclegraphs in three dimensions are shown through the stereoscope, on the screen, by means of the wire motion models<sup>3</sup> to the workers at the foremen's and workers' meetings and are there discussed. All the traditional knowledge is literally collected, measured, sorted, tagged and labelled. This data, together with indisputable measuring methods is presented before those possessing the greatest craft skill of the old methods, and who can quickest actually learn the new knowledge and put it to use. The new knowledge is of no use to the employer without the coöperation of the worker. This fact puts the relations between the worker and his employer on a new basis. They *must* coöperate, or both pay an awful price. These new methods have demonstrated that

<sup>1</sup> See *Fatigue Study*, Sturgis and Walton, New York City.

<sup>2</sup> See *The Psychology of Management*, Sturgis and Walton, New York City.

<sup>3</sup> See "Motion Models: Their Use in the Transference of Experience and the Presentation of Comparative Results in Educational Methods,"—a paper presented at the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

there is so much to learn that the employer cannot afford to put on and lay off his employees in proportion to the receipt of orders. He must solve the problem of steady employment. He cannot afford to let his specially trained men "get away." This is of vital importance in its effect upon the mental condition and activity of the worker.

By these means the workers, who are the actual producers of the nation, become familiar in every day experience with motion study and time study instruments of precision and with the results of their use.<sup>4</sup> Such knowledge in the hands of our workers is the means of their being able to take the initiative in acquiring greater skill in all trades and in all life works. This is one of the best forms of industrial preparedness. It must be emphasized that the facts concerning motion study here stated embody not only a program but a record. The actual every day practice of motion study shows these effects upon the worker not only in the intangible results of added interest and a different attitude towards the work, but also in such tangible results as a larger number and a more profitable set of suggestions in the suggestion boxes, better attended and more profitable foremen's and workers' meetings, a greater number of promotions, more coöperation, more reading and study of the science of management, and higher wages earned with greater ease.

Motion study has no right to claim all the benefits that accrue from measured functional management, but, as a part of this management, it shares in these benefits, and thus those who work under it are assured of unusually high pay, during and after the motion study, a chance for promotion, physical and mental well-being, and a coöperative atmosphere in which to work. Motion study has the right to claim as its own benefits an added interest not only in the activity involved in the particular work done in the office or plant or wherever the work place may be, but in all activity away from as well as at work. It, therefore, benefits employee, as it does employer, as it does all those actively engaged in working under, or interested in it, in that *it makes "to do," mean "to be interested," and to be interested means to be more efficient, more prosperous, and more happy.*

<sup>4</sup> See "Motion Study and Time Study Instruments of Precision," *Transactions International Engineering Congress*, 1915.

## THE RELATION OF HOME CONDITIONS TO INDUSTRIAL EFFICIENCY

BY MARY BARNETT GILSON,

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For some time various agencies which aim toward the betterment of society have realized that no lasting results can be secured without the coöperation of the home. The school, the church, the hospital, organized charity, and in fact all organizations which assume it is their responsibility to help those with whom they come in contact are faced by many problems which cannot be solved without a knowledge of home conditions. Of late years industry, too, in looking more deeply into the causes of ill health and dissatisfaction among workers has discovered that the removal of these causes cannot take place within the four walls of the factory alone. Many firms today avowedly profess to do all in their power to maintain the health of their employes and to further their training and education. The greater advance an organization makes in this direction, the more intelligently it solves its problems connected with the human element, by so much does it recognize the close relationship of the home to the job.

The fact that there are armies of young workers entering the industrial field complicates the question. To say that young men and women do not need friendly aid and advice as to their personal problems is to confess ignorance. And it is obvious that many of these personal problems are vitally connected with home conditions. When the home and the school turn out young people trained in responsibility and with character and habits which fortify them for life and its difficulties and when the state does more than it now does toward training in citizenship and toward offering healthy recreation to its family, perhaps this burden will not fall so heavily upon industry. But at the present stage of sociological development industry must coöperate with all other agencies and, most of all, with the home, in training and educating and developing its young workers if it wishes to maintain health and prosperity among them.

The physical conditions of a factory may be up to the highest standard of the times; sanitation and ventilation may be as nearly perfect as possible; rest rooms, lunch rooms, recreational facilities, shower baths and other comforts and luxuries may be provided by an employer whose aim is to make the working conditions of his people as pleasant as possible. Hours may be reasonably short, wages may be high, a system removing friction and worry in connection with the work itself may have been installed. And yet, the employer who is intelligently attempting to reduce his labor turnover and to improve the personnel of his organization knows that these things alone, while essential, will not suffice. He recognizes that the health and well-being of his people are fully as dependent upon the conditions which confront them outside of the factory as upon those existing within. He recognizes, too, that these conditions outside of their work constitute fully as important factors in their steadiness and efficiency as any working conditions he may provide.

As for the "right" of the factory management to interest itself in the lives of workers outside of the factory, it is not only a "right" when it affects the worker in his work, but it is a duty which is a natural outgrowth of executive responsibility. The progressive manager knows full well the value of hygienic factory conditions for his workers but of what avail is it to provide healthful working conditions from seven in the morning until five in the evening if these same workers are to live in unhealthful surroundings and under improper influences from five at night until seven in the morning? Interest in the hygiene of the worker cannot be truly effective, therefore, unless it attaches itself to the worker at all times. It is all very well to use such trite expressions as "paternalism" and "benevolent despotism" and other hackneyed phrases in connection with this subject, but actual experience confirms us in our belief that people are not "grown-ups" merely because they are termed so. Unfortunately most people are as ignorant of the laws of health as babes in arms. It is all very ideal to say that we should manage our own lives. No one denies that this is an ultimate goal toward which every intelligent agency for the betterment of mankind should be constantly aiming, but in the meantime it is hardly practical to expect a perfect democracy to spring into being full fledged. In other words, before we can manage our own affairs

we must be taught how. For example, when we consider the numbers of foreign people who are working in our American industrial establishments it is absurd to talk about thrusting them into wholly new surroundings and difficulties without any friendly advice and instruction from those who have a thorough acquaintanceship with these surroundings. The modern tendency is to try to avoid the mistakes of others. It is unscientific to proceed by "the rule of thumb"; in other words, science and knowledge are to proceed from where the other fellow left off in order to eliminate the constant waste and duplication of past achievement. Now, cannot this be carried into the field of modern hygiene? Would it not be inexcusable to "let people work out their own salvation" if by so doing their health and the health of the race is affected? Moreover, if an employer wishes to know why a worker has constant headaches and is therefore unfitted for his work and if he has done everything that can be done inside the factory to discover the cause, who can question his right to go into the home of the worker in the effort to learn facts which will make it possible for him to eradicate the headaches and to retain the worker? People who shrug their shoulders and say this is "impertinent interference" would prefer, possibly, to let the headaches go on until the worker became so inefficient that discharge would inevitably follow. The intelligent employer, however, does not follow this *laissez faire* policy. He knows that by reducing the causes of inefficiency he is helping to make better workers and better citizens and a more stable and steadily prosperous body of employees and he considers it his duty to use every honest means to attain such a desirable end.

We hear a great deal today about "occupational diseases," about employers being responsible for the lack of security and continuity of employment, about the unfitting of women for motherhood because of industry's demands and about the lack of opportunity to rise in the industrial world. These charges, however, cannot be laid at the door of industry itself but of industrial administration. Industry, badly regulated, gives justification to such charges, but industry properly regulated will produce quite opposite results. In any case, intelligent employers welcome the opportunity to join with statisticians and investigators in an effort to seek

the truth and if the truth cannot be found within the factory walls it is their duty to get it outside.

Society justly holds industry responsible for certain results; employers, therefore, must not only be permitted but must be encouraged to use their fullest intelligence in attaining these results. Furthermore, it is society's duty to support them in their efforts instead of indulging in the ill-founded, destructive criticism which has become the fashion, especially among inexperienced theorists and academicians.

The fundamental factors of home influence are physical, mental and moral. It is obvious that as far as the physical conditions of the home are concerned they have a vital connection with the health of the worker. A man who sleeps with his windows closed, and who lives in unsanitary surroundings will naturally suffer in due course of time. We have found, when making home visits, people sleeping in small bedrooms with the windows tightly closed and gas stoves burning. Sometimes bedrooms are badly overcrowded in order to keep intact the "parlor" and dining room. The case of two girls who were suffering from constant headaches may be instanced, who when visited at home were found to be living in the attic of a new frame house. Their father, mother, three boys and two girls were crowded in this small attic with no privacy whatever, and with the windows tightly corked and a large gas stove without a flue. The father had recently bought the house and was renting to some families the first and second floors as well as a small house in the rear where he had formerly lived. He had stopped working and was having a beautiful time on his rent money and the pay envelopes of his two daughters. He was finally persuaded to move his family downstairs and the effect on their health and attitude of mind was almost immediate. Numerous cases could be cited of people who are anemic and pale during the winter months and who immediately begin to take on color and show more vigor when summer comes. It is hard to convince such people that winter air in their bedrooms is not deadly. Many foreigners do not realize that what kept them alive in the old country was probably the fact that they were engaged in field work through the day and that a close bedroom did not therefore work havoc as it does to indoor workers. In cases where employes complain that they are not feeling well and the work does not agree with them, it is generally



found that living conditions are in reality responsible. When these have been remedied their attitude toward their work invariably changes.

In Cleveland most of the modern houses for working people are single or two-family houses with a fair amount of ground. The majority of the newer houses have bath rooms, the acquiring of which is as yet a matter of conscious pride. Bath rooms, in other words, are a matter of style and distinction in the neighborhood. You belong to a little higher stratum of society if you have such a luxury. What's the difference? We all know necessities grow out of luxuries and that "style" has played an important part in raising the standard of living. There is an encouraging tendency on the part of our workers to build their own homes, to have modern plumbing and to have enough ground for a vegetable garden and flowers. There is probably no large city in the country whose workers' homes show more pride in flowers and lawns than do those of Cleveland. The progressive employer realizes that the more comfortable the homes of his employes are the better and more desirable workers they make. It is only the most benighted and ignorant man who does not think it is "good business" to hire people who are aiming to provide themselves and their families with pleasant homes. Every encouragement should be offered to the worker who is living in unhealthy, disagreeable surroundings to get into a better environment as soon as possible. People who take pride in their homes are invariably more thrifty, ambitious and reliable and it has been our experience that wherever we have been able to induce a man to improve his housing conditions it has resulted in making him not only a steadier and more efficient worker, but also a more self-respecting member of the community.

But responsibility cannot end with an attempt to better the physical condition of the home. The moral and mental atmosphere have, also, an untold influence on the efficiency of the worker. Centuries of tradition, superstition and wrong thinking have left their imprint on all of us and in some homes science and reason and logic are eyed with suspicion and only reluctantly granted a lodging. It is difficult to persuade a woman to have her eyes examined by a competent oculist when her mother and grandmother have convinced her that ear rings will cure sore eyes. It is hard to root out of some foreign-born men the deeply imbedded idea that their

wives are beasts of burden. So many points of view come to light, so many warped ideas which have been passed on from generation to generation, and the need for tact and wise dealing and patience is infinite.

Through close contact with the homes of working people one is more and more awakened to the problems which confront women in industry. Constantly we must keep in mind that the girl workers of today are the wives and mothers of tomorrow. In an industrial establishment where the health of the people is of first importance a girl stands a far greater chance of proper physical development than she does in the average home where, as anyone acquainted with this problem well knows, the standards and ideas of health are almost mediaeval. As for the much debated question concerning the influence of industry on motherhood, we must keep in mind that motherhood means not only the physical function of producing offspring but it means as well the bringing up and training of children. A rightly conducted business, requiring high personal standards and affording training such as is not obtainable elsewhere, not only develops healthier and more competent people but also develops their character. And surely character is the *sine qua non* of such an exacting profession as that of motherhood. Let us not be sentimental in the consideration of "women in industry." I know many a girl today who will be far more careful in the choice of a husband because she has a good job and because she is facing actual conditions of life than if she did not have the opportunities which modern industry furnishes to women.

But, whether or not we welcome these broadening opportunities, we must not blind ourselves to the accompanying problems which present themselves. Beginning with the young girl, there is the growing independence, the impatience with parental restraint, the cheap amusements which are slowly but surely vitiating her taste and lowering her standards. The question of recreation alone is a far-reaching one, indeed. How can a girl develop into a good worker when her parents permit her to frequent cheap dance halls and movies any and every night of the week? Or, going to the other extreme, how can she work with any spirit and interest if her parents obdurately refuse to permit her to go any place and, though she may be brimming over with life and youth, she is practically a prisoner in her own house? We have had girls who have grown pale

and listless and have lost all interest in their work because their parents would not permit them to invite any of their friends to their homes nor would they let them out of their sight in the evenings. The intelligent manager realizes keenly the wisdom of interesting the families of his workers in this problem of sane and natural recreation. He knows that the dissipated person is not a good earner nor a satisfied, happy worker and that men and women who are interested in good books and good music and healthy, wholesome forms of amusement, are those who qualify for advancement and therefore belong in the ranks of the "desirable." And he also knows that preaching to people to be good will not keep them from spending their idle time unprofitably. There is probably nothing the state could do which would accrue more to the benefit of working people than to furnish profitable recreational facilities to them. It is insufficient to pass laws which shorten working hours without proper provision for safeguarding the additional hours of recreation which result. Enlightened management recognizes that these additional hours may be devoted to uses which destroy instead of build up. For this reason it realizes its responsibility not only to furnish wholesome recreation which develops both body and mind but sees here another reason for the coöperation of the home.

In connection with the question of women in industry, we must consider the woman with "two jobs." Women are generally called on to stay at home when there is any sickness in the family. The idea of paying a competent neighbor or calling on the Visiting Nurses' Association instead of staying away from work to take care of a sick relative is of slow growth. There is need of much education in the home on this very subject of irregularity of attendance. It is not enough to have a worker impressed with a sense of responsibility. The worker's family also must have the right attitude toward this question. Home visits frequently disclose the fact that women who work all day in the factory also cook and scrub and wash at home in the evenings. A case of this sort was revealed a couple of years ago when we were canvassing the shop to see who needed to join the classes in English for foreigners. Peter R., a Hungarian who had come to America ten years ago and had become fairly proficient in English, demurred when he was told that we wished his wife, who had come over years later, to go to school and learn English from 4:30 to 5:30 twice a week. Said Peter, "But

who'll get my supper on Tuesdays and Thursdays if she stays at the factory to learn English?" When we told him Barbara worked all day long in the factory and worked just as hard as he did and that it would not hurt him in the least to cook the supper two days in the week, his dignity was obviously injured. It was only after much argument that we convinced him cooking was not Barbara's sacred and divine duty since he had permitted her to take upon herself the responsibility of a factory job. He finally agreed to cook his own supper Tuesdays and Thursdays and today Barbara speaks English and Peter knows what it means to have two jobs. Whenever circumstances warrant, we refuse to keep in our employ married women. They are as a rule irregular in attendance and burdened with household duties and we often find their husbands are depending on them for support. This unwritten law, we have found, has materially lessened the early, precipitate marriages in our factory. Girls of eighteen used to say, "I want off next Friday to get married. I'll be back Monday," but now we often hear, "Well, I'm not going to marry him until I know him better," or "You bet I won't work after I'm married. A girl has enough to do to keep house."

The idea that it is wiser for a girl to have a bank account than to marry without a penny and [buy everything on the installment plan is also gaining headway. This matter of the bank account is one of the most vital occasions for home visits. It is often found that a girl's earnings are low because she has no incentive to make money. In an astonishing number of cases a worker passes over an unopened pay envelope to her mother even when no financial necessity for this exists. When a mother is visited and urged to allow her daughter to deposit in our penny bank all over a given sum, or a certain percentage of her earnings each pay day, it is surprising how quickly the girl's earning power increases. Many parents consider a child merely a financial asset and it is hard to convince them that they are removing all incentive from him by requiring him to turn over his unopened pay envelope. In some cases parents say, "No, my son shall never pay board. That would make him too independent. He must give me his pay." Besides removing the incentive to earn, this attitude on the part of the parents encourages early and ill-considered marriage as the only means of securing financial independence.

But if home visiting discloses the necessity of urging parents to permit their children to save it also reveals the value of training in spending. Unfortunately, the question of foreign parentage brings its difficulties in this matter. A girl coaxes and whines and makes life miserable for her mother until she is permitted to buy a white willow plume. If the mother protests, she is told that she does not know how girls in America dress and she reluctantly yields to this argument. A mother complained to us recently that her daughter was so addicted to the fancy shoe craze that she had thirteen pairs of shoes in her wardrobe and wanted money out of her last pay to buy another pair. This mother had never allowed her daughter to have a stipulated sum of money for clothes and some time after we persuaded her to do this in order that the girl might have some experience in proportionate expenditure. She told us that "Jennie soon found she had to spend her money for some other things besides shoes." When it is possible to convince parents of the wisdom of letting their girls and boys learn how to spend the results speak for themselves.

Sometimes home visits are necessary for the sake of securing coöperation on the subject of simplicity of dress. It is no longer a debatable question that elaborate clothes and jewelry and powder and paint have a demoralizing effect on the character and ability of a working girl. One mother said, "My other daughter works down at K's and she says the girls look something swell when they go to work, velvet skirts, pearl earrings, just as dolled up as if they was going to a party. I think that's nice for them girls." Some parents, on the other hand, are very responsible and coöperative in encouraging neatness and cleanliness and simplicity of dress. Sometimes radical measures have to be taken to bring about higher standards of cleanliness. Occasionally a very clean girl will come from a very dirty home but generally when a girl is careless about her appearance the cause of the trouble can be located at home. In connection with this it may be mentioned that the influence of a sanitary, well kept, orderly factory on the home is immeasurable.

It is self-evident that the problems which come up in connection with home visits are of infinite variety. The influence of quack doctors, of the idea that patent medicines are panaceas, the ignorance of food and diet (about which a separate chapter could be written) and of the simple rules of hygiene, the curse of modern

funerals and their attendant expense, all these and more confront the home visitor. Sometimes old wives' remedies present ludicrous situations. A good example of this is illustrated by the following: the factory nurse visited a girl who had sore throat and found she had wrapped a red herring around it and had drunk some kerosene. A mother was informed that her daughter was in danger of injuring her eyes by doing fine embroidery for her trousseau until late every night. During the conversation the nurse said, "You know her eyes are not very strong. She wears glasses." "Oh," replied the mother, "She don't wear glasses for her eyes. She wears 'em for her stummick." If any service worker in a factory expects to find an intelligent conception of the human body and its needs in the average home and if she thinks she can bring about a revolutionary change in ideas by home visiting she will be disappointed. But the evolutionary change is evident to the close observer and the growing confidence and coöperation and willingness to listen to another viewpoint become more and more noticeable as time passes.

Sometimes very intimate problems present themselves for solution. A girl whose environment is hopelessly bad may have to be advised to leave home and live with decent people. Sometimes a father has to be summoned before a municipal court and warned or sentenced. Frequently men must be forced to go to work when they are lazily falling back on the women of the family. A drunken father occasionally must be taken in hand and a timid girl instructed in detail how to assume a healthy degree of self-assertion. A case in point is that of Rosie T. whose father celebrated the receipt of his pay envelope every Saturday evening by beating her mother. Rosie was naturally much worried over this and once in the intimacy of a chat in her home she said she was at a loss to know what to do. The idea of filing an objection with her father personally seemed to require too much courage. "Talk to him!" she said scornfully "You can't talk to *him*. He's too bull-headed." Her mother was advised to get the father's pay herself and Rosie was told to tell her father when he objected to interference with his customary amusement that "American men do not beat their wives" and, in short, boldly to face him and "stand up" to him. The following Monday morning Rosie came in to the service department with beaming face. "Oh!" she exclaimed,

It worked fine. My pap came home awful mad and sez "Who's got my pay envelope?" An' I sez, "We have"; an' he started to hit my mother and I sez, "Here's where you get off! No woman in America has to take a lickin' off no man." An' you ought to seen him how surprised he was to see us standin' up for ourselves.

After that Rosie said, "Somehow I don't know what it is to feel afraid any more. I can talk up for myself now and he knows if he don't behave we won't stand for it. I feel bold now!"

It is no less necessary to get the "home folks" to understand the shop methods and system of work than it is to attempt to bring about an intelligent viewpoint in relation to health and a higher standard of living. Slipshod methods in many establishments account for much of the lack of responsibility of workers toward their jobs. Men who have worked in places where frequent absences were taken for granted occasionally resent any strictness on the part of the organization which demands regular attendance, but a visit to the home and a frank discussion with the wife or mother of the necessity of "being steady on the job" will generally bring about an honest attempt to help Jack or Jim to be more prompt and regular. Moreover, patience and tact must be exercised in educating the home people to an understanding of modern progressive business methods and the reasons for them. A woman who is acquainted with the fact that an organization has just enough workers to turn out its work and that every division is responsible for feeding another division will be much more likely to pay a neighbor or relative to take care of her when she is sick than to ask her husband or daughter to stay at home. The following letter from a mother of one of our girls shows an understanding of "standards" and "averages" which could not have been obtained except through an intelligent interest of the home in the shop:

DEAR MADAM—

I thought I would drop you a few lines letting you know my girl comes home from work all disgusted she worries because she dont turn out her standard she allways says Ma it dont agree for two chums to work side by side and thats Anna and me I alwys tell her that she dont make as much as she used to and she sayes she could make more if she would try but that Anna and her talk too much She says lot of times she dont feel like talking but An asks her one question and then they keep it up When Anna is on the other machine for a half day Susie makes good when she comes back again they talk and then that brings down Susie's average. Susie didn't want to tell you about this but she always complains at home that she dont like to work aside of her chum they have to much

to talk about. I like Anna very well but she believes in talking to much Miss G dont you think I was right of letting you know of this.

Yours respectfully

Mrs. R.

It is this kind of understanding and coöperation which home visiting aims among other things to secure and the degree to which they exist often determines the steadiness and reliability of the worker. Moreover, every intelligent manager knows how much attitude of mind has to do with an employe's success. A person who hears constant criticism of his place of work and meets with scornful disapprobation of shop discipline and system at home is not likely to be in a frame of mind which induces honest effort. The subtle influence of the home atmosphere cannot indeed be measured, but it may safely be argued that no other factor except, possibly, the work itself so deeply affects the efficiency of the worker.

The occasions for home visits are many and may be made innumerable. The families of new workers should be visited as soon as possible, primarily for the sake of friendly contact. Cases of sickness and discipline obviously need to be followed into the home. An investigator recently seemed surprised at the lack of resentment toward our "intrusion" into the homes of our people. She was invited to accompany a member of the service department one morning when fifteen visits were made (an automobile expedites home visiting for the department) and she was frankly astonished at the welcome which was given the visitor in every instance. Home visiting has become such a matter of fact among our employes that no one questions the honesty of motives prompting it. A number of years of experience have proved not only that the Clothcraft Shop employes do not consider it "impertinent" but that they welcome the interest which home visiting signifies. In fact, parents frequently come to us to ask our help in solving problems at home. There must be absolute frankness of approach and treatment, however, in every case, as nothing could more injure the work of a service department than insincerity.

The "handling of labor" which means reducing people to automations is one thing and that which means a deep understanding of the psychology of human nature and of the intricate and devious methods by which people are inspired to become better workers and better citizens is a vastly different thing. And anyone who



approaches the subject of this newer and more intelligent kind of handling or rather guiding of human beings will confess himself baffled without both a thorough understanding of home conditions and the coöperation of the home. Finally, in this as well as in all other phases of factory service work, the underlying purpose must be a genuine desire to further the advancement of workers by education and coöperative training and the service worker must ever have vision born of the words of Marcus Aurelius, "Men exist for the sake of one another; teach them, then, or bear with them."

### THE THREE POSITION PLAN OF PROMOTION

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An adequate system of promotion is the solution not only of holding employees in an organization, but also of the employment problem.

There is much emphasis today upon the proper *selection* of employees, and many and elaborate systems have been undertaken for a scientific, or near-scientific, *placement*. These are not in any wise to be criticized, for the selection of the individuals comprising any organization is important, and any plan that will cause the employment manager to plan his duties carefully and to give each decision on the fortunes of others careful consideration is to be commended. It must be realized, however, that even more important is holding and helping these employees after they have been selected, and providing an adequate systematized plan of advancement for them. In the Three Position Plan of Promotion we have not only the true and proved answer to the problem of promotion, but also the means by which efficient placement becomes almost automatic, and a supply of desirable applicants for any vacant position is constantly available. No system of placement can hope to succeed unless such a supply of applicants is available.

We wish to emphasize then three points:

1. The necessity of attracting desirable applicants.
2. The necessity of holding, fitting, and promoting those already employed.
3. The interdependence of these two.

We have never known a better friend of the worker than Mr. James Mapes Dodge, and he was wont to emphasize and demonstrate the benefit not only to the employee, but also to the organization of holding the coöperating employee, and the great and needless loss to the organization, to the worker, and to society in a constant change of the personnel of the organization. Now, no organization can hope to hold its members that does not consider not only the welfare of the organization as a whole, but also the welfare of the individuals composing that organization.

The Three Position Plan of Promotion considers each man as occupying three positions in the organization, and considers these three positions as constantly changing in an upward spiral, as the man is promoted from the lowest position that he occupies and into the position next higher than the highest position that he occupies. The three positions are as follows: first, and lowest, the position that the man has last occupied in the organization; second, the position that the man is occupying at present in the organization; third, and highest, the position that the man will next occupy. In the first position the worker occupies the place of the teacher, this position being at the same time occupied by two other men, that is, by the worker doing the work, who receives little or no instruction in the duties of that position except in an emergency, and by the worker below who is learning the work. In the second position the worker is actually in charge of the work, and is constantly also the teacher of the man next below him, who will next occupy the position. He is also, in emergencies, a learner of the duties of his present position from the man above him. In the third position the worker occupies the place of learner, and is being constantly instructed by the man in the duties of the position immediately above.

Naturally a plan like this demands a close coördination of all positions. This is provided for through the master promotion chart. This chart is in the hands of the man in charge of promotion. It is slightly different for each organization. It consists of a

Handwritten notes on the left margin:

5th 22 B a  
 5 a3  
 4 B3 a2  
 3 B2 a1  
 2 D3 C2 B1  
 1 D2 F1

schematic arrangement of all positions in the organization, so arranged as to provide for lines of most rapid advancement, along the various functions and subfunctions, under which the measured functional management by which we operate, works. The great advantage of such a chart is that it makes possible visualizing the complete problem of the organization's needs in teaching and preparing its members. The direct product of this is that the man in charge of promotion sees clearly the needs and the means of filling them, the demand and the supply. The important by-product is the gradual evolution of permanent, rapid, direct paths of promotion. This means the abolishment of the "blind alley" job, that is, a position into which some member of the organization drifts with no chance for advancement. Another by-product of this chart is the fact that the promotion head, the promotion manager, or chief of promotion, as he has been variously called, can arrange for shifting or transferring the worker easily, if he sees that he has been improperly placed, or, if he develops abilities along some unexpected line. This is often the case under this type of management where there is great opportunity for the development of latent, as well as apparent, abilities. This master promotion chart is the great educative force to the management as to the importance of proper promotion.

The interests of the individual worker and his education as to the importance of promotion are carried on through the individual promotion charts. Upon these the records of each and every member of the organization are separately kept. These sheets are often called "fortune sheets," and it is this aspect of them that is of peculiar interest to the psychologist. When a worker becomes a member of the organization he is called into the department in charge of advancement or promotion, and given one of these fortune sheets. Upon it is shown his present position, and he and the man in charge outline together his possible and probable line of advancement. The sheet then becomes his fortune map, or fortune schedule. The projected line of promotion is outlined in green, and upon it are placed the dates at which it is hoped he may reach the various stages of advancement. At set times the worker and the promotion chief, or one of his helpers, meet, and the line of actual progress of advancement of the worker is traced upon the map in red, with the dates of achieving the various

positions. The two then consult as to existing conditions, the special reading and studying necessary for fitting for the new positions, possible changes, or betterments. The direct product of this is that the worker understands what he is doing, gets expert advice for greater progress, and realizes that there is, and must be, coöperation between him and the promotion department for the good of all concerned. The by-products are equally, or more, important. One is that the worker is glad to impart all information that would be of help to the organization as to his history and antecedents, his home and other social conditions outside the plant, that help or hinder his plans of preparing, ambitions, etc. It is common practice in these days to present the applicant with blanks to be filled in with all this information. We have such blanks, and use them in selecting applicants, always with the proviso that, if the applicant shows any disinclination to fill out such parts of the blank as tell of his ambitions or other details, which he may consider confidential, he be not required to do so. This information has been invariably volunteered, when the fortune map, or schedule, is understood. Naturally the applicant must furnish such information as will show his ability and reliability; but, as we will see later, these are so supplemented by data obtained through other sources that it is not necessary to ask for information usually considered confidential before it is volunteered. The second by-product of these fortune sheets is directly connected with the solution of the problem of getting constantly a group of desirable applicants from which to select more wisely. Thus, when the worker looks at his fortune sheet, and understands the three position plan of employment, he recognizes that he must train some one to take his position before he can hope to be most rapidly advanced. Naturally he first looks around in the organization to see who is available, for it is always desired that those within the organization be advanced first. However, if no such person is available, he reviews his entire acquaintance, and all possible sources for new workers, in order that he may obtain the most desirable person easy to train into that position. It is not necessary to dwell long upon the advantages of this system for holding members already in the organization. No worker who is constitutionally able to become a permanent member of an organization will wish to change, if he is receiving adequate pay

and has ample opportunity for advancement, especially, if, as here, he is a member of a group where it is to the advantage—more than that—actually to the selfish interest, of every member to push all higher members up, and to teach and fit others to advance from below. Inseparably associated with this is the fact that any worker will be ready and glad to enter an organization where such conditions exist, and a desirable applicant will automatically present himself, when needed, at the direct request of some one who knows his particular fitness for the job, and desires him to have it. This selecting of the worker by the worker is real democracy. An organization built thus has proved to be the most satisfying to both management and workers.

Now there are various questions that may arise concerning this subject, that it is well to answer here.

1. *What becomes of the workers who find exactly the positions that suit them, and have no desire to advance?*

The answer to this is that, if a worker finds such a position, he is retained in it, and that others who go beyond it are trained by him in the work of that position until they know enough about it to advance to the next higher grade. This often happens, especially in the case of the workers who prefer positions entailing comparatively little responsibility, and who, arriving at some work that satisfies them, and that involves but slight responsibility, choose to make that particular work a life vocation. If, as is seldom the case, a second worker is found who desires to remain in the same position, it is sometimes advisable to place such a contented specialist in another organization, as trained and satisfied expert workers and teachers are all too rare.

2. *If promotion is constant, are not men constantly promoted or graduated out of the organization?*

The answer to this is "Yes, and always to waiting and far better positions."

3. *What becomes of such well known "blind alley" jobs as that of elevator or errand boy?*

These positions are transformed into training stations or schools. Through them the young worker is put in touch with various lines

of activity in the organization and his possibilities, capabilities and tastes are noted. Tending jobs under this type of management are also so used as training stations. The new work for crippled soldiers, which is now occupying so much of our attention, is also furnishing a means of filling such "blind alley" jobs. A position that might be deadening for a young, ambitious boy, or for a progressive worker, might prove the salvation of a maimed, or crippled, worker who might otherwise become an idle, unproductive, and worst of all, a discouraged and unhappy member of the community.

4. *How can the close "human touch" that is essential to this system of promotion be maintained in a large organization?*

We maintain this spirit through what we call the "Godfather Movement." This is especially successful where there are many young workers. Some older man in the organization, preferably in the same department, or interested in the same line of work, is made the godfather of several young, or inexperienced, workers, and keeps in touch constantly with their progress. We call this man "the Godfather" in all foreign countries, where the relation between godparent and godchild is an unusually close one, and is very similar to the sort of relation supposed to exist here between members of the same family. It resembles, perhaps, in this country more the "Big Brother" or "Big Sister" Movement now so popular.

5. *What are the actual results of the workers already employed using this system of promotion.*

They are most satisfactory in every case. In organizations where we have installed this system as a part of our plan of management we have seen

- a. Office and messenger boys pass through five positions in one year.
- b. A messenger boy become head storekeeper in three years.
- c. A mechanic become night superintendent in four years.
- d. A foreman become superintendent in two years.
- e. A receiving clerk become head production clerk in three years.
- f. A stenographer pass through five positions to motion study assistant in one year.
- g. A stenographer pass through five positions to assistant chief of the three position plan in one and one half years.
- h. An office boy become assistant purchasing agent in three years.

- i. A half time apprentice become foreman in three and one half years.
- j. A stenographer become head of the department of graphical presentation of statistics.
- k. A laborer become superintendent in nine years.

and other cases too numerous to mention, many advancing in spite of predicted dire failure of the plan of selection, placement and promotion. The greatest good is, perhaps, not the individual advancement, but the increased interest and zeal of all the workers under this plan.

6. *What are the practical results on supply of applicants and on better placement?*

In our experience we have never failed when using this plan of promotion to supply all needs of the organization almost immediately with most desirable and efficient workers. Every member of the organization working under this plan has become an active and successful "employment bureau man."

7. *What are the advantages of this whole plan to the man in charge of the function of employment?*

He benefits by this plan, perhaps, more than any one else. He comes in close touch with every member of the organization. It is to the advantage of every member to tell him exactly which individuals he thinks had better follow him, whether these are inside or outside the organization. Imagine for a moment that you are such a chief. A comes in and says, "Mr. Blank, I should like O to follow me in my position." B comes in and says, "I should like O to follow me in my position." C comes in and says, "Mr. Blank, I should like O to follow me in my position." Naturally you would recognize the wisdom of getting better acquainted with O. Or, perhaps, you suggest to A, "I think that M would be a good man to follow you," and A says, "No, I think I had better have some one else." You suggest M also to B and C, who reply somewhat along similar lines. There may be nothing fundamentally wrong with M, but the line you have planned will probably not receive as much coöperation as it should, and, in any case, there is something there worth investigating. Again, a worker comes to you and says, "Mr. Blank, I know a man who is not in this organization who would be just the person to follow me. You

know there is no one available just now, as the man below me is satisfied with his job." Here follow particulars as to the desired man's education, training, etc., which act as the supplementary data before mentioned. The recommender is given a blank form of "recommendation" to fill out for filing, whether or not the proposed man is hired. This naturally leads to the question

8. *Can any part of this plan of promotion be used without the other parts?*

The answer is "Yes" and "No." "No," if the desired results are to be obtained in full, since the entire system is interrelated and correlated with the complete plan of Measured Functional Management. "Yes," in that the fundamental ideas underlying this plan can undoubtedly be worked out in many ways. The immediate success of this plan is fostered by a carefully devised set of forms and charts and other devices for visualizing the possibilities of individual success that have stood the test of time and use. The ultimate success of this plan depends upon the principles<sup>1</sup> that underly it, giving every man a square deal, a maximum chance for coöperation, advancement and prosperity, in other words, the opportunity for simultaneous individual and social development.

<sup>1</sup> See *The Psychology of Management*, Sturgis and Walton, New York City.



## THE SO-CALLED PROFIT SHARING SYSTEM IN THE FORD PLANT

BY JOHN R. LEE,

Detroit, Mich.

It is quite probable that most of you have a pretty full and complete conception of what the Ford Motor Company has been trying to accomplish in a coöperative way with its employes in the last few years.

However, so much has appeared in print that is without foundation and so many comments and criticisms have been aired through various avenues, that possibly it would be well to give you, by way of preface to an exact explanation of just what we are trying to do and have accomplished, a little history in connection with the company, which may perhaps indicate the trend of things and the conclusions which led up to the inauguration of the so-called profit sharing plan, upon January 12, 1914.

There has always been a prevailing impression, in some quarters, that the so-called profit sharing plan was more or less of a spasmodic thing. It has been said that it was the result of a dare or challenge made in an off-hand fashion by one of the officers of the company and accepted by the executives, and for this reason would ask you to bear with me while I go into a little explanation of things which may not directly concern the work itself that I have been asked to explain.

The Ford Motor Company was incorporated on the sixteenth day of June, 1903, under the laws of the state of Michigan, with an authorized capital of \$100,000. There was actually paid in of this amount \$28,000.

Some years later the capital was increased from a substantial surplus to \$2,000,000 and has remained at this figure ever since.

A little while since the company laid plans to increase the capitalization to \$200,000,000 but under the laws of the state of Michigan this amount exceeds the maximum fixed by law, and the plan was defeated, so that this represents the present stock capital of the company.

Eight individuals hold the entire stock issue, Mr. Ford, personally, owning 58½ per cent of the stock.

For the year ending October 1, 1914, the company did a gross business of \$119,489,316.99. During 1915 the ending of the fiscal year was changed from September 30 to July 31 and for the ten months between October 1, 1914, and August 1, 1915, the business of the company amounted to \$121,000,000.

For at least eight years the plan of the company has been steadfastly towards standardization. A single model chassis with a very limited number of bodies have been built in large quantities with the exercise of exacting thought and care in the development of mechanism and material which were especially adapted to the product. After an exhaustive study and much experimenting, established practices were hit upon that have been improved time and again so far as the choice of material and the production of machines was concerned.

Various schemes have been employed in the handling of labor in connection with output. At the present time we are operating our shop on a day work basis—there is no piece work, premium system or individual bonus plan provided in return for the efforts or outlay of productive or non-productive labor.

We work to standard output. When we change an old operation or put into effect a new system or plan of manufacture, our engineering department draws up the work on a theoretical basis, provides the machines and submits them to the manufacturing or factory department with full data as to the operation of the machines and what the output should be from a theoretical standpoint, making due allowance for mechanical defects and human indifference, as established by experience.

Such machines as the engineering department may select are tried and tested by putting same in actual work, according to directions from the engineering department, and the human or thoroughly practical output is established after adequate test has been made, and it may be interesting to know that within the last twelve months, the human or thoroughly practical production from a factory standpoint, has revealed the fact that our theoretical or engineering ratings ran about 10 per cent low.

For instance, we recently purchased some four way drilling machines for the cylinder department. Our Engineering depart-

ment figured the output of each machine at 200 cylinders per eight-hour day, with a 5 per cent allowance for mechanical defects or handicap, and human indifference to ideal conditions. When these were put out in the shop for trial it was found that day in and day out for two weeks the machines could be run so as to produce in eight hours 210 cylinder in each machine, and therefore the shop rating was placed at 210 versus the engineering department's rating of 200.

Now, we spent a great deal of time and a great deal of thought in arriving at various figures in keeping with all of the factors that enter into any manufacturing problem so far as we knew them up to this point.

It was along in 1912 that we began to realize something of the relative value of men, mechanism and material in the threefold phase of manufacturing, so to speak, and we confess that up to this time we had believed that mechanism and material were of the larger importance and that somehow or other the human element or our men were taken care of automatically and needed little or no consideration.

During that year there were a number of things that happened that made their impression upon the minds of the executives of the company.

I recall a drop hammer operation that had gone along for a number of years at an even output, when somehow, the standard dropped off. The hammer was in good condition, the man who had operated the machine for years was on the job, but the finished output failed to appear in the old proportions that we were looking for and had the right to expect.

A superficial analysis of things brought no light, but a little talk with the operator revealed a condition of things entirely outside of business, that was responsible for our depleted production. Sickness, indebtedness, and fear and worry over things that related entirely to the home, had crept in and had put a satisfactory human unit entirely out of harmony with the things that were necessary for production.

This is the type of incident that played an important part in the conclusions that we reached.

Our first step was to reduce our working day from ten to nine

hours and to give our men an increase of about 15 per cent for nine hours over what they had received for ten.

Following this we instituted a plan for grading employes according to skill, with the idea of eliminating, as far as possible, petty discrimination, misfits, and those unsatisfactory conditions which obtain now and then, possibly through the more aggressive making their worth felt and known than men of more retiring dispositions are wont to do, or to prevent the favoritism of a foreman for an employe, overstepping the bounds of merit or consistency in any case.

The details of this scheme are not hard of comprehension but would require a somewhat lengthy explanation.

Suffice it to say that when we undertook this work we had in the shop some sixty-nine different rates of wage and were employing men at their face value in the employment department, trying them out, and if they did not fit, letting them go.

In the turn-around we established some eight different rates of wage. We classified our men into six groups, which were further subdivided into three each, and a definite wage was applied against every skill rating, so that a man might understand when he came with us just exactly to what extent his developed ability would earn and furthermore, by a very simple means, we put a check upon each individual case, so that he would not have to wait for an increment in recognition of his ability and worth through any one agency, but was automatically looked up in case his advancement did not come within an average time set for such development.

Moreover, we laid down a rule whereby a foreman might eliminate a man from his particular department but could not discharge him from the employ of the company.

If Jones, somehow or other, was a misfit in Smith's department, Smith could send Jones to our employment office where his case would be looked into impersonally. If we found that Jones, in his zeal and desire to obtain a position had done so by misrepresentation (and this occurs very often), we would question him carefully as to his ability and possibly find that in Jones we had put a tailor or tinsmith in our machine shop or heat treat department because Jones, when he stood in line at the employment office door, repeated parrot fashion what the man ahead of him said and secured a job, on the theory that we were needing machinists or help in the heat

treat department and hoping that he could somehow make good and take care of his family, even though he knew he was not fitted for that work.

Now, we have found in these cases that by giving a man a second chance and placing him where he will fit in that we apparently get better men on the second analysis than we have in the first; furthermore, we have found that in teaching a man in any department certain of our *modus operandi*, it is a great deal cheaper for us to take him from one department and transfer him to another than it is to discharge him.

However, if we find that the man is absolutely out of harmony with the work in general, belligerent and unfit, he can, with the approval of our general superintendent and general manager, be dismissed from the company's service.

It may be startling for some of you to know that in the last six months there has been but one man discharged from the Ford organization.

There were a number of other changes instituted in the old way of doing things which because of so much else to tell you I shall have to pass by. Suffice it to say that the good things and the substantial increases that came to the company through their efforts in the directions indicated gave rise to a further consideration of the human element which has resulted in our so-called profit sharing plan.

Now, I should like to impress upon you the fact that this profit sharing work was in no sense instituted as a spasmodic thing, was not designed or conceived for the sake of business expedient or advertising. We were perfectly satisfied with what each man was giving us, as far as daily return was concerned. We did not seek to advertise the car nor the company through this plan, but rather we felt that we owed it to our men at that time to give them all the help we consistently could to better their financial and their moral status, and to insure, as far as we could, a life worth while, and not merely a bare living.

It was established some time prior to this work that a man who comes out of a home well balanced, who has no fear for the necessities of life for those he is taking care of, who is not in constant dread of losing his position for reasons beyond his control, is the

most powerful economic factor that we can use in the shape of a human being.

The profit sharing plan of the Ford Motor Company gives unto every man who can use it within limitations which I shall state, in addition to his wage, a certain amount, according to his worth and what his skill and ability merit for him, to have and to use according to his individual needs for his health and happiness in youth and in old age.

Now, over against each of the eight rates of wage we have set a profit sharing rate, and the lowest total daily income that a worker receives under the profit sharing plan is \$5 a day.

This \$5 a day, or  $62\frac{1}{2}$  cents an hour, is not the lowest minimum wage of the Ford worker; 34 cents is the minimum hourly wage and  $28\frac{1}{2}$  cents the minimum share of profits, totaling  $62\frac{1}{2}$  cents, which makes a total daily income of \$5.

There are three groups under which each employe is considered for profit sharing—these, practically, are all the rules and regulations in connection with the work.

1. All married men living with and taking good care of their families.
2. All single men, over twenty-two, of proven thrifty habits.
3. Men, under twenty-two years of age, and women, who are the sole support of some next of kin or blood relative.

It was clearly foreseen that \$5 a day in the hands of some men would work a tremendous handicap along the paths of rectitude and right living and would make of them a menace to society in general and so it was established at start that no man was to receive the money who could not use it advisedly and conservatively; also, that where a man seemed to qualify under the plan and later developed weaknesses, that it was within the province of the company to take away his share of the profits until such time as he could rehabilitate himself; nor was any man urged against his own judgment, likes or dislikes, to change his mode of living and to qualify under that plan if he did not willingly so elect.

The company organized a band of thirty men who were chosen because of their peculiar fitness for the work to act as investigators. The whole work was put into effect and supervised by the employes of the company—no outside talent or assistance was asked. We have worked out the whole scheme with Ford men.

This band of thirty men was commissioned to see each in-

dividual employe and to report as to whether, in their judgment, a man was eligible for a share in the profits. These reports were in turn reviewed by a committee and each case passed upon individually.

As a result of this work our employes were grouped as follows:

*First Group*

Those who were firmly established in the ways of thrift and who would carry out the spirit of the plan themselves were catalogued as one group.

*Second Group*

Those who had never had a chance but were willing to grasp the opportunity in the way every man should, were catalogued in the second group.

*Third Group*

Those who had qualified but we were in doubt about as to their strength of character to continue in the direction they had started in, were placed in the third group.

*Fourth Group*

And the men who did not or could not qualify were put into a fourth group.

The first group of men were never bothered except when we desired information for annual or semi-annual reports or something of that kind.

The second group were looked up as often as in the judgment of the investigation department, so called, we could help them or strengthen their purpose by kindly suggestion.

The third group were dealt with in much the same fashion, although some detailed plans had to be laid for them.

The fourth group were very carefully and thoroughly studied in the hope that we might bring them, with the others, to a realization of what we were trying to accomplish, and to modifications, changes and sometimes complete revamping of their lives and habits, in order that they might receive what the company wanted to give them.

During the first six months 69 per cent of our force qualified.

At the end of the first year about 87 per cent were on a profit sharing basis, and at the present time about 90 per cent are receiving the benefits under this plan.

Since the start we have had to establish some conditions that were not a part or parcel of this work originally. For instance, we require a man now to be a resident of the city of Detroit for at least six months before he is eligible for employment and then a man must serve six months before he is entitled to a share in the profits,—in other words, payment of the profits start, provided he qualifies, six months after he enters the employ of the company.

At start every man who qualified received his share of the profits as of January 12, 1914, whether or not his individual case was investigated within the month of January or February or March. It so happened that it took us about three months to go over the whole force at the start and there was quite a substantial accumulation of moneys paid to a number of the men who were with us on January 12, but who could not really benefit until March.

The profits are paid to each employe with his wages in his pay envelope every two weeks. He is not influenced or coerced to spend his money for any one especial thing. The policy of the company is not to sell its men anything or influence them to buy anything—with the exception of Ford cars.

Our legal department has been enlarged so that men may come for counsel and suggestion as to ways and means for employing professional help.

As a part and parcel of the legal department also, we have a committee that makes appraisals of property for employes. A man who has picked out a home and gotten a price upon it, may submit the facts to our legal department, and without charge get from them an idea as to the worth of the property in connection with the price asked, also a general report as to the worth of the house, from the standpoint of construction, finishing and equipment.

We are also doing, in connection with the investigation work, something that is of great benefit both to the men and to the company.

Every morning there is turned over from the time department to our investigation staff a list of the absentees of the day previous, which is carefully looked up. If a man is in trouble he gets help; if a man has been wasting his time and himself, he is reminded of



the fact quite forcibly, and is made to feel that to hold his position he must realize the necessity of coöperation.

This little scheme, which is merely eternal vigilance, has cut the number of our daily absentees from 10 per cent to less than one-half of 1 per cent, exclusive of the times when epidemics of grippe, cold, and other human ills prevail, and then it is increased by just the proportion that our men bear to the number afflicted.

It has been no easy task to add to the number of men we originally had, twenty more of the same type and calibre to act as investigators as our forces grew.

Two years ago we were employing some thirteen thousand men; today we have some twenty-four thousand, but we have gained rather than lost in the kind of men and in the spirit and energy shown, as far as this force is concerned.

At the present time we have divided the whole number so that those especially gifted in cases of domestic infelicity might tackle jobs of this type; those who have evidenced unusual skill in handling men with criminal records, are detailed to such cases, and so on.

As you probably know, of necessity rather than choice, a large part of our working force is made up of non-English-speaking men.

It was utterly impossible to reach these men with an explanation of our work through the medium of interpreters, and besides, we found a mercenary unwillingness, if you please, on the part of sophisticated fellow countrymen to aid us in helping this great army of men, which comprised 50 to 60 per cent of the entire number of Ford employes.

We have actually found in Detroit petty empires existing. For instance, we know it to be true that when a group of Roumanians, we will say, arrive in New York, in some way or other they are shipped to Detroit and the knowledge of their coming imparted to someone in our city, who meets them at the station and who confiscates the party, so to speak, persuades them to live in quarters selected for them, to buy their merchandise in markets other than their own choosing and to live unto themselves and apart from the wholesome environment of the city, so that the instigators of all this may benefit through rentals and large profits on food, wearing apparel, etc.

Of course, it is to the interest of such men that these foreigners shall know nothing of the English language, of American ways and

customs, or of local values, as these are things which would liberate them from the bondage (and it is nothing more or less) under which they have unconsciously been placed.

Now, in facing this problem we decided that the only way to work out the things that we wanted to do was to put these men in position to understand directly from us all what we wanted them to know.

You may know, or at least have heard about, the Roberts' system of teaching the English language. It is somewhat of a modification of the so-called Burlitz plan.

We sought out Dr. Roberts—he came to Detroit, and there was organized the plan for giving all non-English-speaking employes a good basic knowledge of the English language through this system.

At the present time we have enrolled in our shop some 1,500, who are taught by volunteer teachers,—foremen, sub-foremen and graduates of the school, who receive in six or eight months, not a lot of grammar or mathematics, or geography, but the ground work of the English language, which enables them to read, write, speak and understand our tongue.

Perhaps this, of all the things that we have done, has been the most beneficial in bringing about the larger results that have been attained, and we know, from the way this work of ours has been extended in our city and through the land that it is perhaps the wisest course that any employer of labor can take to sift and to solve many of the problems that daily confront us.

The fact that in this country of ours we are employing large bodies of men and that for the ordinary task particularly, foreigners have to be employed in order to get the work done would, it seems to me, urge a similar action on the part of other employers of labor.

We have lately been gratified by the action taken by the department of justice. We finish up our course by trying to give to our men some definite conception of law and order to fit them for citizenship, and expend no little effort in trying to show each man the advisability of taking out his naturalization papers.

The department of justice in recognizing this work has arranged through the local federal courts, to accept the Ford diploma in lieu of final examination, other conditions in each individual case being satisfactory.

I have neglected to say what happens to a man who we believe is living unworthily as a profit sharer.

In the first place, if a man is wasting his substance and we feel that the share of the profits is a menace rather than a benefit to him, we take away the share of profits and continue him as an employe, giving him six months in which to rehabilitate himself, so to speak, allowing his profits to accrue during this term.

If at the end of 30 days we find the man's mental attitude to have changed and he requalifies, we give him back his share of profits. If it takes him 60 days he gets back 75 per cent, and 25 per cent is paid into a fund. If a man delays this for 90 days and then comes back he gets 60 per cent; at the end of four months 40 per cent; at the end of five months 25 per cent, and if at the end of six months he has not found the folly of his ways, he is eliminated as an employe of the Ford Motor Company.

The percentage withheld, whatever it be, is used for charitable purposes, within or without the company, the object of this being to prove to men that the company does not in any way want to benefit materially through their loss or shortcomings.

The striking thing about this whole plan, when it is understood, is the simplicity of it all. There is absolutely nothing new or unusual in the way in which it is working or in the policy and layout. We are simply demonstrating over and over again the absolute truth of that ancient adage known as The Golden Rule.

We have learned to appreciate men as men, and to forget the discrimination of color, race, country, religion, fraternal orders and everything else outside of human qualities and energy.

In our plan there was never a measure made as to what might result in so far as increased production and better conditions to the company were concerned, nevertheless there have been such and they are free will offerings, and we want to tell you, in a general way, what the men have done for the company.

In the first place, our men have increased in physical attributes. Do you know that one of the things that we have to contend with most is to keep men from doing too much? Whereas three years ago, we, of the manufacturing department, used to be able to use the phrase "hurry up" in forty or fifty languages or dialects, at the present time this expression is rarely, if ever, heard.

In our motor department there has been a gradual voluntary

increase of production (the general layout and operations being practically the same as before with the same number of men), of from 6,125 motors in a 9-hour day to 7,200 in an 8-hour day.

The assembly of radiator cores, for example, has jumped so that a unit of men, previously putting together 750 in nine hours, now assemble 1,300 in eight, and a single group in the fender department heretofore making 38 fenders in nine hours are today producing 50 in eight.

In the making of gasoline tanks 1,200 for 60 men is the output in eight hours versus 800 by 65 in nine hours.

Many of the methods and schemes used in our factory which have lately helped us so much in cutting out waste motion and lost time, are the direct results of the new spirit in the men and come to us from the rank and file of our employees.

We are finding additional capacity that is willing and always available if justly recognized and amply rewarded.

We used to hire from 40 to 60 per cent of our force each month to maintain it. In the year 1913 between 50,000 and 60,000 people passed through our employment office. In the year 1915 we employed about 7,000, of which number only 2,000 can be used in contrast with the 50,000 mentioned, because the 5,000 were for new jobs and for the enlargement of forces.

As I have previously stated, our daily absentees have decreased from 10 per cent to less than one-half of 1 per cent.

When we started our work our men had in banks, under the old order of things, out of their earnings, a saving of about \$1,000,000. At the end of the first year the savings account stood about \$3,500,000, and as of January 12, 1916, the figures show a total in excess of six million.

As I have said, good home conditions beget the qualities most desirable for productive factory labor.

On January 12, 1914, Ford employees were buying homes representing a value of three and a quarter million dollars; at the end of the first year this figure had grown to nearly nine million dollars and upon January 12, 1916, we found the valuations of homes being purchased by Ford men in excess of twenty million.

We were fearful lest this plan of ours might possibly encourage extravagance and also because of our endeavors to better the quality and kind of homes that we might have increased the rentals and

household expenses. It was extremely gratifying therefore, at the end of the first year to find that the amount of monthly rentals paid had increased less than 5 per cent, although approximately 13,000 Ford families had moved to better their surroundings and to gain more of comfort and health, of which 5,000 were classed as exceptionally poor.

A map has been prepared of the city which we have divided into districts, each district characterized by its physical environment and the kind of inhabitants. This has been so maintained through the directory we have, as to form most convincing proof of the whole-souled response made by our men in the direction of our aims and desires. I would like you to know that one of the greatest crimes a man of the Ford organization can commit is not to keep us posted as to change of address.

You may be curious to know what our policy is with regard to ex-convicts, men who have lost an eye, an arm, speech, hearing, or both, and other human derelicts that perhaps you have read of our having employed.

We have, for example, set aside 1 per cent of all the positions we have for men whom we believe want a second chance in life, of the criminal type, with or without prison records. We have also found work that men past middle life can do; we have also positions for men without an arm, or who have lost a leg. Again, we have some 20 deaf and dumb operators—the quickest and brightest group of 20 that we have anywhere in the shop.

Now, there is in this, as we have found, a twofold result:

We are helping a man, who with the proper kind of encouragement is working out his own salvation and helping us with our problems, and in some cases much more intelligently than men in the average walks of life, and in the second place, we are discouraging the kind of experience that the man is trying to shake off, in others, and are ridding the community, perhaps in small part, of the tremendous load that is being carried in caring for men of this type in the county, state and municipal institutions.

What is here said may be taken at a considerable discount but it would afford us much gratification and pleasure if as many as are interested, either in improving factory conditions, or bettering the standing of our fellow men, or best of all perhaps, getting a

different viewpoint of life for yourself and much of personal enlightenment, if you would come to Detroit and see our work at first hand.

We should be very glad to have you and extend you a cordial welcome at any time this may be possible.

I know that too often we face things that we want to do from the angle of fear; fear that we are going to disrupt things that are running quietly along; fear that in aiming at a desired goal we may run foul of things that will perplex and hinder and overshadow the good that we want to do.

As I told you at the start, the Ford Motor Company have done all this work with their own men; there has been no theory used; no mapping out of various courses that we have pursued; we have employed no minds trained in philanthropy or sociology, or any other knowledge gained through books or university courses. We have rather fed our men, so far as we could, with fresh human encouragement, in a sane, sound, man-fashion way and we believe that no work of this kind will ever be successful if it is wished on some employe to accomplish, without it has back of it and around it the spirit and touch of the personal dynamic that guides the business and is responsible for it.

## BOOK DEPARTMENT<sup>1</sup>

### INTERNATIONAL QUESTIONS

BABSON, ROGER W. *The Future of South America*. Pp. viii, 407. Price, \$2.00. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1915.

The avowed purpose of the author of this book is to write an account of South America that will appeal to commercial and industrial interests in the United States. His sources of information are derived from observation gained on business visits to most of the South American countries, personal interviews with business men and public officials, and studies of statistical data. The chapters treat of all the South American countries in turn, with the exception of the Guianas, as well as of the West Indian Islands, particularly Cuba, Porto Rico and Santo Domingo. Two final chapters are devoted to Mistakes in Our Latin American Trade Relations and South American Investments.

In general, the author's tone is one of large optimism toward the future of South America and South American-United States commercial relations. In the introductory chapter he says: "the people of the United States are not getting the truth about Latin America. Only the good news is sent out." But one feels in reading the text that disadvantages have often been overlooked or ignored in the author's discussions. Failure of large trade development between Latin America and the United States is placed by the author almost wholly upon the American business man or the American government. Much space is given to interviews with government officials. Such interviews in Latin America, as in many other continents, are generally not the best means of securing the whole truth regarding social, economic and commercial conditions in a country. The book is filled with many misstatements of fact and many generalizations that it would be difficult to prove. There are, on the other hand, many suggestions regarding the development of United States trade with South America that the American business man would do well to study and follow.

*University of Pennsylvania.*

G. B. ROORBACH.

BULLARD, ARTHUR. *The Diplomacy of the Great War*. Pp. xii, 344. Price, \$1.50. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1916.

This work is divided into four books: (1) The Struggle of a Generation—a sketch of European diplomacy from 1878 to the present war; (2) The New Elements of Diplomacy—a discussion of the rights of nations, their methods of diplomacy, of colonization and the growth of public opinion; (3) The Liquidation of the War—its probable outcome, the demands of the various states and the

<sup>1</sup>The notes and reviews on the following subjects will appear in the July issue of *The Annals*: Agriculture, Mining, Forestry, and Fisheries; Commerce and Transportation; General works in Economics; Geography; Political and Governmental Problems; Miscellaneous, Money, Banking and Finance, and such notes and reviews on Sociology and Social Problems as are not included in this issue.

problems resulting from the war; (4) The United States and Europe—our traditional policy, our problems, defence, and our part in establishing peace.

The author admits a possible bias—"a very definite fondness for France" and an aversion to Germany—but such candor does not lessen our confidence in his honest attempt "to see straight," for no one can read his book with an open mind and not feel that he tells the truth so far as it can be determined by historical evidence; and on the speculative side—the second half of the work—he frankly tells us "I can cite no evidence for my beliefs" (p. 150). If further proof were necessary to convince the reader of his fairness—and that is the most important point to determine in a work dealing with the present war—it may be found in the chapter on the Algeciras crisis in which he states that the Entente violated sacred pledges and acted against the interests of Germany. The division of Egypt between England and France; of Persia, between England and Russia, are no more excused than is Austria's aggression in the Balkans or Germany's violation of Belgium. "Great Britain and Germany have both violated their pledges of The Hague by armed invasion and occupation of neutral territory" (p. 297). Peace, he concludes, can only come when each nation frankly yields to the discipline it proposes for others, when an enlightened system of education shall have democratized foreign policies. We in America must first set our own house in order and when we have done so a league of American Republics may set an example to the rest of the world.

*Oberlin College.*

KARL F. GEISER.

GOLDSMITH, PETER H. *A Brief Bibliography of Books in English, Spanish and Portuguese, relating to the Republics commonly called Latin American, with comments.* Pp. xix, 107. Price, 50 cents. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1915.

HERRICK, ROBERT. *The World Decision.* Pp. 252. Price, \$1.25. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1916.

BRAILSFORD, HENRY NOEL. *The War of Steel and Gold.* Pp. 340. Price, 80 cents. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1915.

The world decision is a choice, not between Anglo-Saxon and German civilization, but between Teuton and Latin ideals, according to the author, and his choice is decidedly the latter. With great praise for the Latin, little knowledge or appreciation of the German ideals and general disgust for the American attitude toward the war, he vividly describes his experiences in Italy and France during four months of the war, and comes to the conclusion that Germany is a menace to the world and any peace which does not destroy that menace can neither be lasting nor for the common good. It is written in a passionate, forceful style, but its chief value is rather in its description of conditions, men, and races than in its discriminating analysis of the forces and motives underlying the world war.

Mr. Brailsford's book, on the other hand, is an admirable discussion of world politics, of the real causes of the war, of the stakes of diplomacy, the balance of power, the forces which control foreign policies, especially the part played by finance. The original work was written before the war. To this, the third edition, the author has added a postscript on peace and change with occasional notes to the original chapters, and a tentative outline of a federal league. It



is a keen analysis of the economic problems of imperialism, war and peace, written in a brilliant style with a masterly grasp of the vital issue. It is the best book of its kind that has recently appeared.

K. F. G.

JONES, J. H. *The Economics of War and Conquest*. Pp. xvii, 160. Price, 2s. 6d. London: P. S. King & Son, 1915.

This work is designed as a scientific study of the contention of Norman Angell, as set forth in *The Great Illusion*, that under modern conditions a nation can gain no economic advantage through war. With keen analysis, the author points out the flaws in Mr. Angell's argument, and shows the gains that may accrue to a nation through the possession of a powerful armament, the imposition of an indemnity, or the annexation of colonies or contiguous territory. Some of these alleged advantages appear to be of doubtful value or of trivial nature. Others are very real. There would seem to be some which the author does not mention.

In view of the amount that has been written upon this subject by those without a knowledge of the principles of economics, a discussion by one who has such knowledge is particularly valuable. As a whole, the work successfully supports the author's conclusion that while some economic gains may be achieved by means of a war of conquest, the money value of the expectation of such gain is considerably less than the money cost of such a war.

W. L. A.

#### LABOR PROBLEMS

ANDREWS, IRENE OSGOOD. *The Relation of Irregular Employment to the Living Wage for Women*. Pp. 127. New York: American Association for Labor Legislation, 1915.

This is a statistical study showing the discrepancy between the rate of wages paid and actual earnings received in certain industries employing women—a factor of considerable magnitude in considering the application of the minimum wage. Facts from many lines of production, such as paper box, clothing, candy, and book-binding industries are given.

The convincing thought driven home shows that not only the rate of pay, but the regularity of employment, must be taken into minimum-wage discussions if we are to have a real living wage for women.

C. R.

BARNES, CHARLES B. *The Longshoremen*. Pp. xvii, 287. Price, \$2.00. New York: Survey Associates, Inc., 1915.

The prevailing public opinion that longshoremen are a shiftless lot of unskilled labor—a class of unworthy ne'er-do-wells—must change radically if it is to agree with the facts brought out by the author's investigation. The nature of longshoremen's work is found to be dangerous, hard, and highly irregular; demanding intelligence, experience, and good judgment.

The study lays stress upon methods of hiring, the irregularity of employment and the inadequacy of the wages paid—the annual earnings ranging from \$520

to \$624. The growth, activities, and failures of labor organizations are treated at length, giving a clear illustration of the effect of racial characteristics in breaking up labor solidarity. The closing part of the book deals with the many risks that constantly surround the worker.

The book is suggestive in showing the need for a greater detailed and more comprehensive study of longshoremen, so that both public opinion and legislation may compel a much needed improvement.

C. R.

COHEN, JULIUS HENRY. *Law and Order in Industry*. Pp. xvii, 292. Price, \$1.50. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1916.

The protocol—the arrangement for industrial peace in the cloak and suit industry of New York City,—was discontinued in the first week in March. This volume discusses this subject and is consequently exceptionally timely. As an introduction the author describes the cloak and suit industry and the chaos of the great strike of 1910, together with the agreement that closed it. There follows a detailed study of the problems confronting employers and employes under the plan. This provided for the preferential shop, with full representation of employes on all committees. Machinery for the adjustment of disputes was provided—a board of grievances composed of representatives of the two sides. From this board either side might appeal to a board of arbitration whose chairman represented the public. More important, perhaps, than this machinery for the settling of disputes was the joint board of sanitary control which supervised the health of the industry. During the five years of its existence it has done much to improve the sanitary conditions of the work-shops and to raise the physical condition of the workers. In the appendices of this book are the important decrees of the board of arbitration and also the initial agreements.

The protocol should be carefully studied by all who deal with labor or are interested in the labor problem. This volume should make the facts available to a large number of persons. The author was in close touch with each step in the development of the experiment, and, as attorney for the manufacturers, helped to draft the original agreement. This fact, however, has not influenced his judgment but has made it possible for him to know all important details.

*New York City.*

ALEXANDER FLEISHER.

COMMONS, JOHN R. and ANDREWS, JOHN B. *Principles of Labor Legislation*. Pp. 524. Price, \$2.00. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1916.

The increasing number of laws dealing with labor has brought the need of a restatement of the principles on which the various prohibitions and restrictions that seek to protect the worker in industry are based. Under the headings, The Basis of Labor Law, Individual Bargaining, Collective Bargaining, the Minimum Wage, Hours of Labor, Unemployment, Safety and Health, Social Insurance, and Administration, the authors discuss these principles. There is detailed classification and analysis of each subject under numerous sub-headings after the historical background of the legislation and the main facts in regard to the need have been made clear. Foreign experience is cited but the emphasis throughout

is on American conditions and problems. The sub-titles of the chapter on the Minimum Wage indicate the approach: the economic basis, historical development, standards, methods of operation, results, constitutionality. Of each of these classifications there are again numerous sub-divisions.

The attitude of the authors is frankly progressive. They believe that there are many conditions in industry, detrimental to the workers, that can be remedied by legislation. But the book is practical throughout. It outlines the problem, points out how legislation has been developed to curb it and then examines the effect of such legislation on employer, employe and the public. The enforceability of a law is in each case the final measure of its value—"a law is really a law only to the extent to which it is enforced." For this reason, the main emphasis throughout the volume is on the problems of administration. This subject is also treated in the concluding chapter. Here are discussed the place of the executive, legislative and judicial branches of government in the enforcement of labor legislation, but a greater amount of space is given to the recently developed Industrial Commission.

The struggle between the fundamental principles of the rights of the individual as guaranteed under the constitution and the police power of the state is clearly shown. It is the problem of determining the limits of these rights that has been one of the important problems of our courts.

A critical bibliography and a list of the cases cited, is appended. These should prove of value to the student.

This volume should become a text-book for college classes. No other book so adequately covers the field with which this deals. Its sphere of usefulness, however, should be wider than this. It should appeal to the citizen who by it will be furnished with a guide to the mass of bills presented to each succeeding legislature. He will as a result of his reading be better able to judge what is valuable and what is practicable among the measures suggested.

New York City.

ALEXANDER FLEISHER.

DIEMER, HUGO. *Industrial Organization and Management*. Pp. xv, 291. Price, \$2.00. Chicago: La Salle Extension University, 1915.

This book divides the problems of management, especially manufacturing management, into seventeen main fields and devotes a chapter to each. Types of Organization, Receiving, Storing and Recording Materials, Planning, The Distribution of the Expense Burden, Standardization, and Wage Systems are typical chapter headings. These discussions are supplemented with clear and direct, though rather simple test questions, and frequent charts and diagrams.

Professor Diemer has performed a real service to managers as well as to teachers of management by thus making available his years of study in the management field. His practical experience has enabled him to be always definite and specific—a good quality that is not carried to such an extreme as to obscure with details. The point of view of the man in the factory and the man outside are excellently combined.

J. H. W.

GANTT, H. L. *Industrial Leadership*. Pp. 128. Price, \$1.00. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1916.

This book is a collection of five addresses delivered in 1915 in the Page Lecture Series before the senior class of Sheffield Scientific School, Yale University. Mr. Gantt believes that industry follows an evolution similar to that of politics, and that just as democracy is a higher, more noble form of government than autocracy, so too industry may be conducted on a higher plane than that of driving men like scourged quarry slaves. Force in industrial management must yield to democracy, like force in civil life has yielded to that same conqueror.

To accomplish democracy in industry requires two things: leaders whose authority to issue orders is balanced by knowledge and responsibility to see that the orders are properly executed; and secondly, a training given to the workmen so that each man may have the opportunity to become a leader himself. These ends may be attained by a rigid investigation of the work to be done, the elimination of unnecessary operations, the establishment of proper conditions of work and then the setting of definite, fairly difficult tasks for workmen, with a suitable reward when a task is accomplished. In order that the tasks may be executed it devolves upon each industry to train its own work people, and upon the state to educate boys and girls in those matters which are common to all industries, or which cannot be given by individual employers. Finally the commercial side of a business must be brought into harmony with the production end, and a correct system of distributing costs devised.

These are Mr. Gantt's views as to the way to make a nation great through its men rather than because of its wealth; and through democracy rather than autocracy. Unfortunately, Mr. Gantt is not as expert in organizing his writing as he is in creating a system of management. He knows the value of a plan in a factory but evidently does not realize that a logical outline is a necessary prerequisite for making a book. To a reader of penetration, and one possessed of a knowledge of Mr. Gantt's earlier book *Work, Wages and Profits*, this latest effort is an interesting piece of industrial philosophy, but to other readers it is quite apt to be a puzzle, all the more complex because oftentimes it looks easy of solution.

MALCOLM KEIR.

*University of Pennsylvania.*

HOXIE, ROBERT FRANKLIN. *Scientific Management and Labor*. Pp. x, 302. Price, \$1.50. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1915.

This book attempts to be an analysis of the effect of scientific management on labor and is based on Professor Hoxie's investigation of that subject for the United States Commission on Industrial Relations. The method pursued was approximately as follows:

Thirty-five shops and systematizing concerns who made more or less pretense to being run on a "scientific management" basis were examined, and interviews were had with many prominent exponents of scientific management. On a basis of these studies, a list of the labor claims of scientific management and similarly, a list of the trade union objections to scientific management systems were prepared.

The vital points at issue which appeared from a comparison of these lists are analyzed.

The author's conclusion is indicated as follows: "Neither organized nor unorganized labor finds in scientific management any adequate protection to its standards of living, any progressive means for industrial education, or any opportunity for industrial democracy by which labor may create for itself a progressively efficient share in efficient management. And, therefore, as unorganized labor is totally unequipped to work for these human rights, it becomes doubly the duty of organized labor to work unceasingly and unswervingly for them, and, if necessary, to combat an industrial development which not only does not contain conditions favorable to their growth, but, in many respects, is hostile soil."

It is unfortunate that such an opportunity as was afforded for this investigation should have been partially lost by adopting a method that is distinctly unfair to scientific management. The unfairness grows out of the fact that scientific management accomplishment is contrasted with the claims and ideals of scientific management, and condemned because of its failure to attain them. Surely anything under the sun could be condemned on that ground, for nothing that is still growing has attained its ideal.

Dr. Hoxie does not compare the general level of labor conditions in scientific management plants with general labor conditions among non-scientific management plants, which would seem to have been the only fair method of treatment. He seems also to have overlooked or at least much understressed the very striking conditions in a small group of scientific management plants that lead in the development of their personnel work.

It may be a just criticism that in practice scientific management has often failed to properly weight the human factor. It may not prove to be a substitute for collective bargaining. It unquestionably does involve a rearrangement of the method of attack of organized labor. Nevertheless, the accurate, scientific knowledge collected under scientific management, can hardly fail to emphasize the importance of having proper conditions surrounding employment. The fact that the relatively few scientifically managed plants furnish some of the very best examples of good labor conditions is an evidence that this is the case. Moreover, there are at present plenty of evidences that scientific management is throwing more and more emphasis on the scientific study and importance of right labor conditions.

JOSEPH H. WILLITS.

*University of Pennsylvania.*

## SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS

ELDER, B. *Study in Socialism*. Pp. xviii, 328. Price, \$1.00. St. Louis: B. Herder, 1915.

This attack on Socialism is the first of a series of text-books on social problems that the author has in preparation. The main headings of the volume are The Principles of Socialism, The History of Socialism, The Aims of Socialism. Under

these, the theories and aims of Socialism are carefully analyzed. The footnotes and bibliography show a wide study of the literature of Socialism. In comparison with this, the knowledge of the literature of opposition is comparatively slight. For example, the attacks of the Austrians find no place in his criticism of the labor theory of value. Moreover, there appears to be a failure to grasp the idealism of Socialism and the educational value of the organized socialist movement. The increasing amount of coöperation in industry so much emphasized by Socialists is ignored; competition alone is considered.

A. F.

KELLER, ALBERT GALLOWAY. *Societal Evolution*. Pp. xi, 338. Price, \$1.50. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1915.

A serious and stimulating work written in the belief that social science needs an evolutionary orientation similar to that given by Darwin to the natural sciences. Professor Keller, a colleague and disciple of the late Professor William Graham Sumner, rounds out the incomplete conception of the great teacher.

Human institutions, societal forms, arise not in the happy fashion of Spencer's philosophy, rather in the fashion of Darwin's facts. They are a slow painful development. Social variation is within the folkways, and social selection is a process of selecting the best folkways and mores as determined by the survival process. In this way Keller has developed the idea that our institutions and customs have come to be what they are by the methods of variation, selection, transmission and adaptation, as truly as natural organisms—indeed a stimulating theme to develop. Professor Keller has written one of the more important contributions to objective social psychology.

L. B.

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Supplement to

**The Annals of**  
THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL  
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# *Steadying Employment*

*With a Section Devoted to  
Some Facts on Unemployment  
in Philadelphia*

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PHILADELPHIA

The American Academy of Political and Social Science

## THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE

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# STEADYING EMPLOYMENT

WITH A SECTION DEVOTED TO SOME FACTS  
ON UNEMPLOYMENT IN PHILADELPHIA

The investigation forming the basis for this study was carried on in the  
Department of Public Works of the City of Philadelphia

BY

JOSEPH H. WILLITS, A.M.,  
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PHILADELPHIA  
THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE  
1916

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ENGLAND: P. S. King & Son, Ltd., 2 Great Smith St., Westminster, London, S.W.  
FRANCE: L. Larose, Rue Soufflot, 22, Paris.  
GERMANY: Mayer & Müller, 2 Prinz Louis Ferdinandstrasse, Berlin, N. W.  
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Public officials and committees without number have been commissioned to study the abnormalities of unemployment. But not until 1915, when Morris Llewellyn Cooke, then Director of the Department of Public Works of the City of Philadelphia, assigned to Mr. Joseph H. Willits this duty, had there been, at public initiative and with the facilities of a public office, a thoroughgoing study of the normalities of employment and the relation of industrial management and industrial policies to unemployment.

Mr. Willits' report to Director Cooke was first published in a small edition by the City of Philadelphia. Because of the limited number of copies originally issued, because this supply is now exhausted, and because of the valuable nature of the study, the Academy republishes it here in a revised form. It is particularly appropriate and valuable as a supplement to the larger volume on "Personnel and Employment Problems in Industrial Management."

CLYDE LYNDON KING,  
*Editor.*

## FOREWORD

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In December, 1914, a meeting of business men was called by Mayor Blankenburg with a view to seeing what steps the Philadelphia community should take with regard to its unemployment problem. This meeting was attended by Samuel Rea, President of the Pennsylvania Railroad; J. Howell Cummings, President of The John B. Stetson Company; J. W. Van Dyke, President of the Atlantic Refining Company; Franklin Brewer, General Manager of Wanamaker's; Louis J. Kolb, of the Kolb Bakery Company; Joseph Steele, of Wm. Steele & Sons Co., builders; Louis Bloc, of the Ford Motor Company, and several members of the Mayor's cabinet.

The number of men and women out of employment had at that date not reached so high a total as was experienced during the following January and February. The meeting was called together with the thought of taking all possible steps which might act to minimize the ultimate amount of unemployment. A number of suggestions as to possible lines of action were made. It was the consensus of opinion that the agencies then at work would give the maximum of relief to the immediate situation. The conference felt that the municipality should rather acquaint itself with the problem in its broader aspects, to find out what other municipalities were doing in this matter, and to make a general study of the problem of unemployment such as would suggest what steps might be taken to minimize it in the future in Philadelphia. As there was a vacancy then existing in the position of General Inspector, Office of the Director, Department of Public Works, and as this position was exempt under civil service rules, it was suggested that this vacancy be filled by the appointment of a student of economics qualified to carry on an inquiry into each of the phases of the general unemployment problem.

This suggestion having received the unanimous approval of the conference, and after several weeks of search for the right man, announcement was made of the appointment of Joseph H. Willits, 4519 Sansom Street, Instructor in Industry in the Wharton School

of Finance and Commerce of the University of Pennsylvania. The selection of Mr. Willits was approved by his associates in the faculty of the Wharton School and he was given an eight months' leave of absence in order to give his undivided attention to the work.

In this report it will be noted that an effort has been made to get down to the basic causes of unemployment and to describe a standard, which it is believed will, during the next generation, be forced upon any industrial community which is to compete in any large and successful way with sister communities at home and abroad.

Grateful acknowledgment is hereby made to those employers and employes (as well as others) whose courtesy and coöperation made possible the gathering together of the information which makes up this report. The almost unanimous desire of employers not to have their names mentioned in connection with information furnished makes it unfortunately necessary that cases shall be referred to anonymously.

Signed,

MORRIS L. COOKE,  
*Director.*

## INTRODUCTORY NOTE

At the outset of this report attention is called to the difference between the unemployed person who can and will work, if he has the chance; and the unemployed person who is unable to work through physical incapacity, or who would "starve to death alongside of a job before he would work at it." The larger amount of advertising that these, "the unemployables," receive, blinds many citizens to the very existence of the first class. From the point of view of immediate community welfare, the problem of the first class is the more important, for it is the degenerating effect of this form of unemployment that drives many self-respecting and capable workers into the "unemployable" ranks. This report primarily has reference to the "unemployed." The handling of the second class is largely, though not altogether, a sociological, not an industrial problem.

JOSEPH H. WILLITS.

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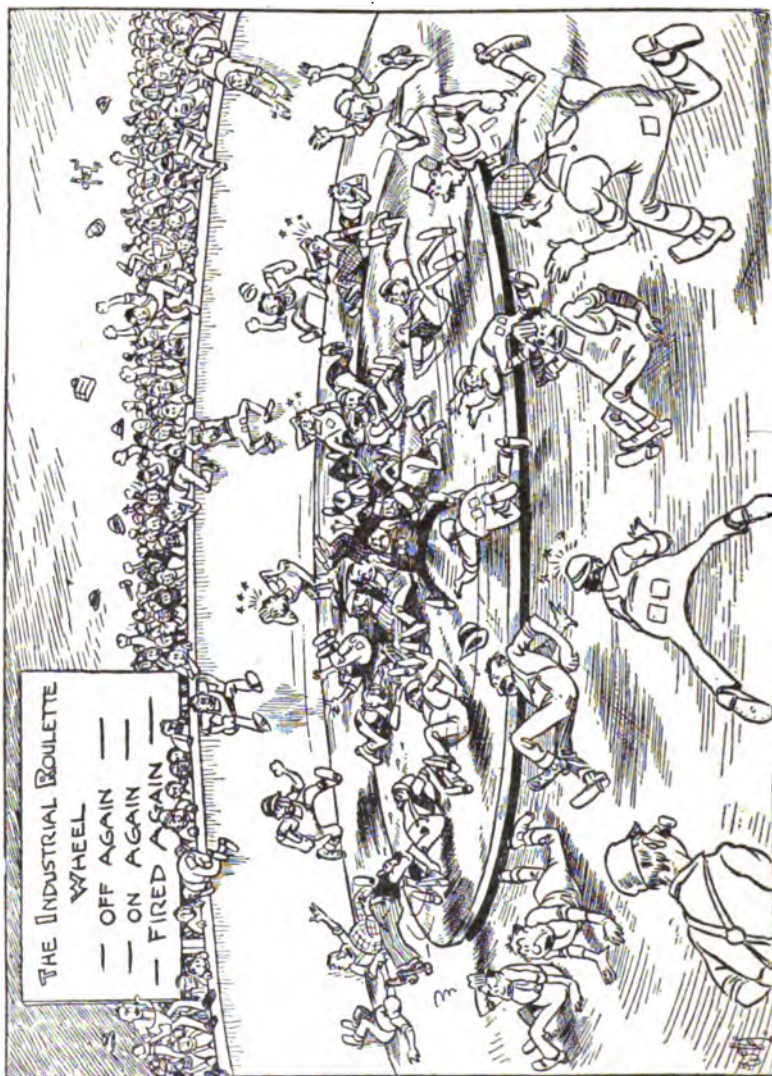
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In industrial concerns employees are continuously coming and going. The number hired and fired is out of all proportion to the number employed. The average concern hires as many new persons during a year as it employs regularly. Such an excessive hiring and firing is costly to employers, has a degenerative effect on employees, and is one of the basic causes of unemployment. (See page 63.)



## PART I

### FACTS OF UNEMPLOYMENT IN PHILADELPHIA

The most fundamental fact about unemployment in Philadelphia or any other American industrial center is that we know practically nothing about it. We do not know its extent; whether it is increasing; in what industries it exists; just what are the different causes that bring about lost time; nor just how unemployment affects the worker's standard of life, his work and his citizenship, as well as the efficiency of the plant. Not only do we not know, but we do not have any available information to which we can turn. So far as definite knowledge is concerned, we are still "up in the air."

The information collected by the various branches of government—national, state and city—is still most vague and general in character. Every ten years the representatives of the United States Census come to Philadelphia and collect figures which show for one year the number of wage-earners engaged each month in each separate industry.<sup>1</sup> The State Department of Labor and Industry at irregular intervals collects from a large number of representative firms a statement of the maximum and minimum number employed during the year, and the dates on which these high and low points in employment occurred.<sup>2</sup> Such information, while it is a step in the right direction, throws but the barest light on the extent, nature and causes of unemployment. The only local investigations have been made by the Consumers' League and by Phipps Institute. Since these investigations were not primarily concerned with unemployment, the information furnished on that subject is necessarily scanty.

The lack of definite knowledge goes deeper than the absence of public reports, statistics and investigations. A large percentage of employers have made little analysis of their own unemployment problem. They do not have available for their own or

<sup>1</sup> Twelfth U. S. Census, Vol. 8, *Census of Manufactures*, pp. 276-281.

<sup>2</sup> State Department of Labor and Industry, Bulletin on Variation in Employment.

any one's else use data or information which show the extent and causes of lost time in their plants. Until such information is collected, our knowledge of the causes and nature of unemployment will remain in a very nebulous state. Very few of the labor unions keep any record showing even the amount, much less the effect, of unemployment; and only a small proportion of the records that are kept are thorough enough to be reliable. Moreover, the unions are apt, as a matter of policy, to exaggerate the amount of unemployment in good times. Conversely, in bad times, the fear that the strait of the workers, if known, may be used as a favorable opportunity to lower wages, leads labor unions to conceal the real facts. Finally, the figures, even if complete, would present information for but a small minority of the total body of Philadelphia wage-earners.

The value of individual firms and of unions as sources of information is still further lessened by the hesitancy that many employers and some labor unions have of giving information to the public. The unions fear that the employer will find out something about the organization which he may use to its injury. The employers, as a rule, fear that information which may be used to their injury, will reach business competitors, employees, or some regulating government agency. Most of the information for this report obtained from employers has been secured under the promise not to mention the name of the firm or the individual. The results of this "hush" policy make the study of unemployment very much like a case of "blind man's buff."

Aside from these vague sources, Philadelphia's information about her own unemployment is confined to what appears in the newspapers or is passed around by word of mouth. Our ignorance is abundantly evidenced whenever the amount of unemployment rises above the normal, by the wide variation shown in the "estimates" of the number of unemployed that appear from one source or another. For example, during the winter of 1914-15, the estimates of the number of unemployed in the city ranged from 50,000 to 250,000. No one knew the accurate guess from the inaccurate one; no one could tell the honest guess from the one that was deliberately faked. We were at sea between the exaggerations, on the one hand, of the calamity howler, and the exaggerations, on the other hand, of the conscious preacher of

optimism. Small wonder that many sincere persons were at a loss to know to what extent the city was justified in resorting to ultra-heroic measures.

Not until the end of the summer months—long after the time for decision was past—was the public as a whole put in possession of information that gave a more definite idea of the extent of unemployment. In order to throw a little more light on the amount and sources of unemployment during the past winter, the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company was invited, by Mayor Blankenburg, to conduct an unemployment canvass among the families of those who held policies in the company. The Metropolitan Company placed the City of Philadelphia under obligations to itself by agreeing to aid, and lent its splendid organization for the purpose. The canvass was conducted during the week beginning March 15, 1915, by the agents of the company from each of the company's branch offices.

In this study the agents of the company called on 78,058 families, in which were 137,244 wage-earners,—about 18 per cent of all the wage-earners in the city. Of the wage-earners canvassed, it was found that 10.3 per cent were entirely out of employment and that 19.7 per cent in addition were working part time.

Canvasses conducted in other cities by the U. S. Department of Labor Statistics point to the conclusion that the Metropolitan figures are typical for the entire city. If that be so, there were in Philadelphia in the middle of March, 1915, approximately 79,000 unemployed and approximately 150,000 part-time wage-earners. It is significant that the state of affairs as revealed by the above figures was less severe than in most other large cities where similar canvasses were conducted.

This canvass disclosed the fact that the textile industries and building trades furnished the largest number of unemployed; of whom over one fifth had been out of work over six months. In less than one fourth of 1 per cent of the cases was unemployment due to strikes or lock-outs.

#### THE PERMANENCY OF UNEMPLOYMENT

The absence of dependable information about our own unemployment limits discussion, in most instances, to general statements. Data can be used chiefly for purposes of illustration

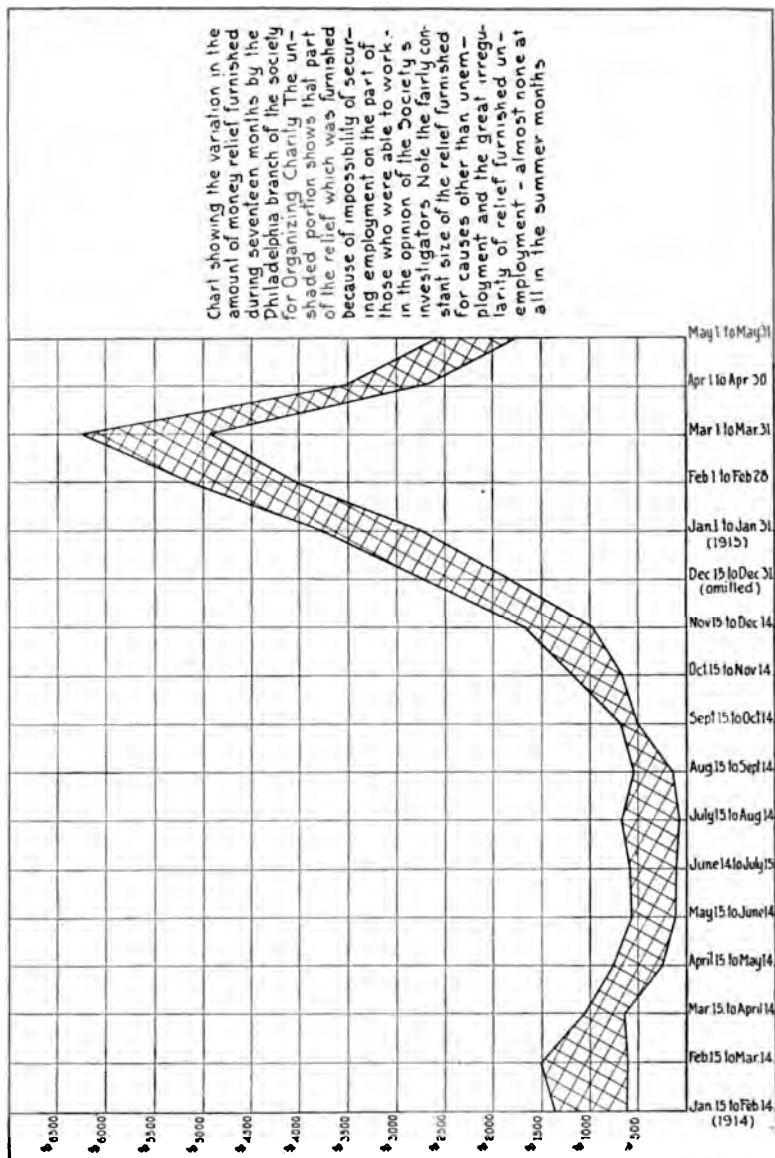


FIGURE 1

rather than as comprehensive summaries of an entire situation. However, this fact stands out: unemployment is permanent, if not steadily increasing. When we ordinarily assume that men and women who are willing and able to work are minus a job only in times of unusual and widespread industrial depression—such as we experienced during the last winter—we lose sight of the fact that there is always, even in the most prosperous times, a large amount of unemployment and part-time employment for these same workers. In the long run, this permanent or “chronic” unemployment totals larger than the unemployment of the severe industrial crises. This is true because the former exists continuously, year after year; whereas a crisis usually occurs only once in a period of five, eight or ten years. Moreover, from the city’s standpoint, this chronic unemployment is of greater concern because it arises chiefly from local causes.

The Society for Organizing Charity testifies that there is always in “good” years and “bad” alike, a considerable number of applicants for aid who, though willing and able to work, are forced to seek charitable assistance because of the impossibility of securing employment. Fig. 1 shows the total amount of relief granted by the Society for Organizing Charity each month during 1914 and to May, 1915; and, of this total, the percentage which was due to unemployment. In many cases, undoubtedly, other causes have contributed to throw these applicants onto charity after merely a brief period of unemployment; but this fact does not detract from the evidence shown by the chart of a considerable amount of unemployment always present.

As a result of over one hundred interviews with the managers of business houses and social workers, and as a result of studies made in individual industrial plants, information has been collected which indicates the permanence of unemployment. This also indicates roughly those industries in the city in which unemployment is normally a large factor.

#### *A. The Textile Industry*

Of Philadelphia industries, the textile and clothing manufacturing show unemployment and part-time employment at their worst. In the textile industries, the fact which immediately strikes the observer is that, although very many more workers are unem-

ployed in industrially "bad" years, yet there is always, even in the most prosperous years, a very considerable percentage of the workers who are either entirely idle or working from one to five days a week. Mr. R. R. P. Bradford, whose sixteen years' experience in charge of the "Lighthouse" (a social center for the better class of workers in Kensington) has given him an unusual opportunity to become acquainted with the facts, says:

We make the mistake of assuming that unemployment is a question solely of severe bad times. It is true that conditions are worse at such times—they even approach the destructiveness of a flood or an earthquake. But it is true that unemployment and part-time employment is a situation that is with us to a very considerable degree practically without cessation. If it is not one industry, it is another. If one mill escapes, another is hit. The fear of unemployment and part-time employment hangs, a permanent pall, over Kensington.

It is worth while to point out two general conditions that especially contribute to permanent unemployment in the textile industries. First is the constant shift of demand from one type of textile fabric to another. The industries that have been built up to supply products no longer demanded by the market must gradually die out, or readjust themselves to a new demand. During the decadence of these industries, the numbers of workers that have been attracted to the industry is greater than can now be kept busy. These employes hesitate to leave the industry for some other, probably uncertain and unaccustomed, line: conditions may improve in their own trade. Moreover, under existing circumstances in industrial plants, they feel that the skill acquired by years of work in their own trade will be sacrificed, and many are too old to risk the change. An excess of workers is, therefore, characteristic of a declining industry. A long period of part time and of unemployment, often running into years, results.

A second condition that contributes to irregularity in employment, and is very much more important now than it was twenty years ago, is the growing tendency—especially in hosiery, higher grade carpets and fancy dress goods—to manufacture solely "on orders." Twenty years ago a manufacturer made carpet or hosiery or cloth and then went out and sold *that* carpet, or hosiery or cloth. Today the order comes in for a particular design, with a certain kind of yarn or silk and a certain number of threads to the inch, and the manufacturer makes that particular order. Formerly a manu-

facturer produced standard makes of his particular line and simply piled up stock in his warehouse in the off-season. When the orders began to come in thick and fast, at the proper season, he was ready for them and simply used up his stock. Today manufacturers make, as a rule, very little to stock and run chiefly on orders. The result is that manufacturing has become nearly as irregular as the orders. When an order comes in, or especially when orders come in thick and fast at the proper season, there is a period of feverish activity until they are delivered, and then probably a long period of total or partial unemployment. A number of workers were interviewed in their homes in a block in which live the more industrious middle class workers in Kensington (hereinafter referred to as Block "K"). The experience of one man (a warper) in this block represents a situation prevailing in a large percentage of the textile factories.

"The second week after I was employed at. . . . ., I was called on to work overtime four nights till 9 o'clock at night. On Saturday of that week, I, with four others, was laid off for lack of work."

The prevalence of unemployment is forcibly illustrated in the different branches of the textile industry in Philadelphia.

1. *Lace and Lace Curtains.* The last ten years has witnessed a steady increase in unemployment in the lace, and particularly in the lace curtain, business. There is no longer the demand for the lace curtains which fifteen years ago adorned parlor and bedroom windows alike. Consequently the lace mills have rarely worked full time during the last six years. The gradual decline of output is illustrated by the figures of one of the large lace mills in Philadelphia (see fig. 22)<sup>1</sup>. It is claimed that some mills contain a large number of expensive machines that have never been used. Since both the employers and the lace weavers' union attempt to distribute what work there is among as many workers as possible rather than assist a portion of the employes to new trades, permanent part-time employment results. A second feature of the lace industry is its extreme irregularity. A new style in ladies' garments may make a sudden demand for a large amount of lace. The United States Government may send in once a year a large lumped order for mosquito netting for the Panama Canal Zone. With

<sup>1</sup> Figure facing p. 60.

plenty of machines and plenty of men already working part time or out on the streets waiting for a call, and a premium placed on prompt delivery, the firm rushes the order out in a short time—and the next month pay envelopes flatten out.

This condition of permanent unemployment among the lace workers is very generally testified to. The head of one of the largest lace mills in Philadelphia was asked whether, in his opinion, the lace and lace curtain workers had on the average worked three fifths of their time in the last five years. He said doubtfully, "*I think so.*" The doubt in his words and in his voice implied that they certainly could not have averaged much above that. A lace weaver interviewed in Block "K" asserted that he had been working five hours a day for the last five years. This statement was independently confirmed by neighbors. The secretary of the National Lace Weavers' Association (one of the most intelligent and fair-minded labor men I have met) reports that, in his opinion, the average lace worker, in the last five years, has not made ten weeks altogether in which he worked full time.

Statistics of dues kept by the local Lace Weavers' Union show the large amount of time that is lost by the lace weavers. The union has a graduated system for the payment of dues. Prior to January, 1914, a member who made over \$15 in any one week paid 75c. a week dues to the union. Members who made from \$7 to \$15 a week paid 50c. dues. Those who earned less than \$7 a week were excused for the week. In 1914, the wage limits which form the basis for the different classes of dues was changed. Since that time those earning over \$18 a week paid 75c. dues; from \$10 to \$18, 50c. dues; under \$10, no dues. To be excused in whole or part from payment of dues, a member must produce his pay slip each week. The dues paid for each and every week are recorded in the roll book. The records thus kept appear to be accurate and reliable. These records, therefore, show clearly what members received less than \$7 (or \$10), from \$7 to \$15 (or from \$10 to \$18) and over \$15 (or over \$18) per week. Both employers and employees testify that "almost any kind of lace weaver can earn \$20 a week if running full time, and they frequently make over \$30 a week if running full." The vice-president of one of the largest lace mills in Philadelphia writes as follows regarding the full-time wages among lace weavers:



If all the weavers on the Nottingham lace curtain machines were divided into three general classes, low grade, medium and high grade, both from the standpoint of the ability of the weaver and the gauge of the machine on which they work, and bearing in mind that all Nottingham lace curtain machines run at the same speed whether fine or coarse, competently or incompetently managed, we believe the following would be a fair average earning:

Low grade Nottingham lace curtain weaver .....	\$18.00 per week
Medium grade Nottingham lace curtain weaver .....	21.00 per week
High grade Nottingham lace curtain weaver .....	24.00 per week

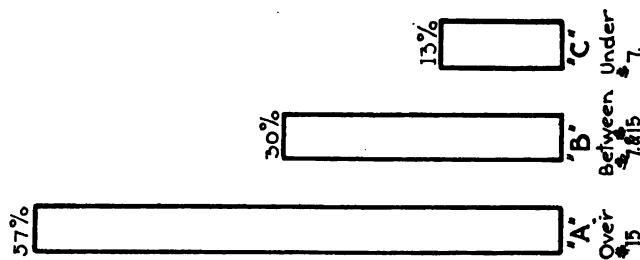
When it comes to a lace weaver, we cannot give the earnings with the same exactness, as a lace weaver may be skilled in one class of lace work and grossly incompetent in another. Most lace weavers have learned their trade in a locality making almost entirely one class of goods, and under the new condition of an American industry that must be resourceful to make any class of goods as styles may change we are encountering great difficulties. Aside from this fact, the weavers here are paid under a modified English card which puts a high rate on the bobbin fining goods for which England is preëminent and a very mixed card rate on the independent beam goods made almost entirely in France.

The best approximation that we can make we would report as follows:

Low grade lace weavers .....	\$20.00 per week
Medium grade lace weavers .....	25.00 per week
High grade lace weavers .....	\$30.00 to 35.00 per week

We would like it understood, however, that this is only an approximation, as on plain bobbin fining nets, which require less skill than perhaps any other class of goods, they sometimes get a weekly earning of more than \$35.00 per week. This is one of the contradictions of the card under which we pay.

The union roll book statistics, therefore, indicate roughly the amount of part-time employment and unemployment in the lace business. These statistics were compiled from the union's roll book, covering between 300 and 400 members. These records show that from January 1, 1909, to January 1, 1914, 13 per cent of the cases of members reporting showed a weekly wage of less than \$7; 30 per cent earned from \$7 to \$15 per week, and only 57 per cent earned over \$15 per week. This result is shown graphically in fig. 2. In other words, in only 57 per cent of the cases reported in all of the working weeks was anything approaching full time made in that period. In 43 per cent of the cases, three-quarter time or less had been worked; and in 13 per cent of the cases, the members must have worked not over one-third time. Since January, 1914, when 75c. dues were required only when the weaver earned \$18 or over, only 30 per cent of the cases have paid the highest dues. In other words,



Figures of the Phila. Lace Weavers Union from Jan. 1st. 1909 to Jan. 1st. 1914. Chart shows for all the individual working weeks the percentage of cases in which was reported a weekly wage of

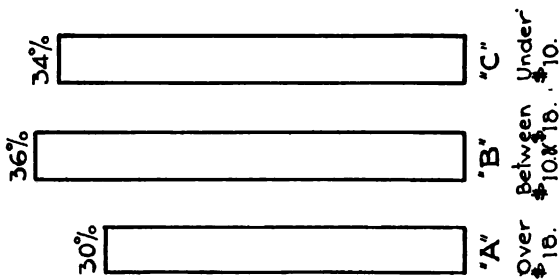
COLUMN "A" over \$15.00  
COLUMN "B" between \$7.00 & \$15.00  
COLUMN "C" less than \$7.00

Recalling that "almost any kind of a lace weaver can earn \$20.00 a week if running full time" it becomes apparent how far the lace weavers as a whole fall short of attaining full time. Continuous full time operation during this period would have meant that COLUMN "A" would have included practically all of the cases save where sickness or voluntary absence of the worker reduced the wage scale. Since less than 3% of time ordinarily lost for these reasons, their influence in affecting the chart is negligible.

Stated more simply this chart roughly means this!—

- (1) In 57% (COLUMN "A") of the individual working weeks  $\frac{3}{4}$  time or better may have been made.
- (2) In 30% (COLUMN "B") of the individual working weeks, conservatively speaking  $\frac{1}{5}$  to  $\frac{3}{4}$  time was made
- (3) In 13% (COLUMN "C") of the individual working weeks, third-time or less was made.

FIGURE 2



Same as Fig. 2., save for the years 1914 and to June 1915. (The wage classification is slightly different from Fig. 2).

Stated simply, this chart tends to indicate (1) in 34% (COLUMN "C") of the individual working weeks reported for 1914-1915, something less than half time was made. (2) in 36% (COLUMN "B") of the cases from half to nine-tenths time was made. (3) in 30% (COLUMN "A") of the cases was anything approximating full time made.

FIGURE 3

since January, 1914, anything like full time has been reported in approximately 30 per cent of the individual working weeks. Since January, 1914, wages of from \$10 to \$18 a week were reported in 36 per cent of the cases; and 34 per cent of the cases reported less than \$10 a week. In other words, stating it conservatively, in 70 per cent of the cases of individual working weeks during 1914 and to July, 1915, the weavers must have worked not over nine-tenths time; and in one third of the cases of individual working weeks reported, the time worked may have been none and could not have been over half-time.

The union statistics show also that the low dues do not come from a few particular individuals, but come fairly evenly from all—indicating that difficulty which all have in securing work, and not low earning power of a few, is responsible.

These results are shown graphically in fig. 3. Figs. 4 and 5 show for each week in the last six years and one-half the number of members paying each different class of dues. Since the lace-weaving trade is completely unionized, these figures represent the whole trade. It should be remembered that these figures include weavers only and that there are a great many others (about 5,000 in all) employed in the lace industry in Philadelphia. These running charts show great irregularity in the size of the groups earning the different classes of wages. Frequently, for a month, 80 per cent of the cases will report over \$15 per week. Shortly after, will follow a month in which only 40 to 50 per cent of the cases will report over \$15 per week, and from 10 to 20 per cent of the cases will report less than \$7 per week. Such extreme irregularity can be occasioned only by extreme irregularity in employment.

2. *Carpet.* The amount of unemployment permanently existing in the carpet industry, although relatively smaller than in the lace business, is very considerable. The rapid rise and fall of different branches of the same industry, which causes a long period of part-time employment in the decadent stages of an industry, is also marked in the carpet business. During the last 15 years, the development of cheap grass and other kind of rugs has led to the almost total extinction of the manufacture of "in-grain" carpet which was once the chief kind manufactured in Philadelphia. After a long period of part-time employment,

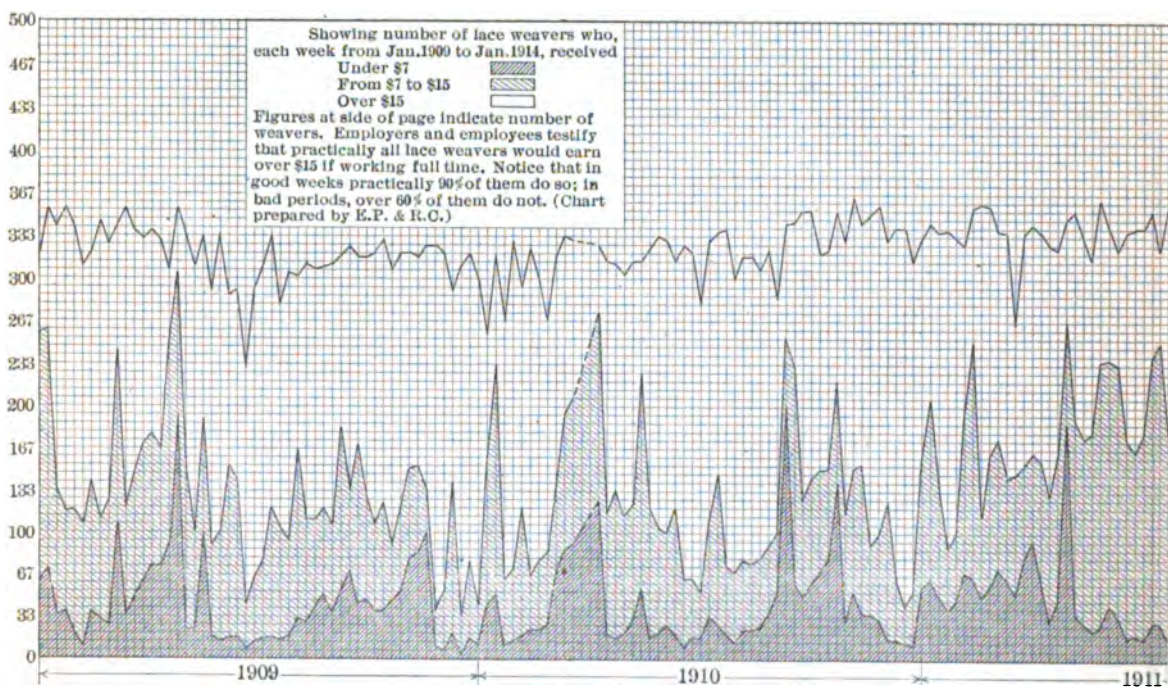
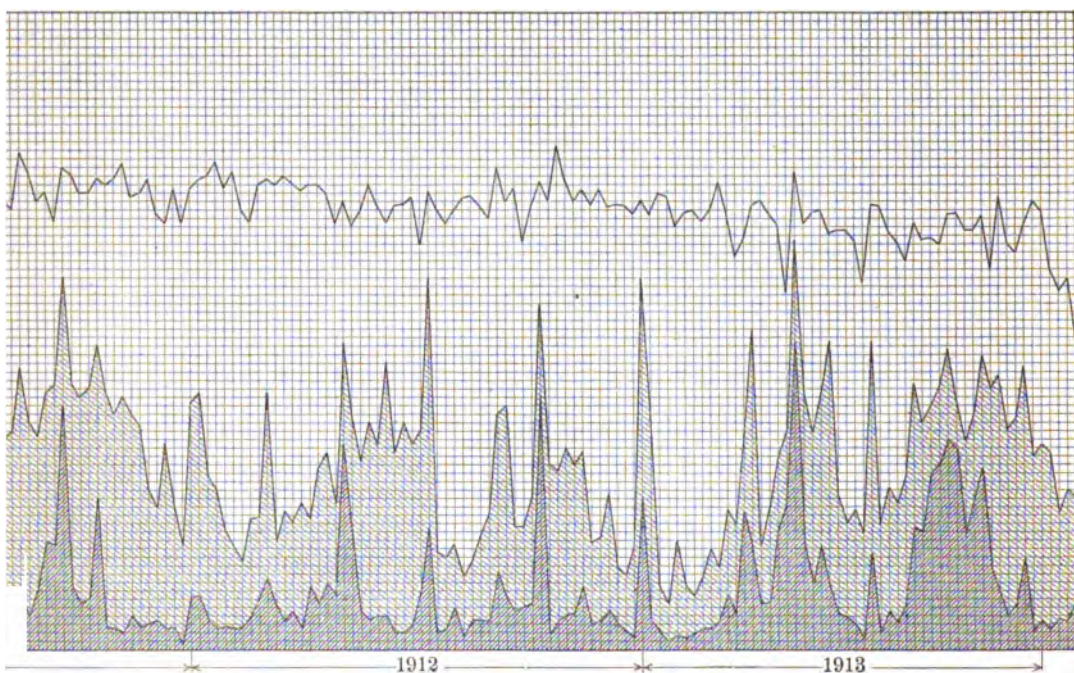


FIGURE 4





many of the firms who formerly manufactured "ingrain" carpet have either gone out of business, or replaced ingrain machinery with machinery to manufacture Wilton, Brussels, Axminster, or tapestry carpets and rugs. When rugs began to replace carpet in popular esteem, the Wilton and Brussels carpet manufacturing concerns grew busy, expanded and took much of the business away from the Axminster and tapestry carpet manufacturers. Recently the makers of Axminster and tapestry carpets have come to manufacture

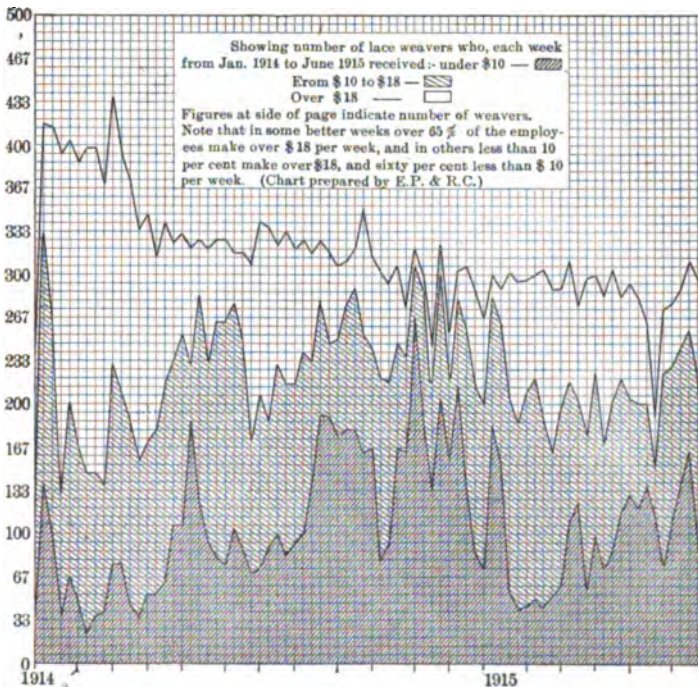


FIGURE 5

very satisfactory rugs. Since these rugs are cheaper than the Wilton and Brussels rugs, some of the trade has in recent years swung back to these firms.

The tendency to manufacture solely to order has served to increase the irregularity in production and employment. The manager of one of the largest Brussels and Wilton carpet concerns in Philadelphia says, "I can remember 25 or 30 years ago,

when we used to manufacture to stock in the off season. We would pile our warehouses full of stock; sometimes we had as much as \$100,000 worth piled up. Then when the season opened, we would hire all the carts and boys we could lay hands on and haul the stuff away to the station. Now we hardly manufacture to stock at all." For two months in the spring and two months in the fall this firm manufactures chiefly for samples. Charts showing the wide seasonal variation in the number employed and in the average wage per week in each department of this firm are shown in figs. 6 and 7. Note that in off seasons and off years, not only is the number of employes considerably reduced but also the *average wage* per employe. The records kept by the union in this industry furnish little or no measurement of the amount of unemployment. The secretary of the Weavers' National Association (with headquarters in Philadelphia) estimates that the union members of the industry have lost 25 per cent of their time in the last five years.

In order to throw light upon the amount of time lost through a period of years in one representative Axminster firm, an intensive study was made among the piece workers in a large well-known Kensington firm manufacturing medium grade Axminster rugs. (Frequent reference will be made to the facts secured from the study of this firm which will, hereafter, be referred to as Axminster Carpet Mill "A.") The records of this firm were kept in such a way that the amount of working time spent by piece workers in the mill could be ascertained. In no year since 1910 have the employes actually on the payroll of this firm failed to spend at least 21 per cent of the entire year's working time outside of the mill. During the entire period, 1910 to 1915, 28 per cent of the time was lost by the employes of this mill. Since less than 2 per cent of this lost time was due to vacations, we may assume that at least 26 per cent of the working time was lost for reasons other than vacations. The time lost through sickness or voluntary absence of workers did not amount to over 3 per cent of the total working time. The relation of time lost to time made each year is shown graphically in fig. 8. Nor does this measure complete the amount of unemployment occasioned by this one mill, because the time lost by employes in the mill waiting for material or other reasons is not included, nor is the time lost by those who



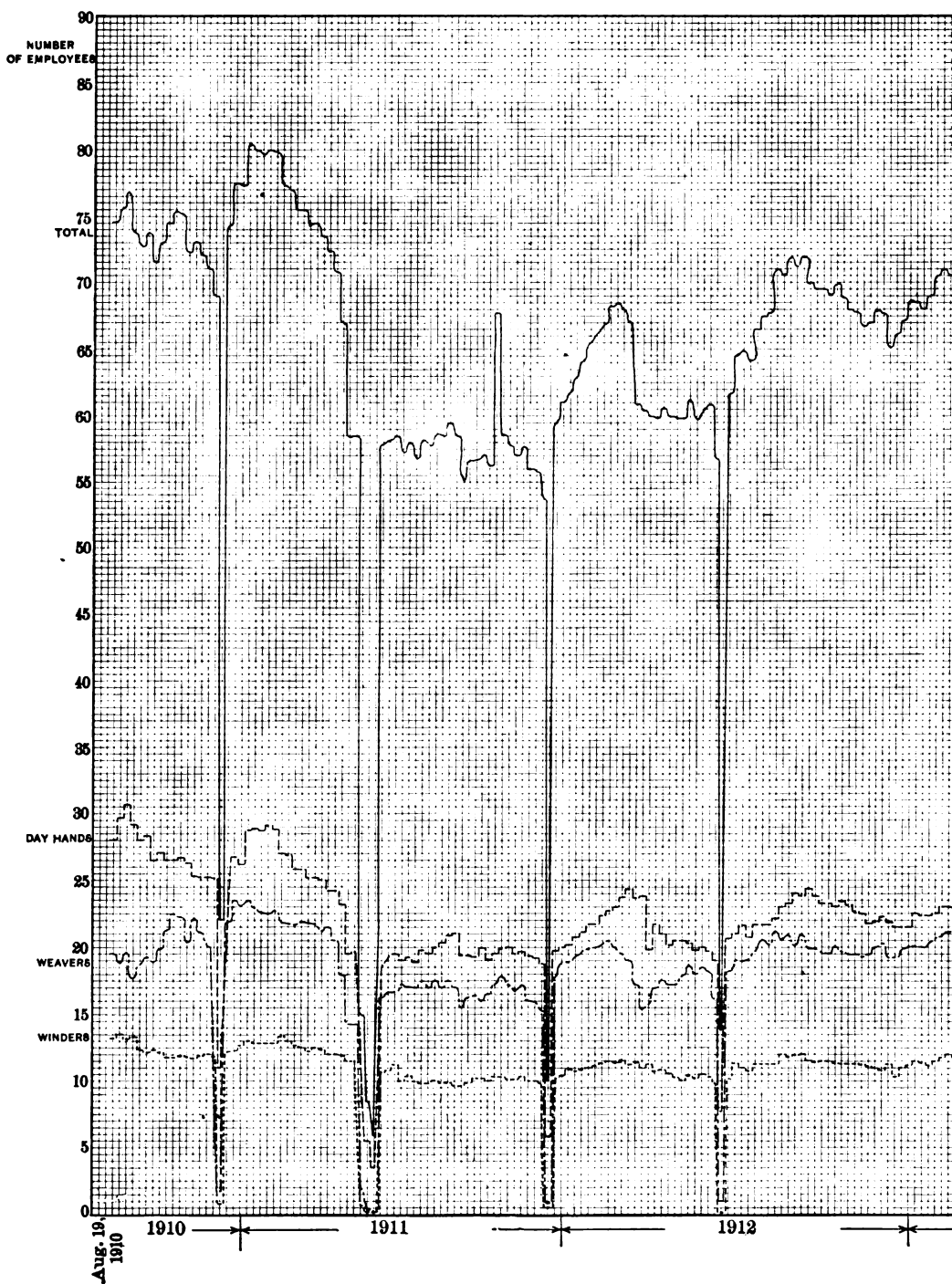
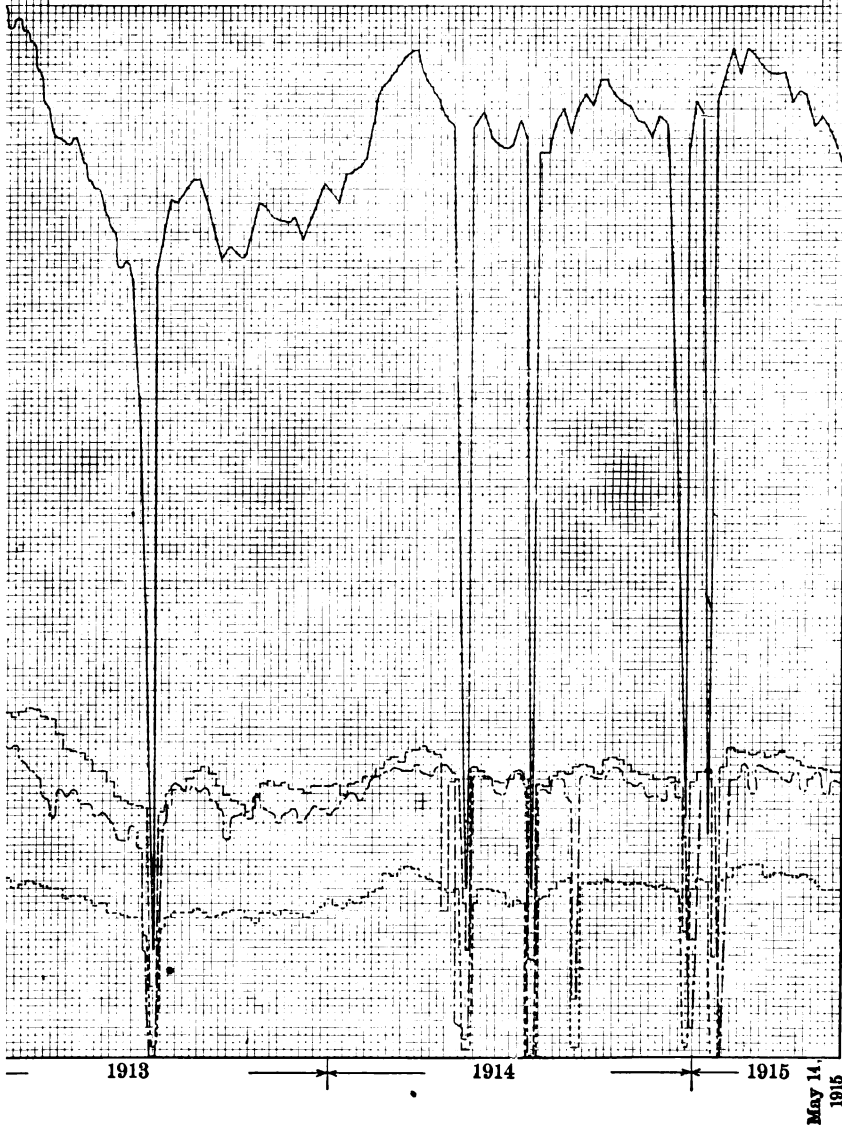


FIGURE 6

Chart showing the variation in the number employed by departments and for the mill as a whole in a Brussels and Wilton carpet and rug factory. The period covered is from August, 1910 to May, 1915. After the chart was constructed, percentage figures were substituted for the figures at the side showing the number of employees. As a matter of fact this firm employs over four hundred. Note the reduced force during the early summer months. Compare with Fig. 5 which shows the variation in the average weekly pay for the same mill. Note that in off seasons, the weekly pay as well as the number employed, is less. In other words, time is lost by those remaining in the employ of the mill as well as by those laid off entirely. Note the frequency with which the number of employees dropped almost to nothing for a week. This is usually caused by shut downs to take stock.

— Total number                      — Weavers  
 - - - - - Day hands                      - - - - - Winders



May 11,  
1915

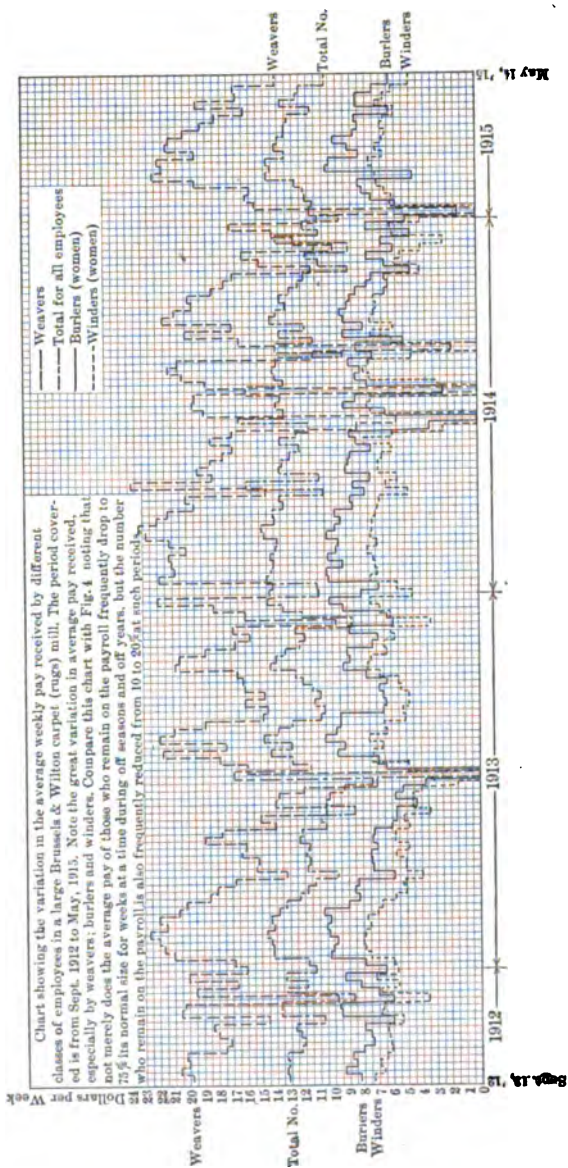


FIGURE 7

Chart showing for Axminster Carpet Mill 'A' the percentage of each year's working time spent by those on the payroll, both inside (A) and outside (B) of the mill. This does not include time lost waiting for dye or other material in the mill nor the time lost by those laid off the payroll during bad times. Time lost is almost entirely due to irregularity or lack of orders, for the time lost because of holidays, illness, or voluntary absence of workers amounts to less than 3% of the entire working time.

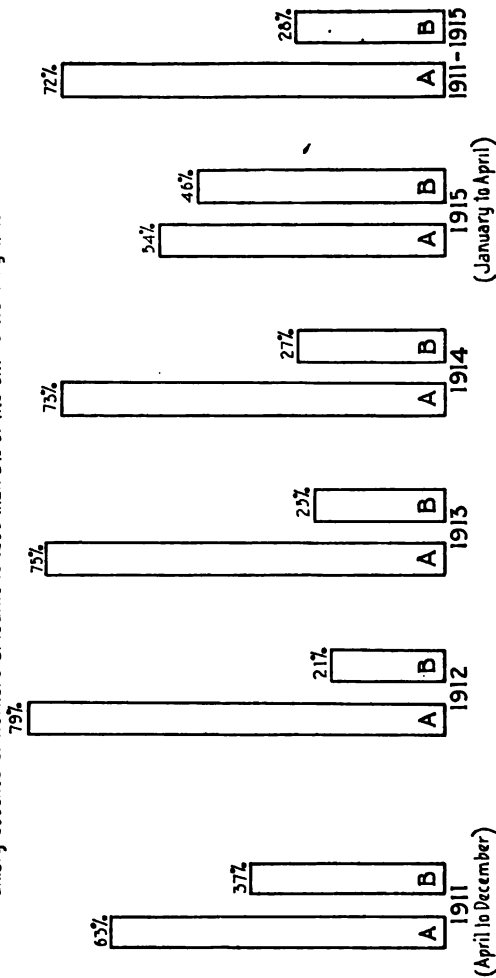


FIGURE 8



Chart showing for Axminster Carpet Mill "A"  
 The percentage of each year's working time spent by those on the payroll; both inside (A)  
 and outside (B) of the mill. This does not include time lost waiting for dye or other material  
 in the mill nor the time lost by those laid off the payroll during bad times. Time lost is almost  
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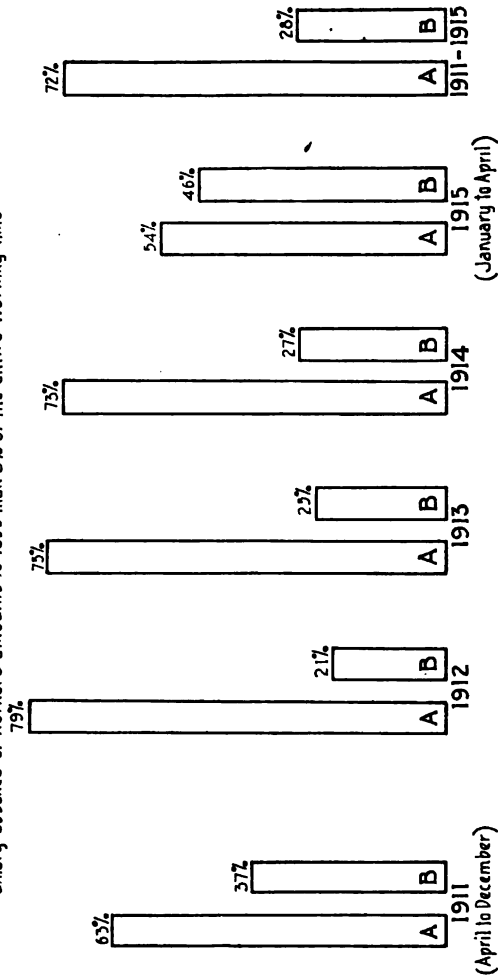


Figure 8







are laid off whenever times begin to grow slack. For example, the force was reduced 20 per cent from July, 1914, to April, 1915. Moreover, the time lost through daily and hourly interruptions, which were not considered of sufficient size to warrant the workers being sent to their homes, does not enter into these figures. Charts showing in detail the time lost each week in this concern is shown in fig. 9. Where conditions vary as widely as they do in the textile

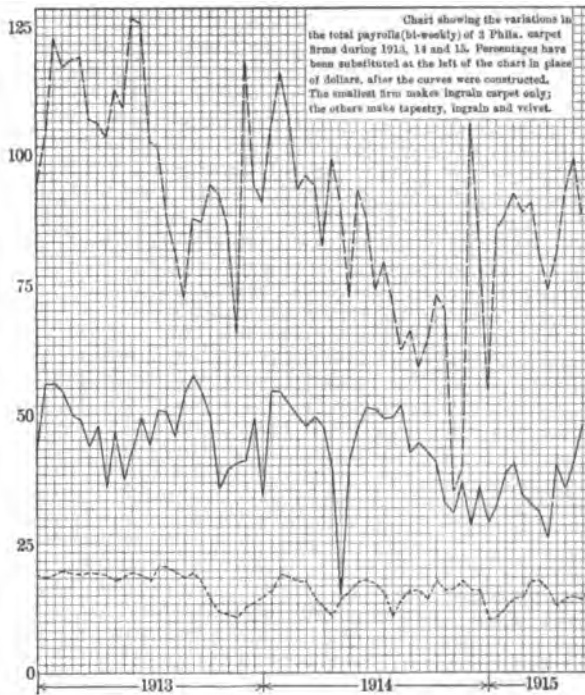


FIGURE 10

industry, it is impossible to say that the figures of any one mill are typical for all the textile industries. It should be remembered, however, that the conditions in this mill are among the most favorable for steady employment. The business is not highly seasonal and the goods are not so subject to the influences of extreme style, that the firm is forced to manufacture solely on orders. On the contrary, the articles are sufficiently well standardized to enable

the firm to make for stock up to the limit of its financial capacity, which is high. The experience and general ability of the management of this concern is above the average.

Figure 10 gives the figures showing the great irregularity in the payroll of a number of carpet firms from week to week for the last two years and one-half. Such constant irregularity as this in total payroll implies a considerable degree of irregularity in employment.

The number of wage-earners in the carpet industry in Philadelphia, and therefore the number affected by this irregularity in employment, is approximately 11,000.

3. *The Cloth Industry.* The cloth industry includes a wide variety of cloth products from cheap cotton and woolen print cloth through all kinds of worsted and woolen goods to women's and men's wear and fancy dress goods. The development of textile manufacturing in the South, with its advantages to the employer of cheap labor, has led the manufacture of cheap cotton cloth to be transferred to the South within the last 20 years. In the same period there has been a big falling off in the demand for cheap woolen cloth, which was once one of the big cloth items manufactured in Philadelphia. The high grade woolens and worsted are made chiefly in the big mills of New England. These considerations have led Philadelphians to become, to a considerable degree, manufacturers of "novelty" goods or fancy dress goods of various kinds. In a great part of this fancy dress goods business, production is exceedingly irregular because of the influence of style. The goods are not standardized and they depend on sudden veerings of style to create a new and sudden demand. When an order comes, rush delivery is demanded. When the order is filled, workers are idle. Many kinds of machines are required to manufacture the different varieties of dress goods. In many mills hands are trained to work on one kind of machine only. When a rush order comes it usually involves but one kind of weaving machines. The result is that workers on one set of machines will be working under high pressure, perhaps overtime; while workers on other machines in the same room are on the streets from lack of work. Two weeks later conditions may be reversed.

One small manufacturer of novelties reported that as a result of the above conditions he had not worked more than 50

per cent of his machines at any one time in the last three years. Some idea of the irregularity in employment in such a plant may be obtained from fig. 11, which shows the variation in the number employed and the variation in average pay per weaver at each two-weekly pay day since February 16, 1912.

The figures of another large well-known concern, manufac-

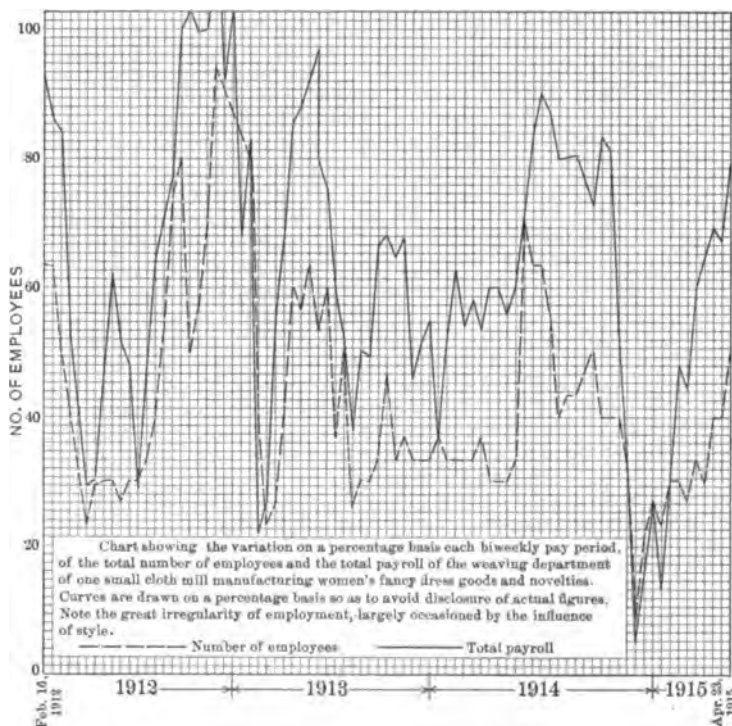


FIGURE 11

turing women's high-grade fancy dress goods, indicated also the extreme irregularity of employment in this industry. Fig. 12 shows the wide variation in the number of looms running each month from January, 1910, to June, 1915. It does not follow that the looms classed as "working" were running steadily during the months indicated. Figures for the period 1910-1915 show that, each month, on the average, 36 per cent of the looms did not

operate at all; 64 per cent were running, but not necessarily continuously. This result is shown graphically in fig. 13.

4. *Hosiery*. Lost time is normally less typical of the hosiery industry than of the three branches of the textile industry mentioned above. Even in normal, as well as abnormal

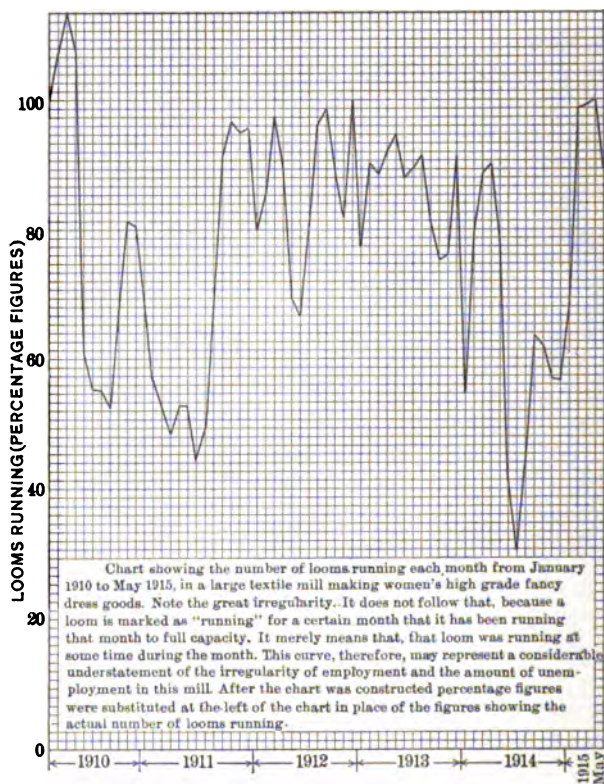


FIGURE 12

times, however, the business is characterized by considerable irregularity. This fact is brought out on the chart in fig. 25,<sup>4</sup> which shows the variations in total payrolls of seven of the leading hosiery firms in Philadelphia for the last two and a half years.

In this industry a manufacturer may keep his girls busy on

<sup>4</sup> Page 80.

stock in dull times if he desires, but his finishing department is thrown out, because goods can be packed only on order under present conditions (in most cases), because the manufacturer puts up goods under the jobbers' trade-marks. Conditions would be improved if all manufacturers agreed to manufacture under one trade-mark—his own.

This statement of conditions in the lace, carpet, cloth and hosiery manufactures touches but the high spots of chronic unemployment in the textile industry. In other branches of the industry—upholstery, for example—the conditions are just as characteristic.

### *B. The Clothing Industry*

The clothing industry ranks with the textile industry in the seriousness of its unemployment situation. The men's and women's clothing manufacturers each employ approximately 15,000 persons in Philadelphia (mostly Hebrews), of whom the majority are women. The manufacture of women's clothing is the more irregular. Increase of unemployment here has been due to the same vagaries of style responsible for irregularity in the cloth business. Changes of styles have made it possible to manufacture only at certain seasons. The very rapid increase in the frequency of style-changes, that has characterized the last two years, has served to break up even the regularity of irregular seasons and substitute a business characterized by sudden spurts followed by unemployment—in an order so irregular that it is impossible to be predicted. The Women's Garment Manufacturers' Association reports that five years ago, if business conditions were normal, there would be two big seasons—a spring and a fall season. Of these two seasons, the fall season was much the larger. In both seasons, however, there was but one main standard style for each line of garments. In preparing for the fall season, samples were made up in April, and the salesmen went on the road with these samples in May. Work on the orders sent in by the salesmen was begun in the factories in late June or July. This season continued until Thanksgiving, with July and August as the busiest months. During December little was done in the factories, except to make up samples for the spring season. Salesmen went out "on the road" early in January. Orders began to come in at once; the

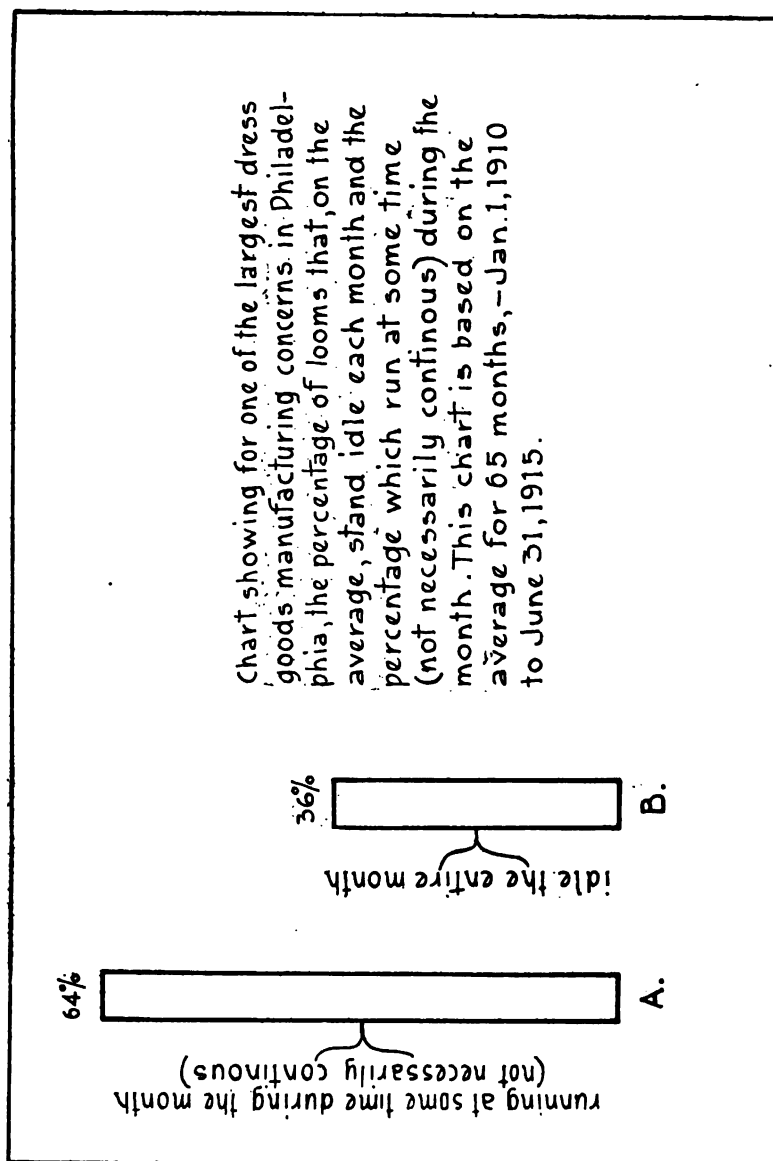


Chart showing for one of the largest dress goods manufacturing concerns in Philadelphia, the percentage of looms that, on the average, stand idle each month and the percentage which run at some time (not necessarily continuous) during the month. This chart is based on the average for 65 months, -Jan. 1, 1910 to June 31, 1915.

FIGURE 13

factories started and ran nearly to capacity until Easter. From Easter until June or July little was done except the manufacture of samples. It is estimated by the secretary of the Women's Garment Manufacturers' Association that during this off season in the spring, as well as during the fall (from Thanksgiving to early January), the plants ran less than 20 per cent of capacity. The description of the seasonal variation of employment is confirmed by the union. Formerly many of the least skilled help were laid off altogether during the off seasons. The rest of the help spent their time in the factories, working when an occasional garment order came in or simply waiting. On September 10, 1914, an agreement was entered into by the Garment Manufacturers' Association and the union that provided that whatever work there is during the off season shall be divided equally among all the employes in the unionized branches of the industry. The outcome is that, during the off seasons, approximately the usual quota of employes is in the plant, but they spend four times as long waiting for a garment to appear as they do working on the garment after it is in their hands. Not many of the employes secure any other work in the off season. A few get employment in the department stores during the Christmas rush.

During the last year or eighteen months, changes in fashion have become much more frequent. No longer has the rule "one style, one season" held. During the fall of 1914 there were four distinct changes. These were noticeable in the great variety of coats and suits worn by women. Styles followed on the heels of each other so fast that it was impossible for women to keep up.<sup>5</sup>

This situation means complete disorganization of whatever regularity there has been in an already irregular business. Buyers buy sparingly of each style in anticipation of a new one. The season is, therefore, very short. When a new style appears, there is another sudden batch of rush orders to be pushed out under high pressure—and then, stagnation. Two long seasons have been chopped up into a number of short seasons. It is now impossible for the wage-earner to know what pay he will receive, or for the employer to know what business is in sight for him. Neither can

<sup>5</sup> It is asserted by those studying the unemployment situation in New York that it is impossible for the average employe in the women's clothing industry to work over 50 per cent of the time, because of the excessive irregularity.



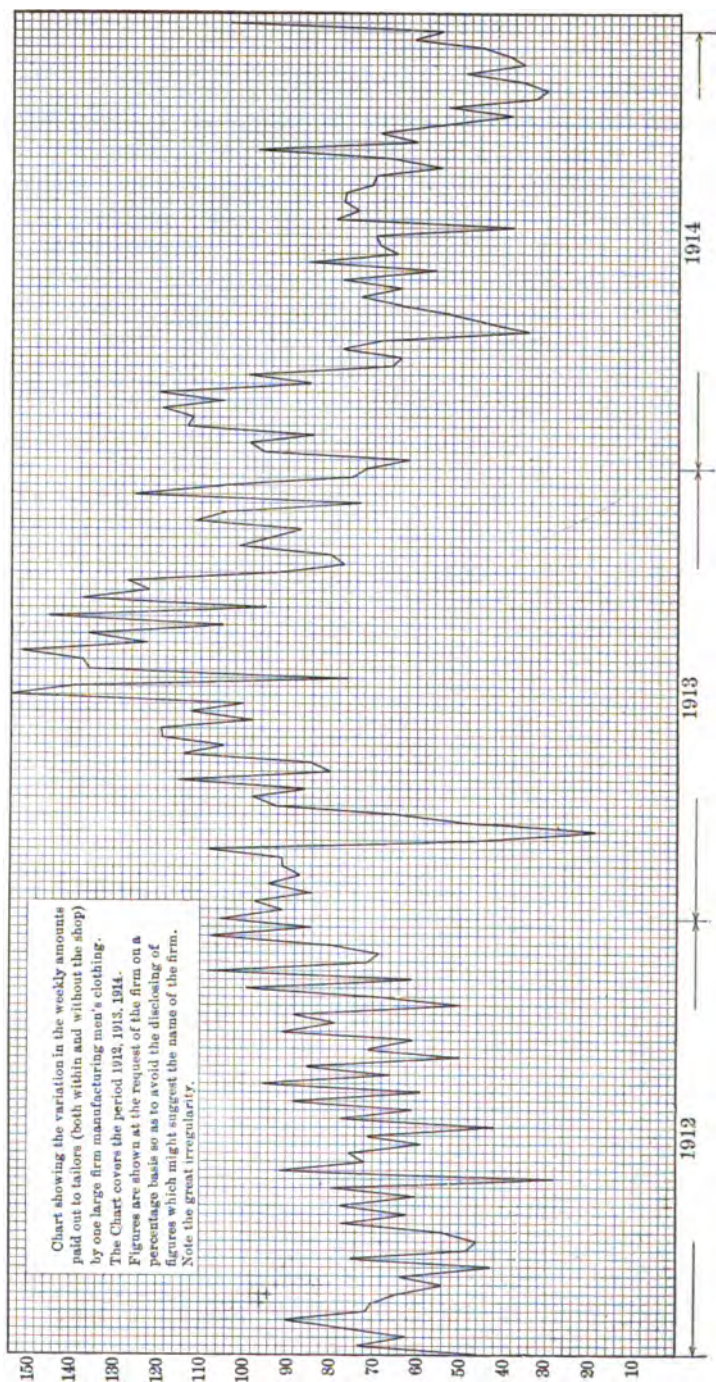


FIGURE 14



plan ahead. To attempt this and trust to hitting the next fashion is so unsafe as to be a gambling proposition. The statement of a ladies' dress goods manufacturer (in which business the situation is analogous) will describe the situation. "One year I took a chance and made up goods ahead of the style. I happened to hit it right and made \$85,000. I would hate to say what happens other times when I miss it." It is claimed by the secretary of the Women's Garment Manufacturers' Association that the introduction of idle periods into what was formerly a steady working period has added three or four weeks a year to the period of unemployment.

Both the union and the manufacturers' association report that an attempt was made during the last year to bring about an agreement among the manufacturers in Philadelphia, New York, Chicago and Cleveland, that they should decide on one style for a season and stand by it. This attempt to bring about stability in the business and to make employment more regular failed because of mutual suspicion among employers. Most employers claim that frequency of style changes is due to the two or three large manufacturers in New York, who set the style and change it often so as to increase sales of their own goods. Others assert that it can be charged to the large department stores who knock down a style shortly after it has been created, and set up another so that buyers will be stimulated to purchase over again, in order to "keep up with the style." The answer of each department store, of course, is that it is forced to follow the example of its competitors.

While the seasons in different branches of the women's garment industries do not coincide, all concerns lose a proportionately large percentage of the annual time. A manufacturer of ladies' shirt waists employing several hundred hands has the following to say regarding the irregularity of employment in that industry and the influence that extreme styles have on regularity of employment:

We run almost to capacity from January to June. From June to January we run at practically 50 per cent capacity. We are especially slack from June to October. Conditions used to be such that the irregularity always characteristic of our business was a constant thing which we could predict in advance. Knowing when it occurred, we could sit up nights and plan against it, and figure out some way to reduce irregularity in production and employment. We could furnish employment during our dull seasons by manufacturing to stock. Shirt-

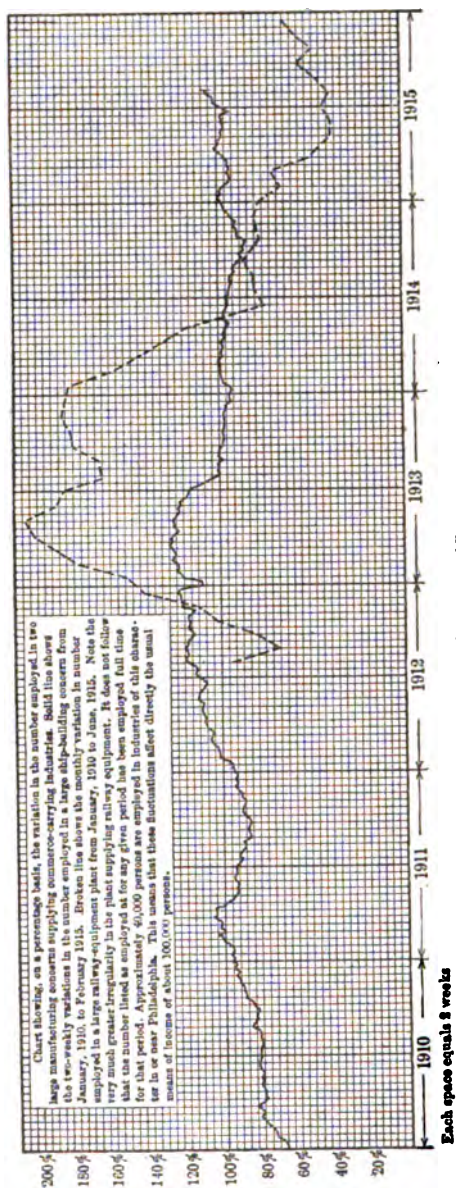


FIGURE 15

waists were fairly well standardized and there were no extreme styles. Orders would come in ten months before delivery was required, and the plant could manufacture fairly regularly since it could make up these orders whenever convenience demanded. Frequently we could make up stock in the off season till we would have 100,000 shirtwaists piled up which we would work off in the buying season. Frequently we would make from ten to twelve thousand waists without an order. We knew that the worst we would have to do would be to simply swap dollars. Nowadays, we rarely make over twenty-five garments without orders.

Although it is widely considered that men's clothing is so standardized that there can be little irregularity of production due to the variety of cloth and style, it is nevertheless true that the style-irregularity is only somewhat less than in women's clothing. The off seasons are less than half as long as the off seasons in the women's clothing business. How irregular the men's clothing business is, may be seen from fig. 14, which shows the weekly variation in the amount paid out by one large and representative men's clothing concern to tailors both within and without the factory. This represents the approximate variation in employment furnished.

One large manufacturer who makes a very high grade of clothing, a business which is subject to style changes, writes as follows:

Women's fashions play a more important part in dictating men's styles than ever before and, as a consequence, we have had more rapid changes in style than the average manufacturer does keep up with. These changes are not confined to the design of the garment alone, but the fabrics also, so that what applies to the clothing manufacturer might be said just as strongly of the fabric maker.

### *C. Industries Manufacturing Electric and Steam Railway Equipment and Ships*

The third great industry that, in the long run, adds most to unemployment in the Philadelphia district is that group of industries which supply equipment to railroads and steamboat companies. The railroads and steamboat companies are notoriously irregular buyers. They buy in a lump. When conditions are favorable to them, they buy vigorously. When the reverse holds, these companies, especially the railroads, buy scarcely anything. Since there are in the neighborhood of 40,000 persons in these industries in and around Philadelphia, a severe curtailment of such purchases is sufficient to affect seriously, if not altogether

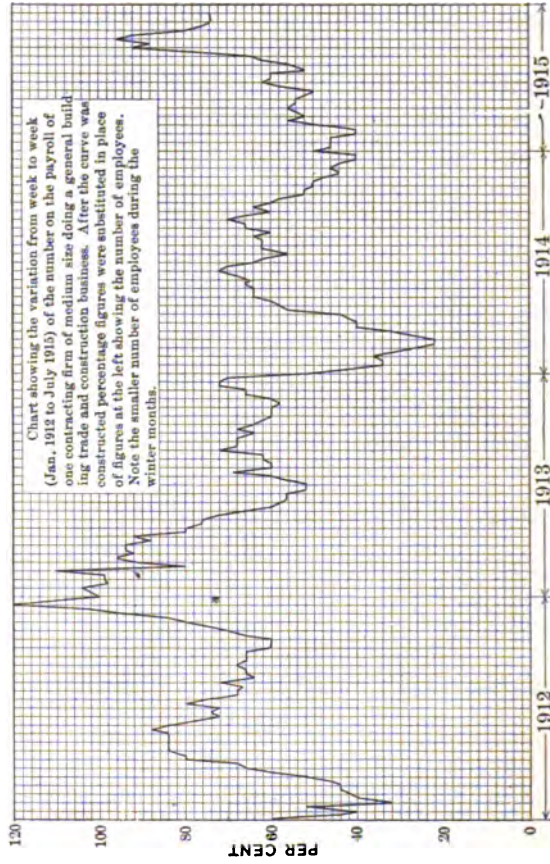


FIGURE 16

withdraw, the usual means of livelihood from a number of persons probably considerably in excess of 100,000. Cutting off the buying power of so many people is alone sufficient to create "hard times" in Philadelphia. This situation partly explains the statement of a prominent local manufacturer that Philadelphia is always either on the "top crest of prosperity or far down in the dumps." How irregular these industries are may be seen from a glance at fig. 15, which shows the variation in the number employed from month to month through a period of years in a large railway equipment plant and in a large shipbuilding concern.

#### *D. The Building Trades*

One of the few industries that is becoming less irregular than it used to be is the building industry. Formerly little was done from Thanksgiving until late in March. However, the use of cement is lengthening the open season for certain lines of building work. Cement, when heated, mixed with gypsum and protected by salt hay, is fairly safe from injury by freezing, even in the coldest weather. If general business conditions are good, the builders of factories and office buildings are coming more and more to show little regard for the weather by running straight through the winter (except for an occasional severe day)—witness the Ford Motor Company building at Broad Street and Lehigh Avenue. Cold weather is more to be reckoned with in the construction of houses and in street paving and sewer work. Not much work of this type is done from the middle of December to the last of February. The unemployment that results from this cause is less serious because the period is not long, is well known in advance, and can therefore be provided against. It is claimed that the influence of irregularity in work is offset, for the skilled mechanics, by a higher rate of wage. This, however, does not apply to the unskilled men, who are the hardest hit here as elsewhere. Some idea of the irregularity in the building trades may be secured by a reference to the fluctuations in employment of a representative construction company doing a general construction business, as shown in fig. 16.

#### *E. The Longshoremen*

It is a well-known fact that chronic unemployment exists among the longshoremen and dock workers in any large port;

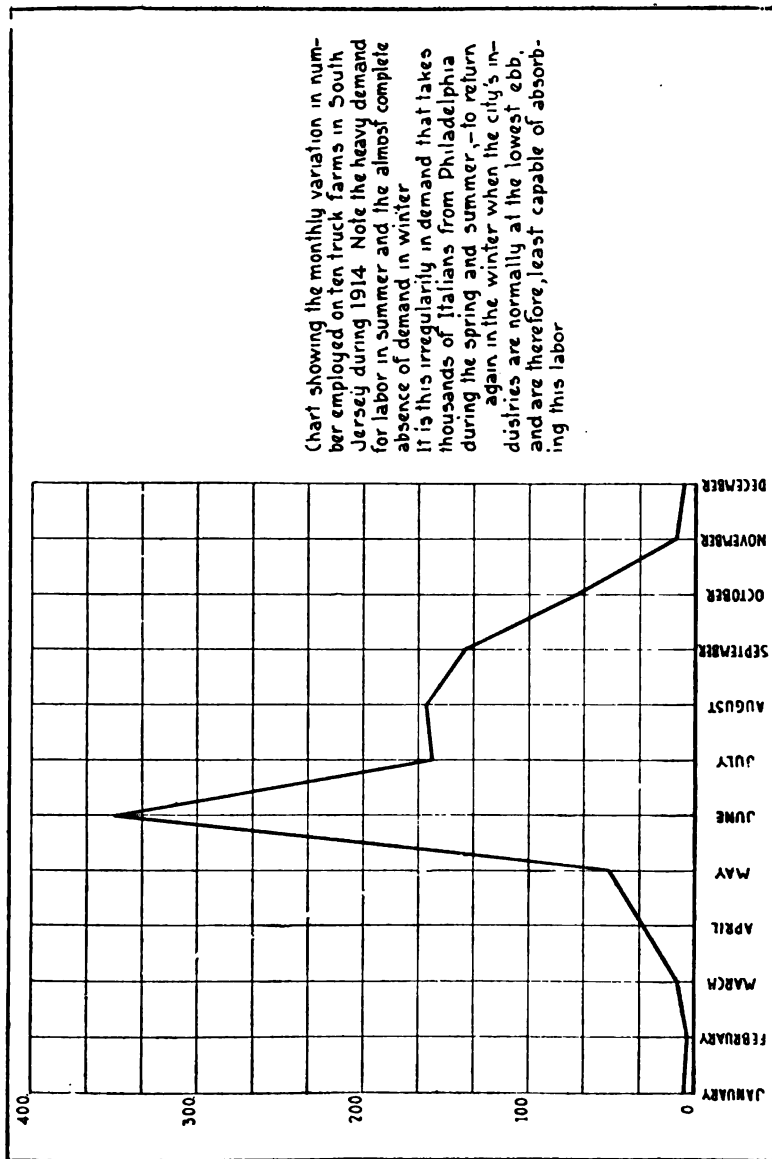


FIGURE 17

and these conditions hold among the negroes and Poles and south-east-European dock workers of Philadelphia. In the absence of exact statistics, the statements of superintendents of labor of steamship companies and the heads of docking concerns throw the best light on unemployment among the dockmen. The head of one stevedore firm says,—“If every steamship company were employing today as many dock-hands and longshoremen as it employed on its busiest day last year, one-half of the dock labor would still be idle.” Another says,—“I do not believe that the dock-hands average over two days a week.” Although the wages per hour are relatively high,<sup>6</sup> the time lost is so great that the average weekly wage is low. In view of this lack of statistics for Philadelphia dockmen, the statement of the situation in New York may be taken as probably fairly typical of Philadelphia. Both employers and employes in New York testified before the Federal Industrial Relations Commission that the men earn on an average of from ten to twelve dollars per week. This irregularity tends to produce shiftlessness and dissipation in the workers.

#### *F. Agricultural Labor*

Agriculture is one of the most notoriously irregular industries in its demand for labor. This is particularly true on the farms that lie to the east and south of Philadelphia, in the sandy coastal plain portions of New Jersey, Delaware and Maryland. In these sections, the chief products raised are truck and vegetables. The cultivation and harvesting is done by hand to a much larger extent than is the cultivation and harvesting of most farm crops. As a result, South Jersey and Delaware have a very high demand for labor during the summer and fall. The extra demand Philadelphia and Baltimore are called on to supply. Every summer, whole families (chiefly Italians) migrate to the fields of South Jersey and Delaware in late May or early June, as soon as, or even before strawberries are ripe. Many of these families migrate from one section to another as the different crops in different sections ripen. Some remain till the end of the cranberry season late in October. These families then return to Philadelphia. After a bad winter, this exodus to the truck and berry field

<sup>6</sup> Thirty cents per hour, forty-five cents per hour for overtime up to midnight, and sixty cents for overtime after midnight and Sunday.

helps to relieve Philadelphia's unemployment problem. Stated the other way, however, although many of those returning in the fall to Philadelphia find employment in clothing factories, construction gangs, etc., it is apparent that these returning thousands are dumped on to the city's labor market just when winter is approaching and when the industries are least able to absorb them.

The extent of the irregularity of employment on the truck farms may be seen from a curve showing the variation in employment on truck farms in South Jersey during the year 1914. Letters of inquiry were sent to a large number of farmers selected at random in South Jersey. The curve in fig. 17, showing the monthly variation in employment on a number of truck farms in South Jersey during 1914, was constructed from the answers received from these inquiries.

Closely akin to the irregularity in the demand from South Jersey and Delaware for agricultural labor is the demand of the fruit and vegetable canneries for practically the identical kind of labor. The South Jersey, Delaware and Maryland section is one of the biggest centers in eastern United States for the canning of fruit and vegetables. The majority of these canneries, which employ thousands of hands at the height of the season, run from two to five months every year. A large part of their help is drawn from Philadelphia and Baltimore in the spring and return there in the fall.

#### *G. Department Stores*

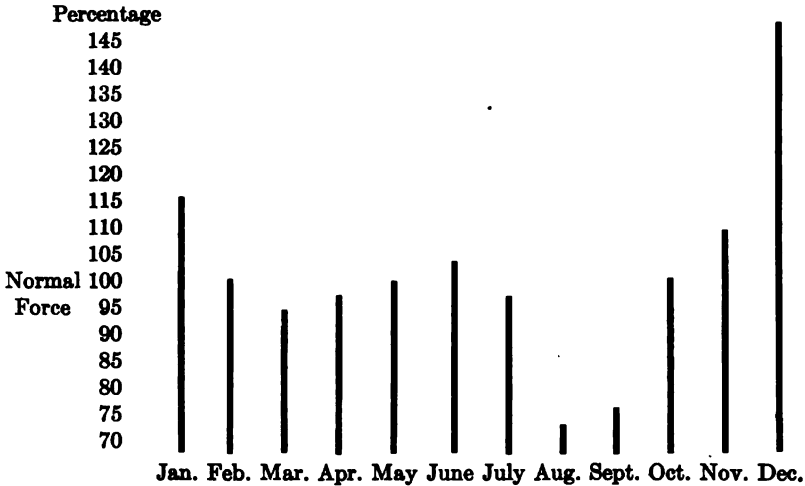
Employment in department stores is characterized by a considerable amount of seasonal irregularity. The high season occurs from Thanksgiving till Christmas. After the Christmas rush the number of employees usually declines until the last of February or March. During April and May the number is slightly increased in order to handle the sales of goods for the summer season. Employment during the summer season falls off, the low points being reached during July and August. The situation in the department stores is very well summarized in a study made by the Philadelphia Consumers' League, and published as a bulletin of the State Department of Labor and Industry:



## REGULARITY OF EMPLOYMENT

The following chart, showing the variation from the normal in the number of employees in one large department store, at different seasons, shows a condition which is probably true of the four other large stores. The month of May, when this store considered its force about normal, has been taken as 100 per cent.

*Percentage Fluctuation by Months in the Working Force of One Store*



The month of December shows a 42 per cent increase in the normal force and August a 27 per cent decrease. This indicates plainly the number of temporary and intermittent department store workers at the command of any large store for busy seasons. Many girls work in the stores from September until Christmas eve or until January first, when a falling off of trade demands a cutting down of forces. Hundreds of employees are dismissed Christmas eve in every large store. A few of these workers will be reëngaged December 27 or 28 and kept through the January sales. A toy department that has normally 12 women, had 350 just before Christmas. About three hundred are dismissed December 24 and the others are gradually dropped during the next month until reduction sales and stock inventory are over. In March or April again extra workers will be taken on for two or three months.

Upon the examination of the records of 456 saleswomen in one store, for a period of 16 weeks from June to September, it was found that many saleswomen take some voluntary vacation beyond the paid week. The better paid women are out from one to nine weeks. The group considered had all been in the employ of the house at least one year and they averaged  $7\frac{1}{2}$  days' absence beyond their paid vacations in this summer season alone. Of those who were earning \$8 and above, the largest proportion, or 55 per cent, were out one week and more beyond

the paid week, as against only 40 per cent of those earning under \$8. In one department store regular saleswomen and six-day contingent sellers are given only three days' work a week in slack seasons.

Despite this great irregularity of employment that appears on the surface, department store unemployment is made less serious in that a number of those laid off at the Christmas season regularly return to other work, which they have temporarily left in a slack season. For example, many of the stores keep a list of addresses of people whom it regularly calls on during the rush seasons. The help needed in certain departments is drawn from the wholesale departments of the store to the toy, book, jewelry, etc., departments who need extra help. The second large source of help is by securing traveling men who usually are not very busy during December. The busy season of these persons comes while the stores are stocking up before the Christmas rush. A man who, for example, has been a traveling jewelry salesman, then becomes a jewelry salesman in the department store, etc. In the third place, department stores secure help at Christmas from the small tailoring shops, whose busy season just precedes that of the department stores. Moreover, many of those laid off at the end of a busy season are persons such as married women, school students, etc., who utilize this opportunity to earn some "pin" money. Although a considerable amount of time may be lost by those laid off by the stores before they are needed at their old positions, department store unemployment is made less serious by this dovetailing of trades which assures steadier employment.

#### *H. Labor Union Statements*

In order to throw as much light as possible on the amount of unemployment in Philadelphia industries, letters were sent by the Director of Public Works to each union affiliated with the Central Labor Union. One of the questions in the letter asked the amount of time lost by the average member. This query was designed to indicate the amount of normal unemployment there was in different trades. Unions were asked to answer this question only if they had records. The tabulated results of the limited number of answers received are as follows:

Union No.	Time annually lost by average number
1	About 8 months (only those temporarily employed considered)
2	4 months
3	10-12 days
4	2 months
5	3 days a week
6	half time
7	7 months
8	3 months
9	none
10	2 months
11	about 2 months

These answers represent but a small percentage of the labor unions in Philadelphia. As a rule, we may assume that those with the largest amount of unemployment were most ready to answer. Even allowing for this and for any mistakes in the estimates, the abundance of unemployment is apparent.

### *I. Miscellaneous Industries*

The preceding is not intended as a complete statement of unemployment and irregularity of employment in Philadelphia industries. Only the largest of those in which unsteadiness of employment exists were selected. A long list of industries might be named, in which, for one reason or another, conditions are much the same. Surely enough has been said to prove the existence in Philadelphia (and probably any other industrial center) of a serious unemployment situation—firmly rooted, growing, detrimental to employer, worker and community, even in the best of industrial years.

The New Jersey State Department of Labor estimates that New Jersey factories lose 30 per cent of their capacity output through unemployment. The Figure shows the actual average annual wage for the machine and for the silk industries, also the annual average wage presumably lost in each of these industries through unemployment (After C. E. Reitzel)

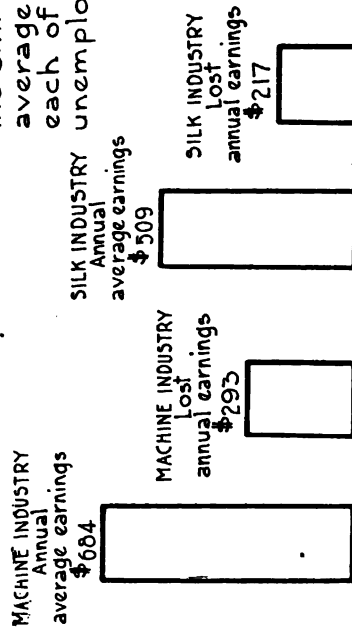


Figure 18

## PART II

### THE COST OF UNEMPLOYMENT

#### TO THE EMPLOYEE

Little though we know of the facts of unemployment, we know even less of its social cost. We do not realize how deeply unemployment penetrates, and how seriously it threatens, our community welfare. Although unemployment affects every interest in the community, the burden falls most heavily on the working classes. When out of work the average member of the working class loses his chief means of support. It is, therefore, a matter of life and death to him.

The most immediate and vital effect of unemployment on the worker is a very serious reduction of the wage scale. Enough has been said to show how greatly unemployment reduces the pay received. In the absence of any general information for Philadelphia industries, an investigation made in New Jersey will best serve to indicate, in a general way, the extent to which the wage scale is depressed by unemployment. Figures collected by the New Jersey State Department of Labor from firms employing over 21,000 workers in the machine industry and from firms employing nearly 16,000 persons in the silk industry show that each of these industries worked during the normal industrial year of 1912 at approximately 70 per cent of total capacity. The actual average wage received during the year for the machine industry was \$684; for the silk industry, \$509. If full time had been made, it follows that an increase of over 40 per cent would have resulted. This would have meant an average annual wage for the machine industry of \$977; for the silk industry of \$726. This result is shown graphically in fig. 18.

It has been shown that in Axminster Carpet Mill "A", in the last four years, employes lost at least 27 per cent of the normal working time since that much of the time was spent outside of the mill. The actual average annual wage received by piece workers in this mill was \$413 (based on statistics compiled for the entire force from April, 1911, to April, 1912, and from July, 1914, to

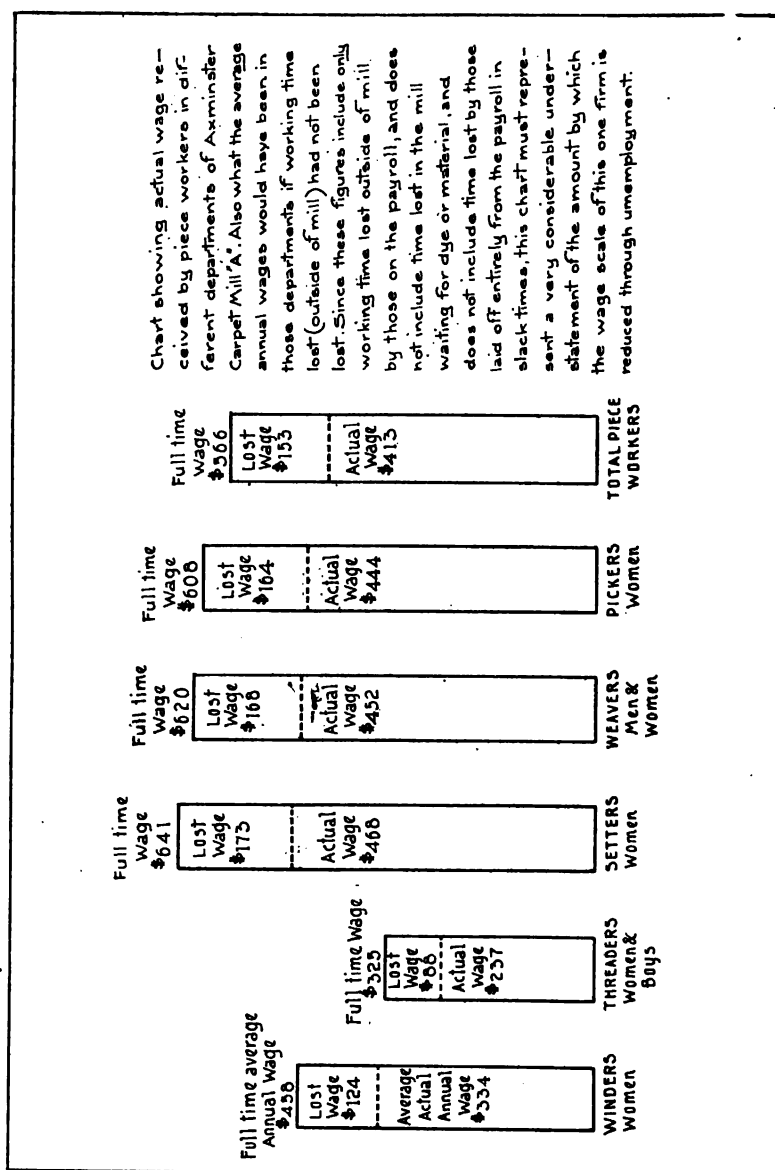


FIGURE 19

April, 1915). If this 27 per cent of time had not been lost, the average annual wage would have been \$566. The average annual loss of wage per employe through unemployment was at least \$153, and was probably much more, if time lost waiting in the mill, and time lost by those laid off, were included. Stated for individual departments, the actual average annual wage and the lost wage per employe would be as follows:

	Actual average annual wage	Average annual wage lost through lost time spent outside of mill
Winders.....	\$334	\$124
Threaders.....	237	88
Setters.....	468	173
Weavers.....	452	168
Pickers.....	444	164

These results are shown graphically in fig. 19.

In short, the worker loses the opportunity of earning 100 per cent of what his energies and abilities warrant. Permanent or chronic unemployment means a permanent loss of wage. In essence it means that the family of a man with a \$1,000 or \$1,200 earning ability cannot profit by or live according to the standard of such means, because the man is actually earning only from \$500 to \$1,000 a year. Not merely does unemployment seriously reduce the income of the worker; it makes his income decidedly irregular. Regular income is interrupted by periods of total or partial stoppage of income. In times characterized by such unusual industrial depression as of the past winter, the loss of income is complete on the part of thousands. To a large degree, the worker is entirely ignorant when such misfortune will befall him. Such a situation almost forces the worker to lead a hand-to-mouth existence. He hesitates to plan ahead, because he never knows whether he will be able to carry through his plans or not, for fear of an interruption of income. A premium is, therefore, placed on the lack of thrift. When the normal income returns after a famine period, it not unnaturally leads a family to spend extravagantly after the strain of pinching through a hard time, just as human nature always has, from the days we were savages, led us to indulge in an orgy of feasting after a long fasting. Unemployment and irregular employment are the arch enemies of thrift.

Perhaps the most serious industrial result of unemployment is its effect on the quality of the working people. It makes good workers bad. It turns workers who were capable and willing into men who are neither capable nor willing to hold a steady job if they could get one. As one man with whom I talked when he was out in front of a hosiery mill at the noon hour, said, "For six months before this month, we have been working from 8 to 3. When we came to go back to the old hours (7 to 5.30) it seemed at first as if we just couldn't make ourselves get up an hour earlier and work two hours later."

The utter inability of the workers to understand or to change the situation breeds a fatalistic lack of hope that soon manifests itself in a lack of ambition and effort. The secretary of the National Lace Weavers' Union says, "The lace industry has made more bums than any industry I know of. I have seen men go into the mills only to work an hour this morning or an hour this afternoon, so long, that they are incapable of sustained effort. They lose their personal 'punch' and often eventually lose their ability to discuss anything except how things are this week in this or that plant."

One of the usual ways by which such a depression leads to a debasing of the worker is by causing the skilled man to drift into an unskilled trade. When a man is out of work, he is very apt to "take anything" that offers, whether it is a job in which he can utilize his skill or not. The very common result is that he is never able to "come back" to his own trade. His ability in his particular trade is sacrificed and he drifts into the already tremendously overcrowded class of unskilled men. Not only the worker but the entire Philadelphia community as well, is the loser by this lowering of the skill of labor.

The injury to the worker by unemployment extends beyond his mere industrial efficiency, and dangerously affects the social standing, the family relations, the health, the intelligence and the public orderliness of the working classes of the community. A series of interviews with Kensington textile workers (chiefly Anglo-Saxons) is one steady story of used up savings, of increased debts, and of "half time" for four, six or nine months during the past winter. Even the few whose greater savings or "steadier time" would normally have led them to avoid the "pinch" of the past winter, have felt obliged to lend to the less fortunate to an extent



which, in many cases, has meant a severe drain on their own resources.

The lowered income during such a winter as the past (1914-15) very frequently means the curtailment of the necessities of food, fuel and clothing, to the point where the health is seriously impaired. It is almost impossible to measure this injury. Mr. R. R. P. Bradford, who is in charge of the "Lighthouse" and was quoted previously (page 6), said during the spring of 1915, "I should not be at all surprised if, as a result of the lowering of physical vitality among the Kensington workers, because of insufficient nourishment and protection, there should come about an epidemic of disease that will cost us dear. Whether it does or does not happen, we have a permanent injury as a result of this year's unemployment in the lessened vitality of the people."

Every severe depression is a great destroyer of family life. Almost every family with whom I conversed knew of two or three families that were forced to "break up" because of the unemployment during the past winter. One of the usual results of unemployment is a considerable increase in the number of thefts, burglaries and suicides. The figures of Table I show how these crimes have increased in Philadelphia during the winter of 1914-15, when unemployment was serious. Note also the increase of suicides during the winter of 1907-08—the year of the last severe depression.

TABLE I—EFFECT OF UNEMPLOYMENT ON SUICIDES AND CRIME

Number of crimes committed during three winter months of

	1906-7	1907-8	1908-9	1909-10	1910-11	1911-12	1912-13	1913-14	1914-15
Suicides . . . . .	43	60	50	61	61	48	62	65	74
Larcenies . . . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,068	1,227
Burglaries . . . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	32	44

While other causes may have contributed to this result, it seems obvious that severe unemployment must have been an important factor in the large increase for the present winter and for the winter of 1907-08.

The superintendent of truancy reports a much larger number

of students remaining away from school on account of the lack of fit clothes than in any recent winter. Only a teacher can appreciate the effect of irregular attendance on the progress of students in a class room.

Typical individual cases convey more clearly the situation in Kensington during the past winter than statistics. A few of these are, therefore, given.

Two English brothers, who have been in this country three and seven years respectively, are married and live in the same house. Both are cloth weavers and have worked at the same mill since their coming to America. The story of Kensington is summed up in the statement of the elder:

During the last five years I have not worked full time more than half the time. At our mill we usually work five or six months steady, and then part time the rest of the year. In the entire seven years I have been here, eighteen months was the longest steady run we ever had. This winter business has been unusually bad. We have worked half time ever since Christmas (the date of the interview was in July).

If we had had any children like the rest, we'd be up against it like the rest of them. Anybody with children is certainly poor. It isn't because we don't want children, but things are so that if you have two or three children, it takes all you are able to make in good times to supply the necessities; then when bad times come, you are up against it. If next winter is like the last, a lot of the people we know will have to live on borrowed money, or go under. I have loaned \$25 in the last nine months. My brother loaned \$33 of which he has had \$16 returned. You can't get credit here in a bad time like you can at home. Things are more irregular than they are at home. If we had any children to support, we would go back at once.

The native intelligence and honesty of this family were evidently of high calibre. The fact that they have worked three and seven years respectively at one mill is evidence of their industry.

Frank Ball, a day hand in the Axminster Carpet Mill "A", is described by his foreman as being steady and capable and industrious. Ball says:

I have a wife and three children—12, 9 and 6 years old. Prior to last fall, I had \$300 saved up. I get \$2 a day, but since June, 1914 (this interview was in June, 1915), I have averaged less than \$8 per week. My rent costs me \$13. My father, who lives with me, has been sick, and this, combined with bad times, has used up our savings till we are now \$65 in debt. I owe a bill at the clothing store, and I still owe for one of the five tons of coal I bought last year at this time. Now it's time to buy some more.

I don't know what I'd done if I hadn't had a more economical wife than most men. She makes over her old clothes so that they look like new, and when she can no longer fix them for herself, she makes them into clothes for the children. They look neat, too. My wife hasn't had a new dress since 1912.

During this winter, I tried not to let a dollar get away from me if I could help it, and took odd jobs here and there whenever I could get it on the days there was no work at the mill. Once we were shut down for five days on account of the death of a member of the firm. I heard of a job at King of Prussia (a village 17 miles out in Chester County) and went out and got a job there on a farm. I painted some steps, and did other odd jobs about the place. Even at that we could hardly get along.

A lot of families I know of broke up; one right across the street sold their furniture and separated to live with each other's folks. It will take a lot of people two or three years to get over this winter because a good many of them had to borrow money on their furniture. When the bills came due they were unable to make payments, and they lost their furniture.

What famine and black plague were to the middle ages, so is unemployment to the modern industrial world.

#### **COST OF UNEMPLOYMENT TO THE EMPLOYER**

Unemployment involves a far-reaching economic loss to employers, even though it does not so immediately affect their welfare as it does that of workers. However, it gravely endangers the welfare of any industrial community. It is a constant menace to an industrial center in its competition for trade with other centers.

Corresponding to the reduced wages of the employe is the reduced output of employers. In the absence of any comprehensive statistics bearing on our loss of output through unemployment, the statistics gathered by the New Jersey State Department of Labor and Statistics show a situation which may be taken as fairly typical of Philadelphia. Figures collected by the State Department from 2,556 firms show the actual output for the year 1912. They also show the output for those plants if "all the existing facilities were brought into use." These latter figures are estimated by the firms themselves. They show that for the normal industrial year of 1912, these plants were running only to 74 per cent of their capacity. Stated in terms of lost output it meant a loss of \$363,000,000. Shown graphically the situation may be stated as in fig. 20.

The complete loss to employers is not to be stated solely in

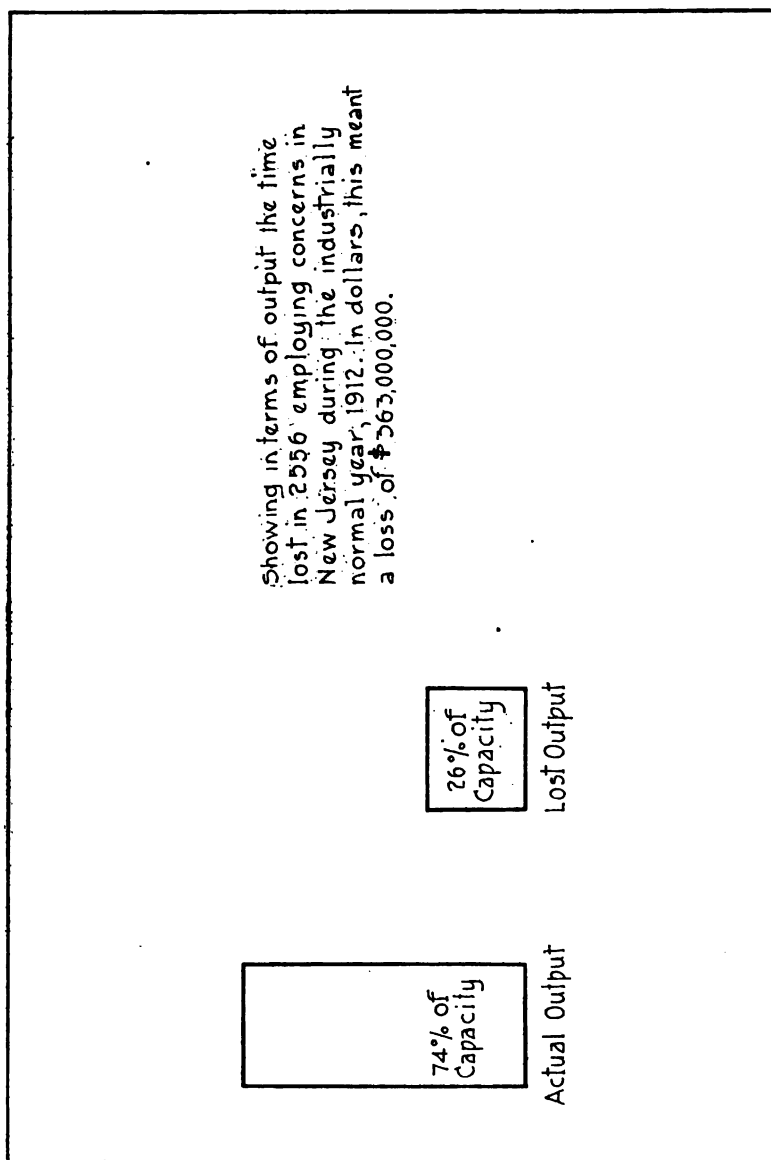


Figure 20

terms so simple and obvious as in lost output. Perhaps deserving of higher rank than the loss of output is the loss experienced by employers in demoralization of organization. In answer to a question sent by letter to the managers of six representative mills in Kensington, five answered that they regarded unemployment or slack time as the chief causes of the rapid shift of employes from shop to shop. As one employer puts it, "We found that, while our men could make \$3 or \$4 a day when they worked, they rarely did because of the time that was lost through slack orders, waiting for changes in the dyes, etc. As a result, they were dissatisfied and we couldn't hold our best men." Another firm states the proposition conversely by saying, "We can keep our help and, incidentally, get the best help of our class, not because we pay a higher rate of wages—for as a matter of fact our rate is somewhat lower,—but because we guarantee our help steady employment and our twenty-five years' reputation bears out our claim."

An electric company (outside of Philadelphia) has the following to say regarding the demoralization of the working force through unemployment:

It is realized by most manufacturers that not only is unrest and dissatisfaction produced among the working force by irregularities in production, but that there is a direct monetary loss of a considerable amount. This is especially true in industries which are conducted very largely by so-called unskilled labor which have to be taught how to perform the work on which they are employed as distinguished from work which is done by recognized trades. To illustrate, in a locomotive or general machine shop when work increases, more machinists are employed. These men, being trained artisans, are familiar with the work which they are employed to do and are immediately productive. In work similar to our own, unless we are fortunate enough to recover all of our old employes, which is never the case, a bulge in production requires the hiring of large numbers of unskilled men and women who have to be taught the various classes of work which are peculiar to our business. This training and development in the different departments requires all the way from a couple of weeks to six months.

Where industries operate under this latter condition, the cost of securing new and untrained employes after a depression may amount to as much as from \$25 to \$40 per employe, this cost covering the cost of hiring, the cost of training, the work spoiled and the tools damaged during the process. It is aggravated by the fact that all the newcomers do not stick, so that to get one proficient employe in the end you have perhaps started with three, four or five and taken them part way through the training process.

Further reference will be made later to this flow of labor through shops. It is sufficient to say here that this rapid shifting

of labor means a generally lower development of skill on the part of workers and, in the second place, the almost constant presence in the shop of an unusually large number of greenhorns.

The loss of efficiency does not stop simply with the lost skill of those who leave. The manager of one of the largest toolmaking concerns around Philadelphia, says, "After a period of unemployment, it takes the employer three weeks to get his force and plant up to the point where it can turn out orders with normal efficiency. During the slack times it has run down at the heels." The foreman of Axminster Mill "A" says, "Even if the same weaver comes back to the same loom, after a long period of lost time, it takes three weeks before the loom will run again as well as it did before we shut down."

More insidious than these losses to the employer is the loss during periods of unemployment through the degeneration of the workers in spirit, energy and ambition. As one employer writes: "Working men or working women who, through no fault of their own, are deprived successively time on time of the opportunities to realize their earning capacities, inevitably suffer impairment of courage, self-respect and even moral fibre, the loss of which falls first upon the community, but eventually upon industry, in the depreciation in quality and spirit of the labor supply." Philadelphia has been known as the best labor market in the world. Unemployment does not tend to keep her so:

Finally, unemployment, if widespread, knocks the props out from under a market that may already be sagging, because it tends to diminish the buying power of the community, so that industries which might normally be ready to start again, are discouraged from beginning.

One progressive Philadelphia employer sums up the injury by unemployment in their forging and finishing shop as follows:

When our factory begins to lose time and works on reduced hours, the first thing we notice is breaking up the personnel of our working force. Our best mechanics, who are capable men, begin looking around for other positions. As these men are in the minority, their loss is keenly felt, as quite often one man will be the backbone of a gang of three or four, and his loss is very severe both in efficiency of production and in quality of work. High grade men have less trouble in obtaining other positions under normal conditions than the inferior grade of workmen, and unless a great deal of care is exercised during times of depression, a factory is liable to be left with their less efficient men on hand.

With the loss of any of our men it seems that we must break in new men for the work. If we are running our regular output on a piece work system, as we do here, it simply means that the new men, not having the knowledge sufficient for efficiency, cannot be put on a piece work basis and it is necessary to start him on time work, raising the cost per unit from 5 to 10 per cent.

New men, likewise, turn out more bad work than is usual, and this work is either an absolute loss or must be worked over again at an additional expense. This item, while not large, is simply an added burden to our cost.

In our plant where material cuts such a figure we likewise find that replacing regular men with new men means that they waste material. The difference between the waste of a bar used for a given product and the actual finished product is termed scrap in our cost keeping, and we have figures showing that these men produce 10 per cent more scrap than the average workmen should do. In other words, they use 10 per cent more material to produce a given piece of product than is necessary.

More supplies are used up with new men than with old, first, because they do not know how to handle them, and waste them, and secondly, they produce more bad work which has to be refinished. The first lot of supplies used by new men in making the finished product is lost entirely.

Regarding the last paragraph of your letter which asks for definite figures showing the difference in cost per unit when our factory is running at 100 per cent capacity and when it is running at 75 per cent capacity; on the latter figure our factory cost per unit is 20 to 22½ per cent higher than at full capacity.

The reason for this, of course, is that when you are cutting down the productive capacity it is very hard to reduce to a minimum your force of engineers, foremen, inspectors, firemen, truckers, and such incidental labor, and your general overhead expenses are to a great extent stationary.

## PART III

### THE INCREASE OF KNOWLEDGE ABOUT UNEMPLOYMENT

What should we do about unemployment? It is obvious that we will not comprehend and cannot intelligently attack a problem that goes as deep into the industrial organization of society as does unemployment, so long as we know so little about it as we do now. The scantiness of our present knowledge of unemployment has already been pointed out. It does not enable us to attack unemployment much more successfully than did the ancient physicians attack physical illness in the days when medical science consisted only of a series of magical spells and potions. Our most fundamental need at the present time in attacking unemployment is to know something about it—its facts, its causes—and its significance.

It was with the object of contributing more definite information to our knowledge of Philadelphia's unemployment that the City of Philadelphia invited the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company to conduct an unemployment canvass among its policyholders during the past winter.

Unfortunately this information, while of invaluable aid in throwing light on the amount of unemployment in the past winter, is of little help in throwing light on the actual amount of unemployment that may exist at any time in the future.

As a means of supplementing the Metropolitan canvass, arrangements have been made with the State Department of Labor and Industry that it should collect at regular quarterly intervals, statistics of unemployment and employment in Philadelphia which will give a usable, even if inadequate, basis for estimating the amount of unemployment there is at any particular time in the future. The names of 250 manufacturing concerns, chosen so as to be as nearly typical of all sizes and kinds of manufacturing industries as possible, were submitted by the Department of Public Works. The plan provides that the Department of Labor and Industry will collect monthly statements from these firms and compile the figures, showing for one particular week:



1. The number employed,
  - Full time
  - Part time
  - At normal operating capacity
2. The number of hours worked per week
3. The total payroll (excluding salaries),
  - Actual for week of
  - When running to capacity

These statistics should furnish a fair basis for estimating the variation in and amount of unemployment in the important manufacturing industries of Philadelphia at the canvass periods. By properly "weighting" the statistics for each different industry, according to the importance of that industry in the city as indicated by census figures, it will be possible to form some idea of the extent of unemployment in Philadelphia manufactories, as a whole, at these canvass periods. In order not to disclose the business conditions of individual firms, the names of the firms from whom figures are collected are not given. Since Philadelphia is basically and pre-eminently a manufacturing city, these figures will be sufficiently representative of the city as a whole to furnish a usable, though inadequate, clue to future conditions. As a result, we should not be in the future in such a quandary—whether unemployment is serious enough to justify ultra-heroic measures—as we were in the past winter.

These two sets of statistics will furnish but the barest outline of the knowledge we need. Over and above general data, we need the closest and most detailed analysis of the causes, extent and effects of unemployment in each important industry. It is only by such studies that we will be enabled to discuss unemployment intelligently.

Every organization interested in making Philadelphia a better city, industrially and socially, has an opportunity and a duty to forward the collection and discussion of the facts of unemployment in this city. The causes and facts of unemployment differ so widely in different industries, and even in different phases of the same industry, that any investigations taken up should be concentrated upon a study of a single industry. The Consumers' League has perhaps the best opportunity to throw light on conditions in certain Philadelphia industries by including a study of the amount, cause and results of unemployment in the industries which

it investigates. The Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania should take the lead, in the community's efforts to study the problem. A course in unemployment should be offered. Eventually a department of unemployment would be established which shall give graduate and undergraduate courses in the subject; whose graduate students shall be assigned to investigate facts and results; and which shall assist in forwarding and coördinating the efforts of the various agencies that are studying the situation in Philadelphia. The Pennsylvania Training School for Social Workers is another agency that we naturally expect to forward such discussion. Yet its roster of courses for the year 1914-15 contains no course on unemployment. Every school, every church, every club that is interested in social and industrial questions has a chance to encourage and push the discussion of a question so vital to the industrial and social well-being of the community.

## PART IV

### THE MANAGEMENT OF EMPLOYING CONCERNS IN ITS RELATION TO UNEMPLOYMENT

Philadelphia employers cannot afford to disregard the injury received from unemployment. No community can, without grave concern, witness the degeneration of its working classes through unemployment, nor can it be oblivious to the terrific injury to its industrial interests through unemployment. The obligation, therefore, rests upon the entire employing community to do everything that is humanly and financially possible to reduce this evil.

Philadelphia's methods of meeting her unemployment during the winter of 1914-15 cannot be regarded for a minute either as permanent or ideal. At best, charity is not a satisfactory solution of unemployment. Our charitable methods during the past winter were particularly unfortunate. In this connection, we should freely recognize the very remarkable administrative efficiency and the spirit of public service and actual accomplishment which characterized the Emergency Aid Committee. It may even be granted that, in lieu of better measures, such steps may possibly be necessary, in unusually severe times, in order to prevent suffering. At such times we "face a fact, not a theory." But we must not consider charity as a satisfactory way to meet unemployment. Such a program tends to pauperize a community, invite shiftlessness and discourage self-reliance. As Jeff Davis, king of the hoboes and manager of the Hotel De Gink in New York, puts it, "If you pay people to beg they will beg; if you pay 'em to work, they'll work." It furthermore tends to disgrace self-respecting workers and to injure their pride permanently. Emergency committees and public aid can be justified only in cases of severe extremity, under conditions analogous to those in a hospital, where a very dangerous and unusual operation is sometimes resorted to in order to save a dying patient's life. The necessity of resorting to charity to handle unemployment, instead of being a solution of the problem, is an admission that we have not solved it. It is a mortify-

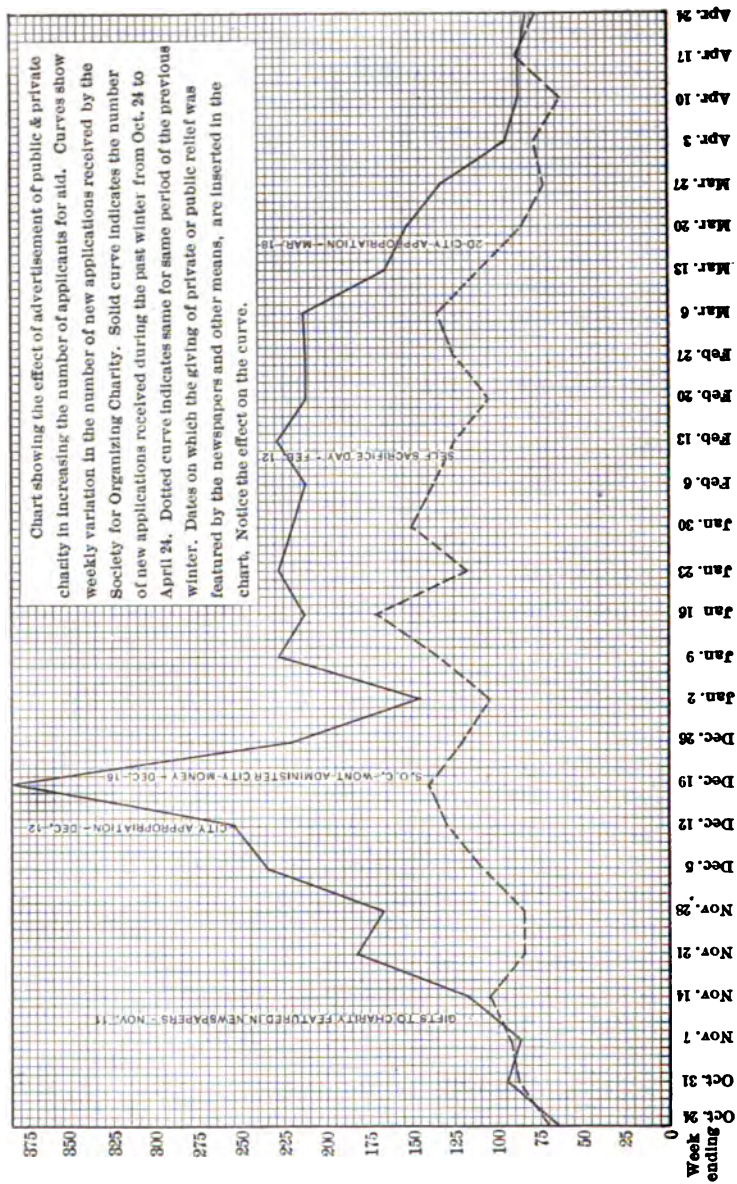


FIGURE 21

ing evidence that we have not been sufficiently "on the job" to create an industrial society in which such catastrophes cannot occur. Unemployment catastrophes are the punishment for our neglect.

The effect that highly advertised charity has in destroying self-reliance and in teaching people to become voluntary paupers is abundantly found in the city's experience during the winter of 1914-15. Shortly after the first appropriation of \$50,000 by Councils, large numbers of foreigners appeared before the branch offices of the Society for Organizing Charity in South Philadelphia and demanded "some of the city money" as their inalienable right. Of 94 new applications that came in to the southeast district immediately after the donation of public aid was featured in the newspapers, one of the heads of the Society for Organizing Charity selected at random nine cases that would be roughly typical. Investigation showed that all but one of these cases were not only undeserving, but not even seriously needy. This clogging of the machinery of organized charity with undeserving cases makes it difficult to reach and handle the really needy case at a time when help is most needed. Better evidence of the effect of the wide advertising is found in the sudden and large increase in the number of new applications received by the charitable societies immediately after the appropriation of city money, the formation of the Emergency Aid, Self-Sacrifice Week, etc., became public through the newspapers. The connection between the number applying for charitable aid and the excessive advertisement that is connected with the granting of public relief is seen in fig. 21, which shows the number of new applications received each week during this winter, in connection with the dates on which the granting of relief was featured in the newspapers. Meeting unemployment with charity tends to produce the type of individual similar to a Philadelphian whom we may call "Jack." Jack had been out of work four months. A friend expressed his sympathy and received the reply, "Oh, it's not bad, it's like any other trade after you learn it."

To what extent Philadelphia's advertised philanthropy during the past winter tended to bring into this city the floating vagrants of other cities, it is impossible to say. It is reasonable to

suppose that that result was brought about in Philadelphia during the winter of 1914-15.

Unemployment is primarily a question of industry and industrial organization. The manager of a shoe manufacturing company in Philadelphia asserts that unemployment cannot be reduced to any great extent under the present individualistic, competitive system of doing business. Waiving the question as to whether this fatalism is justified or not, it is obvious that the introduction of a new industrial system is a proposition so doctrinaire that it can scarcely be counted as offering any immediate practicable hope. It behooves us, therefore, to see what can be done under the present system. Since unemployment is an industrial question, the responsibility for ameliorating the evil must rest primarily upon the shoulders of those in control of modern industry, regardless of whether the unemployment be due to individual management of a business or to broader economic considerations. It is distinctly up to employers to attack the problem more seriously than they, as a whole, have heretofore; whether they do it from altruistic motives or because of the fact that, in the long run, it is the wisest business policy. It is up to them, even if it involves as fundamental changes as a certain large manufacturer implies when he says, "To secure uniform daily production, and to partially eliminate the evils of seasonal production, require practically an entire reorganization of the business with this as one of the primary objects. It is not a part of the organizing methods; it is a primary objective and must permeate every fibre of the whole institution."

Philadelphia boasts that she is the "World's greatest Workshop." In few ways can her employers more certainly insure that this phrase shall remain true than by eliminating unemployment. Philadelphia, free from unemployment, would attain a degree of prosperity at present undreamed of. If injury to our community, through unemployment, continues to be disregarded we may endanger our crown.

What steps in dealing with unemployment are the more advanced, progressive and thoughtful employers taking which point the way for the majority to follow?

Before answering this question it must be recognized that the widespread unemployment that results from such unusually

severe industrial depressions as we experienced during the past winter and as are more or less frequently caused by money panics, or "psychological" panics, or European War, or fluctuations in the tariff, is a thing which can seldom be offset by the efforts of the employer, without the risk of endangering his industrial existence. Although he has an obligation, so far as it is industrially safe for him, to furnish employment at such times, the causes of such conditions are not of his making; and such depressions are frequently so severe that he has all he can do to keep his industrial ship afloat. In other words, unemployment is, in some respects, a thing so broad in its origin that effective action to prevent its causes must be nation or world-wide.

To go back to the original question, "What can employers do?" Special study has been made of the textile industries; but many of the illustrations used are from other industries and the points mentioned are, to a greater or less degree, applicable to all industries.

At the outset it must be accepted as a fundamental principle that each employing concern should regard itself as one industrial family for the welfare of whose members the concern is responsible in the way in which the head of a private family is responsible for its members. This fundamental principle must underlie an employer's entire attitude towards his working force and guide all his efforts against unemployment. In the long run this will prove the only sound business policy.

With this family relationship, the 100 per cent ideal, rarely possible of complete attainment, but toward which we should strive, is for each employer and each firm to accept responsibility for keeping a certain definite number of employes steadily employed—without overtime and with the minimum possible changes in personnel. This number should be the "rating" which each firm gives itself as the number it can keep steadily employed. As one very progressive and successful employer writes:

Many employers do not realize their duty to keep their working force intact under all conditions, with the exception of the very most unusual and aggravated cases of industrial depression. The keeping of the working force intact is not only a duty of the employer toward the employe and to the community, but it is on the face of it the only sound business policy. I believe not only that all public agencies should educate the employer toward the importance of this policy, but

that they should also educate the employer to the fact that vocational and periodical depression must be looked for and should be provided against in prosperous times, at least to such an extent that a definite, sound and just policy is assured to the employe and to the community, if not more material help in some instances.

#### 1. OBTAINING AND ANALYZING THE FACTS IN EACH INDIVIDUAL PLANT

The first need of each individual employer, just as with the community as a whole, is the need for more information. Enough has been said to show that a large percentage possesses nothing but vague information about their own conditions. In order to know just what the amount of unemployment is in his firm and just what are the various causes, each employer should collect daily records which would show, by departments and tasks, for each day, week, quarter or year, the following:

1. Total number of employes in mill
2. Total number of absences
3. Causes of each absence
4. Actual payroll
5. Total payroll if all nominally on the payroll had been working full time
6. Actual number of hours made in plant
7. Total number of hours made, if all on payroll had been working full time  
(deduct national holidays)
8. Number of new employes
9. Employes laid off:—
  - a—Total number
  - b—Good reasons (marriage, death, promotion, etc.)
  - c—Where individual was responsible
  - d—Where firm was responsible
  - e—Where responsibility was uncertain

This information would enable a firm to compile for any given period information to show:

1. The modulus of employment (*i.e.*, the percentage of full time worked by employes). This would be ascertained by determining the rates between the actual total number of hours worked in the plant during the year and the number which would have been worked if all on the payroll had made full time (barring national holidays),—as follows:



actual total hours worked per day,  
week, month, etc.

Modulus of employment =  $\frac{\text{total hours worked if on continuous. full time operation during same period.}}{\text{actual total hours worked per day, week, month, etc.}}$

2. The causes of unemployment and the importance of each, thus indicating definite points for the firm to attack its own unemployment problem.

3. The labor turnover (*i.e.*, the relation between the number of unnecessary hirings and the average number employed).

On a basis of information collected by these records, a firm may determine just what its own labor turnover is for any given period. Labor turnover in its relation to unemployment is discussed on page 63.

The daily report used by one firm to collect information of this character is shown below:

ABSENTEE, TARDY AND NEW EMPLOYEE REPORT FOR THURSDAY, MAY 20, 1915

Absentees Returned (7)				
Number	Name	Operation	Reason	Time
148	Barbara Zajicek ..	Fips. and wits. stohd.....	Sore throat and backache ..	x 1 da.
300	Maud Cashin.....	Foreman.....	Father was sick.....	x 1 da.
937	Helen Augustine ..	Sle. swd. in.....	Per. funeral.....	x 1 da.
938	Mary Hoeffler ....	Sle. swd. in.....	Per. funeral.....	x 1 da.
969	Steve Dianiska ..	Shou. and slve. fin.....	Per. naturalisation papers ..	x 1 da.
1163	Mike Jost.....	Elevator man.....	Sick.....	x 2 da.
One Day Absentees (5)				
S. M. R.	Joe. Cavath.....	Mach. inspector .....	Per. went to court.....	1 da.
737	Theresa Gedeon ..	Cts. trnd. bott. tekd.....		
748	Julia Broch .....	Col. oor. tekd. and feld.....	Sick yesterday.	
751	Agnes Anek.....	M. H. col. tekd. and feld. ....	Tel. sick.	
1382	Irene Steenstra ..	Lpl. and fronts exmd.....	Sick yesterday.	
More Than One Day Absentees (2)				
41	Charlotte Marquardt.....	Route clerk.....	Tel. sick.....	x 2 da.
164	Adelia Fieger.....	Top. pkts. made.....		2 da.
New Hands (5)				
843	Minnie Matuska			
769	Alma Dffenback			
1050	Mary Bugar.....	Former.....		
2375	Mary Tarnovsky..	Former.....		
2385	Stella Beth.....			
Quitter (1)				
1261	Mary Haluaka....	Butt. swd. on.....	Married.	
Tardy (0)				

By means of this record this firm was able to say at the end of the year:

Actual full time working year.....	48	weeks
Actual amount of time employees could have worked in year.....	45.2	"
Actual amount of time employees actually did work in year.....	42	"

## 2. INCOMPLETE METHODS OF DETERMINING COSTS

It is not surprising that with such vague knowledge of unemployment as generally prevails, mistakes should be made as to whether it is better business to run or stand idle in certain bad times. As a matter of fact employers very generally underestimate the loss of an idle plant and over-estimate the loss incurred by running during slack times. An expensive haste in shutting down plants in bad times results. The theory held by cost accountants that all the expenses of operating and maintaining a factory must be included in the cost of the output produced serves to increase unemployment by inducing firms to shut down when good business policy demands that they should run at what is apparently a loss. In slack times, when demand has fallen off, the entire expense of maintenance and operation is saddled on to the small output, an apparent high cost of production per unit results. Accordingly the firm hastens to shut down to avoid "running at a loss"—and frequently does not even consider reducing prices—as its selling department may wish—in order to stimulate demand.

Newer cost accounting methods are pointing out the fallacy of this system, insisting that the expense of supporting a part of the plant in idleness is a business expense and should be charged to the business and not into cost of the product. Under this plan, while the plant as a whole might be losing money, a particular department might be making a good profit over its own cost of production. By thus separating the cost of idleness and the actual cost of production, it appears that it will frequently be better business to run when the plant as a whole is seemingly running at a loss rather than to shut down and carry those as well as greater losses in idleness. One authority on this subject asserts he will shortly be able to prove that it will pay an employer to run a department at what prevailing cost accounting systems would conclude to be a 25 per cent loss.

### 3. MAINTAINING AN EXCESSIVE LABOR RESERVE

Many firms retain more people on their payroll than they can keep busy. The inevitable result is that some of the employes spend a good deal of their time on the streets or else, as is more often the case, the unemployment that results from this situation is "passed around" among the entire force and a great majority of the working force spend a very large percentage of their working time on "part-time." Taking this year in and year out, the accumulated amount of lost time or unemployment is tremendous.

This situation is illustrated in the lace industry. The prevalence of unemployment among the lace operators through good years and bad (see page 7) shows that there are more workers in the five lace firms in Philadelphia than the business can make use of. Fig. 22 shows the actual output in one firm for the lace department for each month of the last three years, as compared with the approximate output possible if the lace weavers had been running full time.

Firms follow this practice of keeping an excessive number on their payrolls for a variety of reasons. The employer wishes to hold as large a labor reserve as he can so that, if a sudden order for rush delivery should come, he is in a position to put all hands on full time and turn the goods out in a hurry. Or there may be, for a short period of each year, a tendency to fall behind in deliveries; some employers keep enough help on part time, nearly all the year, just to supply their customers promptly at the period of maximum pressure.

A second reason for holding an excessive force is in order to discourage efforts on the part of employes to secure higher wages or other favors which the firm may not desire to grant. When there is a lot of slack time in a plant, employes are less apt to cause trouble by asking for favors. On the other hand, when orders are crowding the firm, the employes have the advantage of a better bargaining position, and consequently use the favorable opportunity to obtain what they want—witness the numerous strikes at munitions plants in the United States during the spring and summer of 1915. In order to obtain the whip-hand in the situation, especially in highly unionized industries, employers endeavor to obtain an

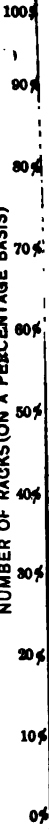
excess of men and machines so that part time may become the rule rather than the exception. One prominent Philadelphia hosiery manufacturer says, "Yes, I want to have enough help and machines so that my help will regularly get through the day at half past three or half past four or five o'clock. They don't ask for higher wages then as they do when they see orders piling up." This situation is apt to manifest itself by a firm having a number of plants in different localities, most of which do not ordinarily run at full capacity, or furnish full-time employment. When a strike at any one plant occurs, it costs the company little or nothing to divert the orders to its other plants. Since it can continue the strike indefinitely with no extra cost, it is sure to win.

A third cause which leads to this situation is a decline in an industry or the failure of an industry to grow as fast as had been anticipated when the expansion of plant took place. In the over-expanded plant, the only advantage to be secured from the otherwise unproductive investment of capital is to keep force enough to man the entire plant—and distribute the work among them all. The excess labor reserve insures prompt deliveries and tends to discourage labor agitation. Under these conditions, labor unions frequently insist upon the firms distributing the work among all those in the trade. Labor unions thus help to hold workers in decaying trades; and the worker himself feels that by leaving his present trade he may sacrifice his skill, endanger his family and perhaps miss an unexpected boom in the present work.

In the fourth place, employers fail to train certain members of the working force to perform more than one single specialized task. This means that each department, each floor, each task must either carry or have available a sufficient number of workers to satisfy its maximum demand for employees. This practice is illustrated by the case of a large hosiery mill in Kensington. In the doorway of that plant ready to insert in the "Help Wanted" sign were the following list of occupations:

Examiners  
Boarders  
Winders  
Knitters  
Girls

NUMBER OF RACKS (ON A PERCENTAGE BASIS)





Boys  
Pairers  
Toppers  
Loopers  
Folders  
Welters  
Menders

In answer to a question whether workers were ever trained to do more than one task so that an excess of workers in one department might do work in another department, the head of the firm answered "No." Perhaps this answer should not be taken literally, since in almost every hosiery concern employes are shifted from one task to another. However, it is true that there is too great a tendency to train workers for one and only one task in most manufacturing concerns.

In front of a large clothing house in Philadelphia there is a bulletin board on which the concern is constantly making known its wants for workmen and workwomen. It recently read:

Ticket girls  
Sewers  
Girls  
Edge basters  
Feller hands  
Canvas basters  
Pressers

It is not known whether this firm trains a percentage of its employes to work interchangeably in different departments as occasion may require or not. However, this bulletin board list, taken in connection with the list that hung in the doorway of the hosiery firm, shows the specialized ability sought even in simple operations. It also serves to illustrate that unless an employe, who works at such a detailed task, is trained to do more than one thing, he or she must in a great many cases be subject to much irregular employment. If one department cannot call on employes in some other department to help it over a busy period, it must either carry normally an excess of workers, or frequently call in and lay off extra help as required. With each department thus carrying a separate margin, the labor reserve for the entire plant

mounts high. No matter whether it is the practice of the firm to lay these extra men off as soon as the need for them ceases, or whether they are all retained and the work rotated among the force, unemployment to a large degree must result.

This reserve trouble is being, to a considerable extent, obviated by using as far as possible a common reserve for different departments. In the lower grades of work, this is done simply by seeing to it that before such labor is laid off, there is no work in any other department. In the higher grades of help, however, the problem is more complex. Some few firms systematically train all or even a small portion of their help to do (well) two or three tasks other than chosen specialties. All departments then have a common reserve, which can be shifted as occasion demands. Or, if a wide seasonal change in the nature of the work takes place, the majority of the members of the working force simply change to a new occupation. This accomplishes, at least, an avoidance of an excessive labor reserve for that plant and continuity of employment for those on its payroll.

The superintendent of a large printing plant (outside of Philadelphia) who has followed out this idea in training women workers described their methods in a letter as follows:

Many of our girls know how to operate three different machines and are expert at one or more of the manual operations, such as pasting, gathering, hand-folding, gold-laying, etc. That they have this knowledge is due to the fact that scientific management has

*First:*

Demonstrated the advantage both to the firm and employes of training workers to do more than one kind of work.

*Second:*

Made it possible to select employes who can learn to do the different kinds of work efficiently.

*Third:*

Furnished facilities for training the people in the shortest time and with the least effort.

*Fourth:*

Furnished an incentive for the worker. This incentive may be either financial or the opportunity for advancement or both.

With these selected and trained workers, with a normal amount of work, our regular employes will have practically no lost time even during the slack season,



and their pay should average from 20 per cent to 30 per cent more than under the old system. Workers properly taught soon become bonus earners. Having earned bonus on one kind of work they "get the habit" and when put to other work are not satisfied until they can earn bonus on the new job.

The training of workers to do several kinds of work efficiently, the central control of the work and good routing make it possible:

1. To do a certain amount of work with fewer employees
2. Reduce cost
3. Give workers a higher wage
4. Give workers more steady employment
5. What is perhaps most important of all, it stimulates and develops the workers

There can be no question but that without scientific management we could not have trained the workers to do the different kinds of work and they would not have had as regular employment.

A convenient mechanism which assists in this work is an expense charge symbol which we call "retainers." In case we have a high-priced employe and give him work of a somewhat lower grade than that which he is accustomed to perform, our cost-keeping system permits us to charge the excess up to "retainers," which latter is then spread as a general business expense over the whole product. We use the same accounting device for taking care of the superannuated employes who are no longer able to compete in the matter of output but the question of whose discharge cannot be considered.

In some cases the responsibility for not reducing the labor reserve does not rest with the employers. Labor unions not infrequently oppose the training of employes to do other tasks, under the impression that each trade, by defending itself from the entrance of outside workers, is bettering itself. While some immediate gain may accrue to the trade thus protecting itself, it is a practice that surely does not benefit labor as a whole; and it is doubtful whether, in the long run, it will benefit the trade involved, since conditions will frequently be reversed.

#### 4. REDUCTION OF THE LABOR TURNOVER

By the term "labor turnover" is ordinarily meant the proportion between the total number of persons hired during a year and the average number employed during the year. For example, if a firm requires 500 persons to run its business, and, during the course of the year, has passed through its doors 500 more without enlarging the force, that firm is said to have a labor turnover of 100 per cent.

This method of determining labor turnover is too crude to be

of much use. Figures of turnover so gathered have little or no significance. One year the amount of necessary hiring might be very high due to sickness, deaths, marriages, strikes or some other cause over which the employer has little or no control. The following year, due to an absence of these causes, the apparent turnover might be very low. The actual amount of unnecessary hiring and firing may nevertheless have remained constant. To make our labor turnover figures significant, we must separate the necessary hirings from the unnecessary hirings. We must separate the necessary hirings which grow out of an enlargement of the plant or which are necessary to replace unavoidable withdrawals due to sickness, promotion, death, etc., from the unnecessary hirings, which are in large part the result of poor management in the choosing, assigning, directing, etc., of employees. It is this unnecessary hiring which indicates industrial turmoil and it is this that our labor turnover figures should measure.

To determine such a refined labor turnover there should be deducted from the total number hired during the year the number by which the force was permanently increased during the year. This increase should be determined by subtracting the average number on the payroll at the first four paydays at the beginning of the preceding year from the average number on the payroll at the first four paydays of this year. This might be a minus quantity. Moreover, there should be deducted from the total number of hirings the number of excusable or necessary withdrawals. The proportion which this bears to the total number on the payroll represents the refined labor turnover. The total number on the payroll is found by securing the average number on the payroll at the various paydays.

For example, we may suppose that a firm had an average number on its payroll of the year of 500. During the year 500 persons may have been hired. The permanent force may have been increased by 50 and there may have been necessary withdrawals amounting to 25 during the course of the year. To provide for the permanent increase and replace those who withdrew for an entirely unavoidable cause, this firm, therefore, was justified in hiring 75 persons. Deducting these necessary hirings from the total number of hirings, we may assume that the total amount of

unnecessary hirings amounted to 425. In other words, the firm had a refined turnover of 425/500, or 85 per cent.

Even this "refined" process represents but the crudest sort of method of determining labor turnover. The investigation and study of labor turnover is only just beginning.

The question that immediately comes up is: What is the connection between labor turnover and unemployment? Surely, if "A" is discharged and "B" is hired to take his place, the number employed or unemployed is not altered. However, high labor turnover does affect unemployment in the following fundamental ways:

In the first place, as one manager puts it in a letter: "The answer is obvious, however, to anybody who has been engaged in employment work, that all these moves break down the self-reliance of the workers and decentralize the problem to such an extent that it makes it difficult to study. I know, in particular, of one man who was found, through circumstances over which he had no control, to change his job eight times during one year. At the end of that time he was estimated to have declined 50 per cent in efficiency from that cause alone." In other words, the rapid shift, or flow of labor from shop to shop, tends to increase unemployment by taking men from the more efficient classes—in which workers are apt to be scarce—and placing them in the ranks of the less skilled and unskilled groups which are usually already overcrowded.

In the second place, as long as there are frequent changes in personnel in many classes of labor, by just so much will there be less chance for the development of skill and a good personal relationship between employer and employe. Without these abstract assets the average employer feels less financial and personal incentive to "hold on" to employes by furnishing steady employment.

In the third place, a generally high labor turnover creates an excessively high labor reserve in certain industries. With the kaleidoscopic movement of labor in and out of factories the actual requirements of an industry can be but vaguely known. The man who is "out" does not know what the demand for help in his particular line of work is. He feels that, anyway, the kaleidoscope will soon displace some one from a job and give it to him. This reasoning that "I will soon get a chance" brings an excess of workers

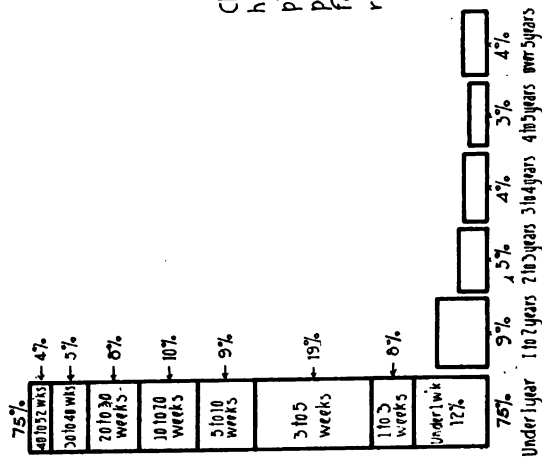


Chart showing length of time male employees hired from 1907 to 1915 remained in the employ of one representative Axminster carpet firm in Philadelphia. The chart for female employees shows almost parallel results.

FIGURE 23

into many industries, and unemployment results. The best illustration of this is found in the dock situation (see page 29).

Finally, in the fourth place, employers are just beginning to realize the costs to them through high labor turnover. If they fully appreciate the money loss that is sustained through excessive hiring and firing—through high labor turnover—and if they realized that irregular employment was one of the important causes of high labor turnover (see page 43), they would give more earnest attention to the problem in their plants.

As one employer, who has made a careful study of labor turnover, puts it, "The real point of the matter (so far as unemployment is concerned) is that if you have a trained worker, say at \$18 a week, and it becomes evident that work is going to be slack for ten days or a couple of weeks, it is cheaper to retain the man, with his experience and knowledge of the company's way of doing business, than it is to engage a new man, without experience, at the end of that period. This argument can be pushed too far, but at present hardly any attention is being given to it at all."

How great is the active labor turnover among Philadelphia firms? Few firms make any attempt to keep records on this subject. In order to measure roughly the extent of this indifference, all of the firms on twelve squares of one of the leading streets in the textile district of Kensington were canvassed. Of eleven mills who were willing to discuss the point, all had no records of the size of the labor turnover—at best only a rough idea. To supplement further this conclusion, twenty-five confidential letters of inquiry were sent to representative textile firms. Of the seven answers received, only two possessed any records which showed the size of the labor turnover.

In a textile firm employing labor of medium skill, a study was made of the labor turnover, and the speed of the movement of labor through the shop in the Axminster Carpet Mill "A." The foreman had kept a list of the dates on which help entered and left his employ for the period of 1907-15. In this mill, as has been before pointed out, conditions were favorable for a low turnover, because style was not such an important element in the goods, and slack seasons could be used to pile up large quantities of stock. By compiling the foreman's records it was found that 75 per cent of the men and 66 per cent of the women employees remained in the em-

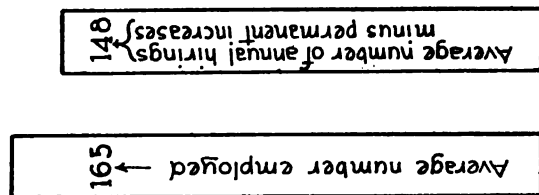


Chart showing the relation between the average number hired per year in excess of those permanently added to the payroll in Axminster Carpet Mill "A" for the period 1907-1915, and the average number employed. Note that the number of annual hirings per year is about 90% as large as the number normally on the payroll.

This high labor turn-over has a direct and vital bearing on the employment problem; it can be greatly reduced by efficient management.

FIGURE 24

ploy of the firm less than one year. They also showed that 48 per cent of the men and 37 per cent of the women employes remained in the employ less than ten weeks. Yet the foreman asserted that "most of the employes do not do good work until they have been with us eight weeks." During the process of compiling these statistics he evidenced considerable interest. On seeing the final results, his comment was, "Who'd a' thought it?" These results are shown graphically and in greater detail in fig. 23.

The above figures represent merely the speed with which labor flows in and out of the shop. Measured in terms of the annual number of hirings in excess of the permanent increases, the average of such hirings was found to be nine-tenths as great as the number of employes. This is shown graphically in fig. 24.

Many concrete illustrations of the size of the turnover in many Philadelphia firms might be cited. In view of the absence of any comprehensive information for Philadelphia, a study made by Magnus Alexander, of the General Electric Company, throws general light on the size of the labor turnover. The result is probably fairly typical of Philadelphia. Mr. Alexander made a study of the size of the labor turnover among all classes of employes (except those belonging to the commercial and engineering organization and the general executive staff) in a large number of factories of all sizes in the United States and Europe. This study was made during the year 1912—which may be considered a normal industrial year. The investigation showed that the labor turnover (including necessary and unnecessary hirings) of these firms was over 100 per cent. On January 1, 1912, 38,668 persons were employed in all of these concerns. On December 31, 1912, 46,796 persons were employed. The increase in the working forces during the year, therefore, totalled 8,128. Yet, the records show that during the same period 44,365 people were engaged, indicating that 36,237 people had dropped out of the employment during the year. In other words, about  $5\frac{1}{2}$  times as many people had to be engaged during the year as constituted the permanent increase of force at the end of that period.

Making allowance for the increase to the force, and for removals by death, illness and other unavoidable cause, Mr. Alexander concludes that practically the engagement of 22,140 could readily be

defended. What should be said, however, of the fact that 22,225 were engaged above the necessary requirement?

The wide scope of this study makes it reasonable to suppose that its results are, on the average, typical for the mechanical industries in Philadelphia as well as for any other industrial center.

Altogether aside from the degenerating effect of this state of affairs on the employe, it represents a big leak to employers. Different Philadelphia employers estimate the cost of unnecessarily discharging an average wage-earner at from \$30 to \$100, but here also there is little real knowledge of cost. Mr. Alexander's figures may be taken as typical. Based on estimates by employers for different classes of labor, Mr. Alexander figures that the loss incurred by these firms in unnecessarily hiring 22,225 persons during the year 1912, as approximately \$775,000. How little this loss is appreciated among Philadelphia textile firms as a whole is shown in the statement above referring to the small percentage of firms who keep records.

Granted the situation and its cost to employer and employe, what can be done about it? It is a well established fact that high labor turnover can be very largely and profitably reduced by greater care and efficiency in management.

The experience of one Philadelphia concern, manufacturers of a standard product which is almost without seasons, is significant. This firm employs nearly 1,000 persons. In 1911, when it first began to consider seriously the problem of excessive hiring and discharging of help, its turnover (based on necessary and unnecessary hirings) was 100 per cent. The next three years witnessed a steady reduction in the turnover, which, by 1914, was less than 20 per cent. Equally significant of the possibilities in the reduction of labor turnover is the case of a textile firm well known for the consideration shown for the welfare of its employes. This firm has a turnover so low that there is a common saying to the effect that if a ——— man is "on the streets" there's something wrong with the man.<sup>7</sup> The experience of a third firm, a cloth firm outside of Philadelphia, simply adds evidence that it is within the power of individual managers to reduce the labor turnover. This firm, by a

<sup>7</sup>Yet it is significant that when this firm, one of the best managed in Philadelphia, recently increased its force by 300, over 2,200 persons had to be hired to secure the 300.



scientific study of the problem, and as a result of earnest efforts to secure employment, reduced its turnover by 80 per cent from June, 1910, to July, 1914.

What are the methods used by these firms or approved by the more progressive employing concerns by which this terrific cost can be reduced, after management once becomes aroused to the importance of the problem?

It is apparent that if any impression is to be made on the excessive labor turnover, a great deal more attention and study must be given the "man" problem as contrasted with the "material and machine" problems.

The specific methods used by the above firms, and most widely approved by progressive concerns, to secure a lower labor turnover, are three:

- A. Better methods of hiring and firing.
- B. Better methods of training help.
- C. Reduction of fluctuations in employment.

*A. Better Methods of Hiring and Discharging Help*

The greater attention to the "man" problem must manifest itself, above all things, in much more attention to and study of scientific methods of hiring and discharging men. The first requirement is that the handling of the employment problem should not be left to the foremen of different departments, but should be transferred to some high grade functionalized employment official or department, according to the size of the plant. As the manager of the cloth firm previously referred to says: "For the employment function, every industrial organization should have some one person or department whose sole business is the study and handling of this problem. This is a function that cannot be administered by some head or underling in an operating department."

Unfortunately, the prevailing practice among the textile firms in Philadelphia is to leave the hiring and firing to the foremen of different departments. The canvass on "X" street (page 67) showed that, of eight firms who discussed the matter, six left the hiring entirely to the foremen of different departments. In two, the hiring was done by one functionalized officer for the entire plant. To supplement this canvass, a number of inquiries were

directed to the managers of twenty-five firms scattered at random throughout different lines of the textile industry. Of eight answers, six indicated that the hiring and discharging of help was left to the entire charge of foremen.

The result of this lack of centralized employment is an almost complete lack of touch between the responsible heads and intelligence of the concern and the employment problem. A statement that is applicable to many concerns was made by one of the heads (in charge of records) of a hosiery concern. "We would never know here in the office when a person is being taken on or laid off if their names were not sent down every two weeks to receive pay." In many concerns no one but the foreman has any record even of the names of employees. In the office workers appear as number so-and-so, which, for all the firm knows, may and often does mean, some one this week and someone else next week.

This lax method of hiring and firing by foremen means that the choosing of help is left in charge of a man who is already overburdened with other duties, and who, though he may possess a certain amount of technical skill and aptness in the processes of a particular department, has not the background for the successful employing of men. As a result, it becomes a secondary matter; and misfit employes, who are apt to become discouraged and leave, result. An extreme case of the lack of care under the foreman system is told of a Philadelphia textile factory. This firm advertised for help on a certain day. On the day indicated a large crowd of the jobless had assembled. When the doors were thrown open a mad scramble ensued as each person tried to grab a machine. Whoever got a machine remained. No selection was made. Surely this struggle was not one guaranteed to eliminate the unfit—the inefficient—or accurately fit men to jobs.

In another case, the foreman who was to choose new help threw a number of apples into the assembled crowd. Whoever caught the apples got the job.

The foreman is ordinarily incapable of judicious firing. Too often he uses his power to fire as a means of discipline, or as one large employer puts it,—“to keep the fear of God in their hearts.” Perhaps the ideal attitude toward the firing of help is suggested in the case of the large Philadelphia firm who orders a rigid investigation whenever a person voluntarily leaves their employ, to

ascertain why anyone should ever want to leave. The head of one of the largest employing concerns in Philadelphia very deftly suggests the evils of leaving the employment function in the hands of low grade men such as foremen often are, when he says, "Any mutt can fire a man."

Furthermore, the unsupervised authority of the foreman contributes to high labor turnover in the every-day relationship with his employes. Not merely does he bring in misfit help—who will soon leave—and discharges needlessly, but also he unconsciously drives many away by his sheer arbitrariness. One of the largest employers in Philadelphia, who works under the "foreman" system, says, "I have time and again seen my foreman do things that were absolutely cruel; and yet I am powerless to prevent it." A large lace manufacturer told the Philadelphia Secretary of the National Lace Weavers' Union, "I have more strikes and labor disputes as a result of the foolish and arbitrary acts of some foreman than any other cause." Closer supervision of the relationship between foreman and worker by a responsible executive should work toward the eradication of much needless withdrawals from the employ of the firm.

The result of the control of hiring and firing by foremen and the superiority of control by a functionalized employment department is evident from the testimony of the following employers. One employer says:

I know of cases of foremen who frankly acknowledged to their intimates that they make a practice of discharging so many people once in so often to keep alive a healthy appreciation of the dependence of employes upon them. I know of other foremen who have opinions which practically amount to superstitions, so baseless are they, as to the significance of certain unimportant details in an employe's work or manner. I could go on with such statements almost indefinitely. The real gist of the whole proposition, however, is that the company which is not willing to take a definite stand on this proposition of centralized employment is bound to have a labor turnover far in excess of what it needs to be, with a large consequent expense to itself therefrom, and thereby to contribute to the unemployment problem of the city or town in which it is situated. I have never been quite clear in my mind as to why it is that the average foreman or department head feels his authority to have been impaired when the employment function is taken away from him. Such is the case, however, and it makes a very difficult factor in the problem.

One of the heads of a forging and finishing shop in Philadelphia describes as follows the experience and efforts of their firm in dealing with their own employment problem:

a. *Better control of hiring men.*

It is common practice for the foreman of each department to be given full authority to hire their help.

As foremen generally are not of much higher type than the average workman, this practice is very unsatisfactory. Men are hired without thought as to their fitness for the work they are to do, but simply because they happen to be on the spot when a man is wanted.

As the turnover of help in a factory is such an expensive proposition, it seems advisable to have both the hiring and discharging of men supervised by some executive who can analyze the fitness and qualifications of an applicant.

When foremen need help in a department they can apply to this executive, and from his records he would be able to furnish help as needed and of a type that would be more likely to give satisfaction.

b. *Better control of discharging men.*

No foreman should be permitted to discharge men, as quite often discharges are made as much on account of personal prejudice as on account of inefficiency. Again, discharge for inefficiency is a sign of weakness in the organization, as, if a man possesses the ability to do the work when he is hired it means that the foreman has not fulfilled his duty if the man is a failure, except in extreme cases.

After paying good money to break a man in, it is the height of extravagance to replace him with a green man at an additional expense if it is possible to raise such a man to your standard.

If foremen are allowed to hire and discharge indiscriminately, it often happens that men are laid off in one department when they are badly needed in another, and that green men are hired where needed when such department could have had the pick of the ones laid off.

It stands to reason that a man who has been in the factory in any capacity long enough to know his way around and get acquainted to some degree with the product is a much better prospect for any other department than a green man taken off the street.

Discharges for inefficiency or indiscriminate laying off of help tends to increase the unemployment problem.

c. *Analyzed factory conditions.*

We have found that workmen drift from one place to another if not thoroughly satisfied and that the turnover of labor in the average factory is out of all proportion to the payroll. This turnover results in great expense to the manufacturer, as the breaking in of new help on any work requiring skill will cost at least \$50 to \$75 per head. The turnover also results in a great increase in the floating idle population of a city.

One of the duties of a functionalized employment department will be to col-

lect data which will throw light on each company's own employment problem. One employer says:

To begin with, what is everybody's business is nobody's, in the employment game as well as anywhere else. Men are picked to run a department on the basis of technical skill or aptitude in the processes of that department, and the employment of people is purely a secondary matter with them. As a result of this, in the first place, records are entirely lacking by which a company can study its own employment problem and learn from experience. If a centralized employment department did nothing else than to compile and issue the statistics of employment, I believe that it would pay any company to maintain such a department. When it is considered, however, that in any industry work is uneven in different departments and that the individual being fired from one department might be a valuable find in some other department which has a requisition in for additional help, the bearing of the question becomes even plainer.\*

### *B. Better Methods of Training Help*

A second method of reducing high labor turnover is by the adoption of more effective methods of training help. One of the frequent causes of workers quitting is the fact that they can't "get on to the work." While this is often due to innate incapacity, it more often arises out of the lack of any effective system in the plant for the instruction of new men. The supervision of the training in many cases will become one of the functions of the employment department in a large concern.

In many of the textile firms of Philadelphia there is either no system of training at all, or else the training consists solely in the privilege, on the part of the new worker, of watching an older employe for two or three weeks. Of the twelve firms interviewed on "X" street, seven had no training system, but depended solely on securing skilled workers ready made off the streets. In four, new workers were "trained" by being allowed to work with old hands for two or three weeks. Some idea of the thoroughness of such a system in one mill at least may be gathered from the fact that old hands were paid at the rate of \$1 per month to "train" new hands. In one of the twelve firms, the foreman did the instructing. Under such a system, it is not surprising that employers should complain of a scarcity of skilled labor, even in the midst of one of the most severe periods of unemployment ever experienced in the textile industries.

\*A detailed statement of the organization, duties and advantages of a functionalized employment department, will be found in the May volume of *The Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science.

Of the duty of the employer in this respect, one employer, in discussing methods of training, says:

A new employe, at the best, is undeveloped for the position which he is called upon to fill in any organization, and, as he has been employed in order steadily and permanently to fill a position necessary for the objects of the organization, he needs and is entitled to especial attention in order that he can be developed to fill that position fittingly. Given character and fitness for the organization, the acquirement of skill in the performance of a given duty is generally a matter of proper training being provided by the administrative side of the organization. It must always be remembered that skilled and fit men are not born, but made, and it is an essential function of any industrial organization to train men and make them fit for specific position necessary to the objects of the organization. There is no broader admission on the part of a manager of his own inefficiency and his own lack of comprehension of his duties and problems than the oft heard complaint on his part of the lack of skilled men.

Every improvement in training methods will aid in improving the unemployment problem by transferring workers from that tremendously overcrowded class and placing them in the ranks of the higher skilled, in which there is at present frequently a scarcity.

### *C. Reducing the Fluctuations in Employment*

Obviously the third step in reducing labor turnover will be the need for a more serious study of means by which all forms of fluctuation in employment may be reduced.

Recognizing that the rise in some form or other of functionalized employment departments is a growing thing, and a thing to be assisted; recognizing also that the problems that confront those in charge of employment work in different firms are so complex that every manager needs to profit all he can by the experience of every other engaged in similar work, a number of employers, at the invitation of the Director of Public Works, met and formed the Philadelphia Association for the Discussion of Employment Problems. This is a purely voluntary association for purposes of study, involving, on the part of members, no joint support of each other in labor troubles or of any outside course of action. Its object is to pool experiences and discuss common principles governing employment so that the wastes experienced by both employer and employe resulting from improper selection, direction and discharge of labor may be eliminated.

5. BY A CLOSER COÖPERATION BETWEEN THE MANUFACTURING  
AND SELLING ENDS OF A CONCERN AND THE  
STANDARDIZATION OF PRODUCT

It is frequently true that a lack of coöperation between the manufacturing and selling ends of a business breeds a working at cross-purposes, without the joint idea of assuring continuity of production and employment to the manufacturing end.

The textile industries in Philadelphia suffer particularly in this respect. Among textile centers the country over, Philadelphia is conspicuous by the extent to which small mills compose her textile business. A very large percentage of the heads of these mills have at some time in the past come up through the mills as weavers. By dint of energy and frugality these men have been enabled to secure a start and to permanently establish their business. Such a history does not imply a broad business experience. As a result, many manufacturers say, "We are not sellers, we are manufacturers. That's enough for one man." A lack of capital has also contributed to this attitude. As a result, many have confined themselves solely to the manufacturing end and given little attention to the selling end, which has been turned over bodily to sole selling agents usually in New York City.

Under the arrangements made, the selling agent was frequently given a free-handed authority. This gave him power to disregard continuity of production for the employer; and he naturally bent his efforts to selling that which was easiest for himself. Moreover, frequently the manufacturer turned over to his agent the entire job of marketing his goods. The producer could sell through no other source. The seller on the other hand usually sold for a number of others who made the same or a very similar grade of goods. The seller came to represent the entire market to the manufacturer, while the manufacturer represented only a small part of the business to the seller. Out of the better bargaining-position of the selling agent, he obtained an amount of authority that manifested itself in a number of abuses seriously contributing to irregular employment. In discussing these abuses especial reference is made to the hosiery industry (one of the largest branches of the textile industry in Philadelphia).

*Abuses:* a. In the first place, the agent has nothing to force

him to make serious effort to "back up" the employer. The selling end has expected the manufacturing end to be resourceful enough to cope with great irregularities in orders in good times and bad. When the whisper of hard times was first heard, the tendency was for the agent, who had small organization and little overhead, to "lay down" in his efforts just at the time when the good of the producing concern demanded that the greatest pressure be placed on the selling end. The manufacturer, not in touch with his market, was not able to go out and strive for more orders, even had he been willing and able to do so and had his contract with his agent permitted it. His only alternative was lower prices. On the other hand, one Philadelphia hosiery manufacturer who sells direct, spent \$1,000 extra this past winter in pushing his sales so that his organization might be held together over the present winter.

The jobber further reduces the demand for goods at critical times by a considerable reduction of the stock of goods carried as a reserve to supply the trade. Many large hosiery manufacturers in Philadelphia have given the sellers' lack of sufficient effort to secure regularity of orders, in good times and bad, as the chief reason for the firms cutting out the agent and doing their own marketing.

b. In the second place, it is an easy matter, since the goods are not sold under a manufacturer's brand, for the selling agent to divert the orders that have been going to Manufacturer "A" to Manufacturer "B." Although the same number of orders may be coming through to the manufacturing trade as before, still, a long period of unemployment must result before readjustment will be made. On the other hand, where the hosiery is sold under the manufacturer's brand, the orders cannot be diverted, at will, to anyone. They belong to a particular manufacturer. That manufacturer has stabilized his market and secured a grip on the only steady element on merchandizing—the consumer's demand. Every phase of his activity, including the employment of labor is, therefore, subject to less uncertainty and fluctuation. By possessing a market for a standardized product, a manufacturer can more readily make to stock and thus run his mill steadily, even though orders are irregular.

An example showing the degree of dominance that the selling agent aims for under the "sole selling agent" system is the case of



a Philadelphia firm. When this firm began to sell direct, the former agent felt so outraged that it publicly announced it would drive this firm out of business in two years.

c. A third abuse is the evil of cancellation. As one textile man said, "The textile business is the most weak-kneed of any I know. In it, a contract is not a contract." Even though an order may be filed with a manufacturer, the goods bought, and even in many cases made up and shipped, in practice the buyer still has the right to "call off" the order. In some years, in certain lines, the percentage of cancellation runs over 50 per cent. A person closely in touch with the hosiery business "very roughly estimates" the average percentage of cancellations as eight. One Philadelphia concern had to close down when it received recall orders from its agent to 85 per cent of a season's orders.

The significance of cancellation, in its relation to unemployment, does not lie in the percentage of orders discontinued, but in the fact that the practice tends to disorganize production and keep employers afraid to "make up" orders until delivery time is near and every possible opportunity has been given for cancellation. This creates busy periods just before a season's delivery and slack periods at other times. The hosiery manufacturer who sells direct can and does to a very much larger degree prevent this practice.

d. In the fourth place, the manufacturer who "farms out" his selling does not have his ear to the ground. He is slow to readjust himself to changes in demand—a constant complaint from the selling agent. In a business characterized by frequent veerings in demand, as in the textile business, close touch with the market is particularly vital. As the great expansion of our own manufacturing industries plus the introduction of foreign goods takes place, markets will be better supplied than formerly; the consumer will be given a greater choice in his purchases; and he will be less inclined to buy whatever may be set before him whether it suits him or not. Because the consumer has become king it is essential that industry be so organized as to be in the closest possible touch with the changes in his demand. For example, the hosiery market in the last five years has come to demand less and less heavy cotton goods and more and more thin, imitation silk and silk goods. The manufacturers who are in touch with the market have been quicker to readjust themselves to this change than have those who sell through

Chart showing the variation in total payroll in seven large hosiery mills at each two-weekly pay day from Jan. 1913 to May 1915. Figures at side of chart represent the amount of money paid out each week. After the chart was constructed percentage figures were substituted to avoid disclosing business of individual firms.  
Note the greater steadiness of the latter's production and employment.  
The product is, as a whole similar, except that the firms who sell direct, usually carry a larger variety

SOLID LINES = payrolls of firms who sell through sole selling agents  
DOTTED LINES = payrolls of firms who sell direct to the retail trade under their own brand

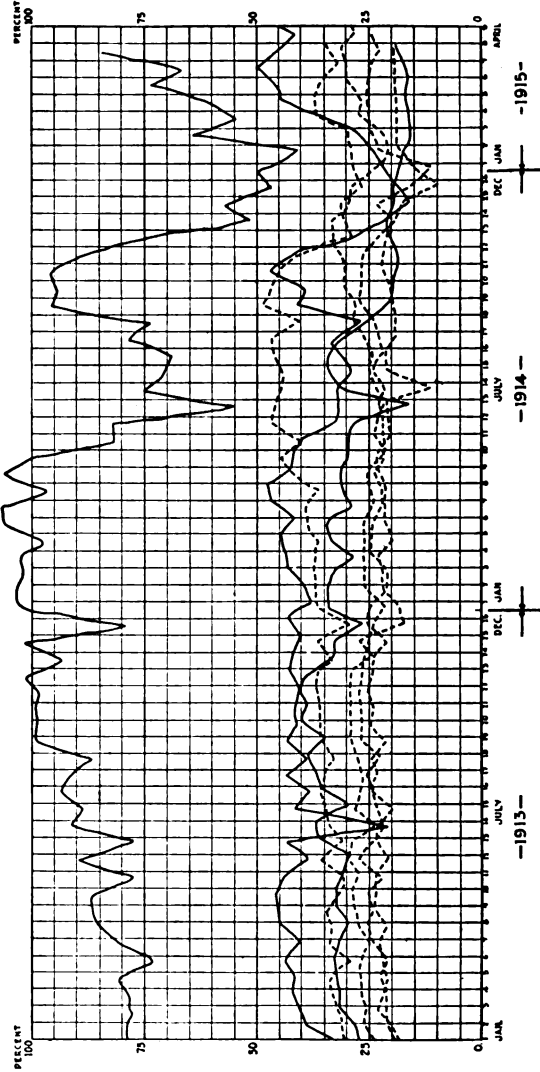


Figure 25

agents. Unemployment results from any such miscalculation of the market.

A final instance of the way in which a Philadelphia manufacturer failed to make the selling end of his business properly articulate with the manufacturing end, may be mentioned in the case of a cloth manufacturer whose agent is primarily the agent of another concern making a totally different kind of goods. The seller "goes on the road" at the time of year suited to the needs of the larger client. This happens to be the the wrong time of year for the Philadelphia cloth manufacturer; so his sales are not large.

It is a significant fact that among the most successful hosiery manufacturers are a number of men who were formerly salesmen in large distributing houses. They know almost nothing about the manufacturing end; they do know how to sell.

In order to show the contrast, in production and employment, between hosiery manufacturers who sell direct under their own brand and those who sell through agents under jobbers' brands, figures were collected from eight of the leading hosiery firms in Philadelphia. These figures give each firm's total payroll at each two-weekly paydays during 1913, 1914 and to May, 1915. The kind of hosiery manufactured by each firm is stated in the footnote. The payroll curves showing a greater irregularity in firms who sell through selling agents are given in figure 25.

What one firm has been able to accomplish, in a seasonal business, through study and control of its selling end is suggested in a letter as follows:

What we have accomplished in the direction of leveling the curve of seasonable work has been done chiefly through the selling end.

Our business in jewelers' boxes used to be extremely difficult because practically all of the output was made to order and work could seldom be started until May or June, and had to be completed well before Christmas. Our factory, therefore, used to be out of work from the middle of December up to the middle of May, and so seriously overcrowded from that time on that poor service was frequently given customers and our business considerably damaged. A few years ago we began to make earnest efforts to get box orders in earlier. After the first year or so of readjusting, we found our customers were more than willing to help in this work, so that today the majority of our orders reach us between the first of January and the first of June. This requires facilities for holding the goods until the date desired by the customer for shipping, and, of course, ties up capital, but we are able to keep experienced workers busy the year through, are able to give almost perfect satisfaction in service to our customers, and through

the consequent savings and increased business the cost of carrying the goods has been covered several times over.

One striking effect which went way beyond our expectations was the improvement in quality of our output, which under the old system suffered more than we realized through the work of untrained hands and the crowding and strain of the fall season.

Our line of Christmas specialties has been handled in the same manner, though an easier problem, because none of these goods are made to order. Designs for Christmas, 1915, were chosen in July, 1914, then approved and laid out as to the way they should be put up, etc., so that the sample run could be ready by March, 1915. The goods are then sold for fall delivery and the stock manufactured during the first six months of the year.

We have found it possible once or twice to add to our line an item or two that could be made to fill in a gap in regular employment; for example, we introduced Christmas cards printed with steel die in order to keep our die-printing crew at work during a slack three months.

Again, we have made good progress by substituting stock items for specials. For example, certain goods of a standard type, ordered periodically by our sales end, were manufactured special as the calls came in—sometimes in dull times, but more often during a rush period, by selecting certain lines and manufacturing a sufficient stock during the dull months the situation has been greatly relieved.

The containers which are used for our merchandise were formerly made by us at different intervals, but under the new plan the entire quantity is manufactured during the first three months of the year. Many other moves of this sort tend toward further relief.

Our problems are undoubtedly easier than those of some other industries; however, we feel from our experience that if the advantages of regularizing employment become appreciated by the employer, some possible steps will suggest themselves, and these will in turn suggest further steps, so that considerable improvement, if not a big cure, can be effected.

The following is a statement of a Philadelphia forging and finishing firm. This firm has so coördinated its selling and manufacturing departments that greater regularity in employment is secured.

*a. Continuity of Employment.* By an analysis of factory conditions we have found it possible to minimize the loss of time on the part of our men due to changing machines from one pattern to another by making orders to the factory of the maximum size and by endeavoring to make changes from one size to another in a distinctive pattern rather than a blind change from one pattern to another. By this method we have increased the efficiency of our plant to a marked degree in so far as production is concerned and have cut down materially the average "turn-over" of our labor.

*b. Complete Analysis of Sales Covering Patterns and Sizes by Months.* By the installation of this system we find that some goods are so seasonable that the demand can be anticipated and goods made up in dull months in readiness for

the market. The anticipation does away with non-employment to some degree, and keeps the manufacturer from being overwhelmed with certain items at what is probably a very busy time on other lines. In other words, it levels the peak load and raises the curve of dullness.

*c. Dull Business.* In times of depression that are so pronounced that none escape entirely, it is necessary to push the selling force with more than usual energy. It is our aim to get out new designs or patterns to create interest and to stimulate business with selling helps for the merchant, pointing out to the retailer that in time of depression it is necessary to approach the retailer problem from a different angle, and that by the use of such helps he can increase his trade. We further try to market new lines of goods in order to keep our working force employed.

A shoe manufacturing concern (outside of Philadelphia) codifies the results of its ten years' experience in attempting to reduce seasonable unemployment (8 to 16 weeks) as follows:

*Unemployment:*

a. Resulting from: Seasonable demand for product where employees are laid off and work on short time for a considerable period.

NOTE. In the majority of shoe factories, particularly in the large shoe centers, this causes shoe workers to be unemployed for periods ranging from eight to sixteen weeks per annum; in some cases more than this. Many of the employees are laid off entirely but more often are obliged to work on very short time and at greatly reduced wages.

*How Improved:*

a. By education of distributors to a realization that in the long run this lost time has to be paid for in the product and by getting their coöperation with this company by working on monthly estimates, put in at the beginning of the season. In busy periods customers who order above their previous estimates are cut down on deliveries in favor of customers whose estimates are not overrun. Customers are not held strictly to monthly estimates, but failure to follow them is regarded as a sales problem and is freely discussed.

b. By the manufacture of special goods, made up without orders and sold through a special department created for that purpose. This department sells goods only when allotted to it, and sells them through special distributing channels, giving special values and special terms.

c. By distributing through both wholesale and large retail trade whose deliveries come at different periods.

One automobile concern pushes to the limit the business of coördinating the selling end with the manufacturing end by addressing its sales force in substance as follows: "We can make so many cars of each different grade this year. Now go out and sell that many."

From the foregoing illustrations, the importance of a standardized product is evident, as well as the part which a correlated sales department can consciously play in making possible a market for this product. In lines such as clothing, standardization of even a part of the product is a herculean task. In other lines standardization is relatively easy and can, therefore, be made to assist very materially in the steadying of production. The experience of one firm is a remarkable instance of how a little planning can result in standardizing production. This firm manufactures articles of printed matter used by everybody (*e.g.*, envelopes). They describe their work as follows:

We have started here with month work along this very line, which we are calling "Standardized Orders" selling 10,000 to 20,000 articles of the same grade and style of printing, the same kind of paper, size, etc., running one order per month of these small orders totaling 1,000,000, etc., guaranteeing delivery of same at the end of the month. This gives us a large monthly stock order made up of a number of units, each unit calling for different electrotype and shipping instructions only.

In this way our prices can be made more attractive, the mass of detail connected with Planning Department is largely reduced and it gives us an even distribution of work, largely reducing the old rush orders, rush periods, overtime or night work, etc., and keeps our force more steadily employed. The profits from a Standardizing Order are very attractive, although the selling price is considerably less.

Not merely is this a good thing for the manufacturer and the employe, but also it is an even better thing for the buyer not to be running out of such a necessary commodity all the time.

#### 6. TIME LOST WAITING FOR DYE (OR OTHER MATERIALS)

Most of the dyeing of textile fabrics in Philadelphia is done by separate firms, apart from the ones in which the dyed goods are made up into fabrics. Only a few firms maintain their own dye-plants. As a result it frequently happens in many firms that, when a fabric of complex pattern is to be woven, it will be found that a certain shade of goods has been forgotten. Or, before the garment is completely woven, yarn of a certain shade will run short. While more yarn is sent for, the loom stands idle. In some mills it is a rarity for weavers to make a full week, on account of having to wait for "dye." At times this wait extends to one or two weeks. The secretary of the Brussels Carpet Weavers' Association estimates that in some mills the loss of time runs as high as 16 per cent.

That this lost time can be prevented is shown by many firms in parallel lines of the textile business, which may or may not operate their own dye houses, where the time lost waiting for dye is practically nil.

The problem of time lost waiting for dye is simply a part of the larger time of the daily and hourly interruptions in the plant, waiting for this or that reason. Though apparently small, this loss, in the long run, totals large. A shoe firm measured this lost time and succeeded in eliminating it to a large degree. See the following outline:

**LOST TIME OF EMPLOYEES THROUGH DAILY AND HOURLY INTERRUPTIONS**

Resulting from:

- a. Employees coming late; lost time inconsiderable.

*How Improved:*

1. By "In Late Pass System," a proper investigation by foreman, and discipline where needed.
- b. Employees going out or being laid off early, due to lack of work or stock. (Estimate lost time two to five weeks.)

*How Improved:*

1. By organizing material purchasing and supply system, based on pre-determined sheet system, which gives purchasing departments ample time to purchase all material to exactly meet daily requirements, and to know absolutely when goods must be delivered in the various departments to meet the product in which this material will be needed.
  2. By adopting a pre-determined standard daily production and by holding rigidly to it, foremen are enabled to compute accurately the number of employees needed on each job.
  3. Pre-determination of employees needed on each operation is facilitated by the fact that all work is piece work, based on standard average production of operation.
- c. Lost time due to fluctuation on special operations or in special departments, due to variation in the class of product. (Estimate lost time one-half week.) (Note:—Estimate 10 per cent of employees lost five hours a week, fifty weeks a year, equal one-half week.

*How Improved:*

1. By system of routing work into factories, not only uniformly in pairs each day, but also uniformly in pairs per day in certain types of product, such as patent leather shoes, bluchers, tan calf, button boots, etc. Where production on these items vary whole operations or departments

may work under badly fluctuating loads. By routing such types of work into the factory at a uniform rate per day for pre-determined periods these operations are given a steady production, as well as the operations through which the total production passes.

There are many other ways similar to the above by which unemployment problems on special operations or departments can be wholly or partially solved. By keeping constantly in mind the necessity for steady employment it is usually possible to bring about good, or reasonably good conditions.

To secure vacations for employes the entire business is shut down for the Fourth of July week, giving employes an opportunity to get rested just before the hot weather.

June and November are our most difficult months. We formerly closed four days in June and four days in November for stock taking. This was discontinued several years ago. Except for this inventory period there have been only one or two seasons in ten years when factories have been closed, and then only for one to four day periods.

Stopping this kind of unemployment is the business and duty of management.

#### 7. LACK OF BALANCE BETWEEN DEPARTMENTS

It is true, in many cases, that one department in a continuous industry will be too large, so that it is capable of producing for the department it feeds faster than this latter can consume. As a result the department that is too large must lay off and wait for the other to catch up. This results either from an honestly unsuccessful effort to balance the different departments, or from an effort to insure that the departments with low-priced help and machinery shall be so large that they will never fail to keep the more costly departments busy.

In Axminster Mill "A," the study showed that the "winding" and "picking" departments, which "feed" or are fed by the "weaving" and "setting" departments, each lost 31 per cent of their working time during the four-year period from April, 1911, to April, 1915. Yet the weaving department lost only 23 per cent and the setting department lost only 19 per cent of the working time. These figures indicate that unemployment is being created in the winding and picking departments because they are too large for the others.

#### 8. STOCK TAKING

A large percentage of the textile firms lose from one to three weeks' time a year in taking stock. Many of the payroll curves



of individual concerns in the textile industry indicate that shut-downs for one or two weeks a year are quite common in the textile industry. In fact, many firms lost from one to three weeks a year taking stock. Side by side with these firms, in similar lines of the same industry, are those which avoid, by a variety of devices, the loss of any time at all through the taking of stock.

It should be remembered that many concerns' lost time that is credited to stock taking is really due to lack of orders.

#### 9. LIMITATION OF THE AMOUNT AN EMPLOYEE IS ALLOWED TO EARN EACH WEEK

In many mills an employee is not permitted to earn more than so much a week. Either he must go home after earning that amount or else he must dawdle around the plant, pretending to work. In some cases, this rule is put in force by the employer with the hope that, by thus distributing the work over a larger number, a larger labor reserve is kept available for his particular plant. In other cases, it is a rule promulgated by labor unions who either want what work there is distributed over all in the trade, or who fear that if ability to produce a larger output is shown, the price rate will be cut down. The result in either case is the same.

One of the largest employing concerns in Philadelphia places a limit on the amount that employees in certain departments may earn. Investigation showed that in a two-weekly payroll sheet of a large hosiery firm in Philadelphia, 31 of 69 piece workers in the pressing department earned within five cents of \$36. Since these employees were not allowed to go home early, a good many trips to the water cooler must have been involved.

#### 10. FREQUENT CHANGES IN STANDARD DAILY PRODUCTION POLICY OF FACTORIES ACCORDING TO VOLUME OF ORDERS IN SIGHT

One Philadelphia concern, employing many thousands of men, regulates the laying off of help by the total volume of business booked so many weeks ahead. Running a plant by such an arithmetical rule means that production will be as irregular as orders, and necessarily implies great irregularity in employment. Within a six weeks' period in 1908, this firm laid off 60 per cent of its help.

The methods of the shoe firm, mentioned above, in eliminating

the two to four weeks of annual unemployment are described by this firm:

Frequent changes in standard daily production policy of factories, according to volume of orders in sight.

NOTE. Many factories have no standard daily production basis, but change frequently, taking on or laying off help as needed. Roughly estimated, this causes unemployment of from two to four weeks per annum, in many cases much more.

*How Improved:*

1. By adopting and holding absolutely to a uniform standard daily production basis for each factory. Many of our factories have run for a period of several years, putting into the factory each day a production varying not over one per cent.

2. When orders do not in a monthly period or block equal the factory capacity, by filling in with special stock goods in small quantities, to be distributed through the special department previously mentioned.

3. When goods needed to fill monthly delivery blocks are necessary, by asking distributors to send in orders on staples to fill shortages.

## 11. MANUFACTURE TO STOCK

One of the most common methods,—so obvious as hardly to need mentioning,—adopted to assure steadiness of employment, is the practice of using the dull seasons to manufacture to stock, where the product is of a nature that does not lose value through being stored. When the main product cannot be stored, firms frequently use the slack period to make up a special product.

## 12. MISCELLANEOUS PRACTICES BY EMPLOYERS WHICH LESSEN OR INCREASE THE BURDEN OF UNEMPLOYMENT

- a. *Giving Notice of Lay-off.* Where the periods at which help is laid off are fairly regular, and can, therefore, be predicted in advance, it is not too much to ask employers to give notice beforehand of the date on which such lay-off shall take place. This plan is perhaps best adapted to department stores, where it is known long in advance that a certain percentage of hands will be laid off at certain periods. In most department stores, however, this practice is not followed; and extra help is hired under the agreement that it may be laid off without notice.

- b. *Dovetailing of Trades.* Where there is a regular seasonal laying-off and taking on of help, there are possibilities of regular

seasonal transfers between firms whose busy seasons and slack seasons dovetail. This "dovetailing of trades" is almost unknown.

A printing firm (outside of Philadelphia) with a maximum demand for help in the summer months, writes, as follows, of a plan it has in mind for the regular exchange of help between itself and a neighboring department store:

What we had in view was to have an evening school of instruction so that a selected group of girls from our firm could be trained for the work required from sales girls in a department store.

There is a civic association in this town where they have evening classes. I believe they teach domestic science, millinery, sewing, etc., and I see no reason why it would not be perfectly practical for arrangements to be made so that a competent person from a department store could teach a class how to make out the sales slip, to meet customers and the best methods of doing the required work.

I hope some time that this will be tried out. Undoubtedly it would be much easier to bring this about if two plants were near to the homes of the workers. We are fourteen miles from the department store, and most of the women employees live in this town and they do not like the work in the department store on account of both the carfares and the time required to make the trip.

This practice would tend toward continuity of employment to employees and would insure the retention of trained help by each concern. A few firms, when it is necessary to lay off help, assume responsibility for securing new positions for them. This represents an ideal attitude on the part of such business firms. A general adoption of this practice would do much to assist in the dovetailing of trades with its resulting advantages to both employers and employees.

*c. Loans to Employees.* A Philadelphia firm that manufactures shirtwaists has, for ten years, loaned money without interest or collateral to its employees. Assurance is asked that the money is not to be spent viciously; other than that, the company does not meddle in the employees' use of the loans. It is a significant commentary that this firm has never lost a dollar during the entire ten years, through failure of employees to return what was borrowed—and the firm employ several hundred workers.

*d. Réaining all of the Employees' Time at Fractional Productivity.* It is the practice in some textile mills for a man to operate two or more looms. In dull times the employe is allowed to run one loom only. Thus, although the employe is working only at half or at third capacity and wages, he is forced to spend all of

his time in the mill. If the weaver were allowed to run all of his looms when in the factory, he would make just as much, and at least have a holiday out of his unemployment in which he could rest, pick up odd job here and there, or seek steadier work. The firm undoubtedly follows this practice so as to "hold" on to its employees. It is a practice, however, which even the "benevolent" argument—"by this means we keep them out of saloons"—cannot justify.

*e. Enforcing Needless Expense on Employees During Periods of Unemployment.* One of the largest of the employing concerns in and around Philadelphia has a factory located over ten miles from the homes of most of its workers. Although for a year the firm has been running to a very small percentage of its capacity, it has required all employees to report at least once a week to the office of the plant ten miles away regardless of whether there was any work to be done or not. Employees who did not so report were laid off the list of those nominally on the payroll. This rule required a weekly carfare expenditure of ten or fifteen cents each way. Thirty, or even twenty cents a week is a very severe drain on the resources of a man who has been working little or none for over a year. The company had offices near the homes of its workers where reporting could easily have been done, if necessary. The carfare expense might thus have been avoided. Imposing such a needless burden is evidence of a criminal lack of responsibility on the part of that individual firm.

*f. Part-Time Employment.* Permanent part time employment has already been condemned (p. 59). As an emergency measure to distribute employment in conditions of unusual stress, it can often be of great service. The head of a Philadelphia concern employing several thousand men writes as follows:

Employers can do much to reduce the amount of unemployment. Managers of active manufacturing business can and should make employment much more steady than has too frequently been the case, and can use perfectly legitimate means to reduce to a minimum fluctuations in the number of employees due to times of industrial depression. Employers owe a duty to their employees, to their stockholders and to society to keep their working forces intact, active and well content, and the strongest possible measures should be used to this end.

One of the most important means to this end was freely practiced during a period of depression and hardship which occurred during the winter just closing, in that it was found possible to take the amount of work available in a very de-

pressed period and spread it and the wages consequent upon this work over as many *families* as possible, thus distributing the money available for wages, even though in smaller quantities per unit, over a larger number of individuals, and keep them from absolute unemployment to a greater degree than would have occurred had the same amount of wages been spread over a smaller number of employes working practically full time.

It is fully recognized that this is not good manufacturing efficiency, but it was deemed a humanitarian measure to be executed in times which were very hard for both employer and employed. It is certain that the employes who experienced this form of coöperation appreciated what was being done, and all seemed willing to assist to the fullest degree. Naturally, there was no discussion of these measures—they were simply tried and found to be useful and successful.

Apropos of the same point, another employer writes:

At times of industrial depression the working force should not be cut down except only under such extraordinary conditions as may be forced upon the industry, which are absolutely beyond its control. When there is not enough work to keep the entire working force steadily employed, the number of hours of employment should be reduced equally throughout the whole organization. If all managers realized their duty in this respect, both to their organization and to the community, there would be very little, if any, aggravation of the problem of unemployment during periods of industrial depression.

Where part time is necessary, many employers can, without difficulty, so arrange the working time that the burden of unemployment can be considerably lessened. For example, if the worker is allowed to work full time for several days, then take several days completely off, he is in a better position to make some use of his idle time than if he worked every day at fractional time.

*g. Times of payment.* One concern interprets the rule that firms pay their help every two weeks as meaning "every two weeks of completed service." In other words, this concern pays only after an employe has worked for twelve days even though that twelve days may be distributed over a six, eight or twelve weeks' period, as it is during slack periods. As a matter of fact, this firm is decidedly irregular, so that this is frequently the case. Earnest and dignified protests from conservative business associates have been repeatedly ignored.

## PART V

### THE DUTY OF THE GOVERNMENT

Since the city cannot afford to permit its citizens to live sub-normal lives, it is the business of the government to leave no stone unturned in dealing with unemployment. It has already been pointed out that the appropriations of public money for relief purposes can be justified only in extreme distress.

#### MUNICIPAL WORK

The feeling that the city government should, if possible, relieve unemployment, coupled with the idea that the city could expand its income at will has led many to assume that public work should be used to fill up the low points of employment in private work. It is argued that city work should be saved up until such times as it will tend to fill the gaps in employment. Unquestionably, it is the duty of the municipality, as well as other branches of government, to do this so far as possible. However, so far as the municipality is concerned, the value of public work as a means of meeting unemployment has been very greatly exaggerated. Practically the only work which the city can, to any extent, pile up, is its contract work. But the amount of money annually spent by Philadelphia for city contracts is small. In 1914, the value of contract work done for the city was about \$12,000,000. Of this, over \$2,000,000 was appropriated for services which must be performed regularly through the year—such as street cleaning, garbage, ash collection, etc. Of the remaining contracts, representing only \$10,000,000, one-half is spent to purchase supplies of various kinds—chiefly coal, lumber, and groceries. While, undoubtedly, the hastening of purchases of public supplies would be of help in creating employment during periods of stress, and should be done as one of the best ways the city government can help, yet its influence will be but slight. Of the remaining \$5,000,000, the majority consists of paving, resurfacing and similar work, which can not readily be done in winter when employment is most serious. Only a small part of the city work, such as the clearing up of the meadows in South Philadelphia for park use and building the

bulkheads along the Schuylkill, can be done in winter. If \$1,000,000 worth of contract work could be saved annually to be done at emergency periods it could not, after materials had been bought, furnish employment to 15,000 persons for a month even at low rates. It would furnish little, if any, more employment than would be furnished during a year by a firm with 700 employes. It must furthermore be considered that a majority of the unemployed are persons whose sex, previous work, environment or physical incapacity make them unable to do the heavy out-door construction work that the city would chiefly have to offer. Even without taking into account the difficulty of doing many kinds of city work in the middle of winter, the minor value of municipal work as a means of meeting serious unemployment, is apparent. Obviously, one employing concern, even though it be the city government, can do little to handle the unemployment problem of the 50,000 employing concerns in Philadelphia. It is folly to comfortably delude ourselves into believing that a better distribution of municipal work affords a solution to our entire problem.

Despite this fact, however, a fundamental obligation *does* rest upon the legislative and executive branches of the city government to regard and make use of everything in municipal work which may affect unemployment. As much public work as is possible should be done at times when business is slack, but under the *usual business conditions*. Their fifty years' experience in dealing with unemployment has taught European countries that simon-pure relief employment, *i.e.*—work especially made to furnish employment and conducted at low efficiency, and with little set standard of efficiency, is bad policy, save as a last resort. "Relief" work, as such, is more costly to the city than work done under normal conditions, despite the economy advantage frequently claimed because of lower wages and cheaper materials. The policy usually characteristic of relief work—that of paying a wage from one to ten times as great as that actually earned—is as degrading and degenerating in its effect on the jobless man as is the mere hand-out of funds. Relief work is still further to be objected to on the grounds that, by providing no standard of competence, it opens an easy way for a corrupt administration to justify endlessly its own excessive expenditure and avoid the proper safeguards of the civil service law. Finally, relief work, even if capable of suc-

cessful administration, is inadequate since it deals only with the resultant human suffering without touching the industrial disorganization responsible for it.

Therefore, whatever contribution the municipality makes by supplying public work should be done under the normal or approximately normal business methods.

With these conditions imposed, a municipal policy, which will reserve public work not of a pressing nature until the time of emergency, and which will assure the rapid starting of such work when needed, should be adopted by each successive incoming administration.

In addition to this the municipality can assist by doing many things of a minor nature which will assist in solving the unemployment question.

Just as any individual employer has an obligation (not always possible to attain) to furnish steady employment the year round, so should the municipality adopt the policy of all-the-year-round work for strictly municipal employees. This policy has been adopted in Wellesley, Mass.

The city should see to it that work and employment given out by such a tremendous construction operation as the building of the new subway system, should be doled out as regularly as possible. When that work draws to a close, it should taper down gradually so that an army of thousands of men should not be thrown on the city at once and the city's industries expected to absorb them instantly, as was the case in the building of the New York subway system.

Finally, the municipality should have some place, perhaps a new municipal farm with quarry attached, where residents of Philadelphia, who are unable to find work, can be temporarily employed after the public employment bureau has granted a certificate of character and worthiness. During the past winter, many men were found, in order to secure assistance from the city, to have had themselves committed to the House of Correction. Many of these were doubtless looking for a warm place without too much tiresome muscular activity. However, many were perfectly sincere in their desire for work. There is no reason why the city should not have a separate farm with a quarry attached which would help supply municipal needs. To this farm, citizens of



Philadelphia, capable of doing hard out-door work, could be admitted upon certificate of the public employment bureau, without stigma of disgrace, and work at a normal degree of efficiency and at a wage which would not encourage the permanency of such an occupation. Some limit should be placed on the length of time a person might be allowed to remain at such a farm.

#### A MUNICIPAL EMPLOYMENT BUREAU

One of the most obvious duties of the city government is the establishment of a municipal employment bureau. The primary function of such a bureau would be to assist in bringing men out of work into quick and easy communication with employers needing help. At present the responsibility for finding a new job rests almost entirely upon the man out of work. With little or no systematized help for the worker, the well-known hope-killing, degenerating process of hunting a job results. Under existing conditions the need for such a bureau as a labor clearing house is very real. It should be recognized that the ideal and eventual solution is, not to have men change their jobs no matter how cheaply or efficiently, but to have them remain steadily employed in their present jobs. The present chaotic condition of labor turnover in most factories has accentuated the present need and exaggerated the ultimate value of public employment bureaus.

At present, the man out of work seeks a new position through one or more of five chief methods.

1. Inserting and answering newspaper ads.
2. Applying to the business agent of his union.
3. Applying at a private employment bureau or at the employment bureau conducted by organizations of employers in certain trades.
4. By means of introductions by friends.
5. By tramping the streets, applying at random.

The inadequacy of these methods for meeting the whole situation is almost too obvious to point out. If the man out of work answers newspaper ads, he is apt to find that he has arrived too late, or that as a result of the vagueness of the newspaper description, he has applied for a job for which he is not fitted. To insert an advertisement involves an expense that cannot well be stood by

the person unemployed and is frequently not justified by results. Members of unions which include in their membership a high percentage of the trade, are in a much better position to be assisted to a new work if there is any. The fact is, however, that but a small percentage of the wage-earners belong to unions, and the majority are, therefore, not in a position to profit by the union activities. The man out of work can use a private employment bureau, but each of these covers only a small corner of its particular field, so that it may or may not know where there is a suitable job. Moreover, if he secures a position, the applicant must pay a fee ranging from \$1 up. Even if no job is forthcoming, a fee of 50 cents is usually charged. Finally, the private employment bureaus make little analysis of positions with a view to fitting the men accurately so that satisfaction and permanence of employment shall be assured.

Applying at random for work, or where "help wanted" signs announce the need for new help frequently means a hope-killing, all-day hunt for a job that does not exist or else it means walking all around a job without finding it. The business of finding jobs is so unsystematic that hunting work, in a large percentage of cases, is very much like a game of "blind man's buff," with the hunt extending all over the city and even farther.

The stories of one day's experiences told by an employe selected at random in an Axminster carpet mill, show how extravagant, discouraging and inefficient are the prevailing means of seeking work and how immeasurably superior it would be if all, or as much as possible of the work of job-hunting, could be centralized in one free public employment bureau—which should be a great labor clearing house for the entire city. This man, who was young and unmarried and a day laborer, had been employed at the ——— hat factory. In the middle of February he was laid off with 24 others because of a lack of work. He remained unemployed till Easter. He was told that he would be taken on at the hat factory when times were better. The new employer gave him a good recommendation as to ability and steadiness. He reports that he had enough "rainy day" money saved up so that it lasted during his period of unemployment. He described one day's travel in search for a job as follows:

I got up at 5.30 and went to Baldwin's and was told no help was required. From there, I went to Hale & Kilburn at 18th and Lehigh Avenue and met with the same answer. I then walked to 2d and Erie Avenue to Potter's Oil Cloth Works, and they needed no help. Then to the Hess Bright Company, at Front and Erie Avenue, and again met with the same result. Next I came back home at 2d and Lehigh Avenue for a meal. In the afternoon, I went to Edward Bromley's; no help needed; from there to a firm at American and Girard Streets, with the same result. Then I called at the Barnett File Works, again with the same result. I tried two other places in the neighborhood, whose names I have forgotten, and none had any work. Often I would go out and after meeting with bad luck day after day, would say to myself at night, "the job has got to find me," but the next morning I would feel differently about it.

In all this man walked approximately 186 squares in this one day. The path covered by this man this day is shown in fig 26.

The function of a public employment bureau should not be interpreted, as it frequently is, as a cure for unemployment. It does not create jobs. Only in indirect roundabout ways does it tend to cure unemployment. It can, however, greatly improve the situation of the unemployed by effecting quickly and cheaply the transition from one job to another. When the business of securing work for idle workers shall have been concentrated in public employment bureaus to the degree which it is in Germany, the dispiriting, aimless, inefficient hunt for a job by thousands of individual unemployed workers should be a thing of the past.

The bureau should bring about a "dovetailing" between industries which require similar kinds of labor and in which the "off-season" of one corresponds with the "on-season" of another, as in the case mentioned (on page 88) of the printing concern and a department store. Such a plan would assure the retention of skilled workers by the firm and contribute to continuity of employment.

In other ways, the bureau can cooperate with employers to reduce the irregularity of employment in certain industries. The extreme irregularity of employment among Philadelphia's 4,000 dock workers has already been indicated. The unemployment arising from the over-crowding of the dock working trade in Liverpool has been largely reduced by an agreement entered into by the stevedores and shipping concerns and the public employment bureau. This agreement provides for common clearing houses along the docks from which firms employing such labor secure their

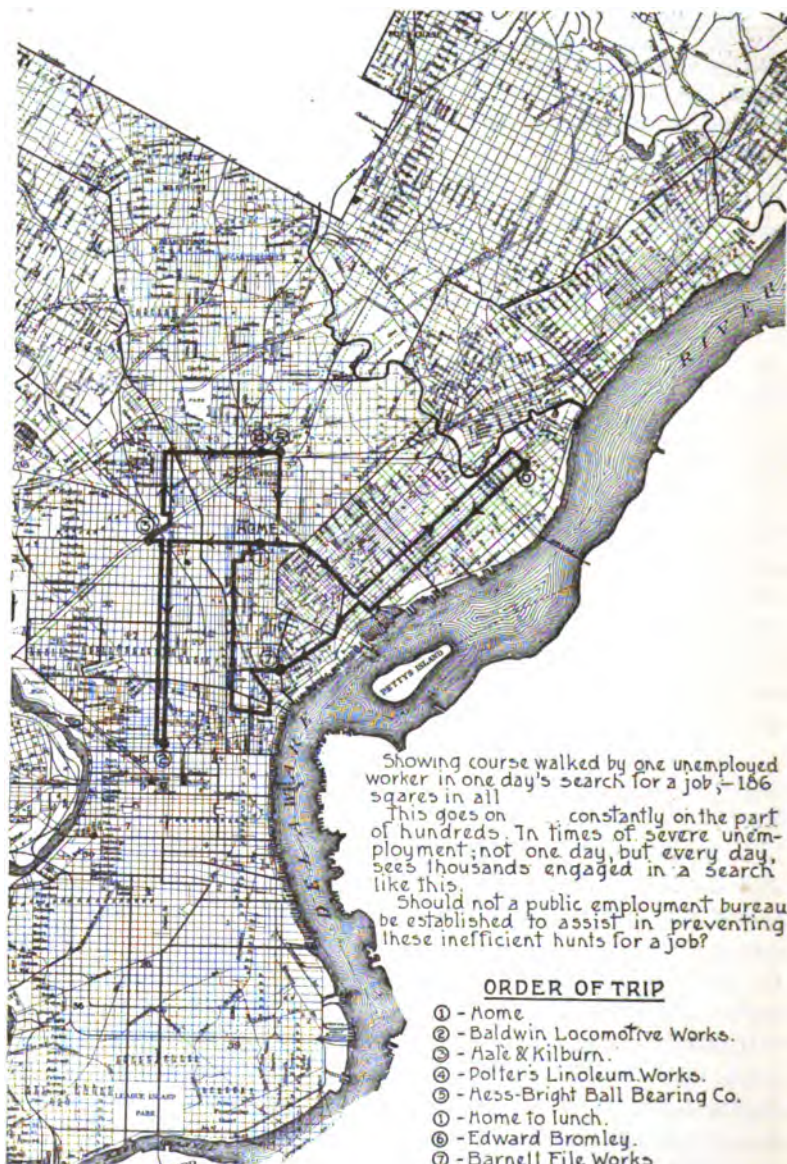


FIGURE 26

help. When a call for workers comes, the officials of the clearing houses choose those who have been longest in the trade, all other things being equal. Thus an automatic limitation (as well as certain other artificial limitations) is placed on the entrance of newcomers into the trade. This reduces the over-crowding and consequent unemployment among dock workers. Some similar plan would be of advantage to Philadelphia. The public employment bureau should work out the details of such a scheme and secure the coöperation of employers and the large share of government support necessary for such a plan.

The Philadelphia employment bureau should be more than an employment bureau. It should be the official headquarters for the community's steady fight against unemployment. Its records and experience would constantly throw light on the problem. This information should be published and freely distributed to every agency that is interested in the subject.

The bureau should coöperate with educational institutions, giving advice, etc. The institutions in turn would help forward the investigation, and dissemination of facts about unemployment.

A future department of the bureau should be especially concerned with the question of vocational guidance of young people. An efficient employment bureau would be so intimately conversant with the conditions of the labor market in each trade and with the qualities required of the worker for success in that trade that it should be able to offer and should maintain facilities for giving advice to young people about to enter industry and older persons who contemplate shifting from one trade to another. In conjunction with the Vocational Training Department of the Board of Education, information regarding the opportunity or lack of opportunity, as well as the requirements of particular trades, should be published in pamphlet form for the benefit of teachers, parents and others in a position to advise young persons about to enter industry. The need for work of this kind can be illustrated by the situation in the lace business. Here, despite the fact that the 300 or 400 lace weavers now in the business are a much larger number than the industry can keep anywhere near busy, there are approximately 100 boys and young men who, either as formal apprentices or in some other capacity, are now in line, hoping to enter the lace weavers' trade.

Since progress in reducing unemployment will necessarily be slow—as one man puts it—“will last us a thousand years”—Philadelphia should look forward to the adoption, on either a state or city basis, of some form of insurance for wage-earners against unemployment—such as is in vogue in many of the countries of Europe. In essence, this simply means that the government, the employer and the employe shall contribute so much per week to a common fund from which certain sums shall be paid out to those insured when unemployed. This insurance fund is usually administered by the public employment bureaus who offer work first, if it is available. The function of administering unemployment insurance will fall upon the local bureau. This insurance cannot, however, be practically adopted until after the labor market has been organized and the procuring of jobs sufficiently centralized in the bureau. This is necessary so that the bureau may be in a position to ascertain that there really is no work before unemployment insurance shall be granted.

A committee of the American Association of Labor Legislation, working in conjunction with the State Department of Labor and Industry and the Department of Public Works, secured the passage in June, 1915, of laws providing for a state system of public employment bureaus. One of the functions of this system of public employment bureaus is the regulation of private employment bureaus. By the terms of these acts, provision is made for the establishment and operation of a public bureau in any city by the joint authority of the city and state. Plans are now on foot for the establishment of such a joint bureau in Philadelphia. As soon as Councils convene in the fall of 1915, an ordinance should be introduced authorizing the coöperation of the city authorities. In fact, the state has already started such a bureau. It is desired that the federal department of immigration, which now supports a public employment bureau in Philadelphia, can be induced to join in to help make one large bureau in Philadelphia, thus avoiding needless duplication of work.

It is hoped that by thus joining the efforts of three government agencies in the support of one bureau, a common error and cause of failure in public employment bureaus shall be avoided—namely, insufficient funds to secure men of capability as superintendents, and to prosecute properly the duties of the bureau. Two

other requirements for an ideal bureau, which are, however, frequently overlooked, are (1) a central location, on the first floor and with plenty of space, and (2) the choosing of employes under civil service rule.

#### A MUNICIPAL LODGING HOUSE

A suggestion commonly made is that the city should support a municipal lodging house. An additional permanent lodging house in Philadelphia is unnecessary since the Philadelphia Branch of the Society for Organizing Charity (up to the summer of 1915) permanently supports one wayfarers' lodge, at which 175 homeless men can find shelter and food in return for a small amount of work. In addition to this, two missions offered floors where homeless men could "flop" during the past winter. Up to this spring, the Society for Organizing Charity maintained two lodges with a total capacity of 275. On only a few nights during the severe winter just past were these lodges filled to capacity. The existence of one (the smaller one has been closed) of these lodges leads to the conclusion that an additional permanent municipal lodging house would simply encourage and attract those of the unemployed who are neither willing nor able to work. However, prevalent practice and opinion in the larger cities of the country recommends that such lodges for homeless men should be taken over by the city, in toto, from the private charities. This would make possible better regulation and higher standards in such work. In times of unusual stress, whenever the facilities of the lodges of the Society for Organizing Charity should become entirely inadequate, the city should make provisions for the supplying of temporary accommodations, as a number of business men headed by H. T. Saunders did this past winter, and just as did New York City when its regular municipal lodging house became inadequate. Provision for administering these temporary quarters might be made with some existing charities, if the work of furnishing accommodations to homeless men is left to the societies.

#### THE DUTY OF THE CONSUMER

The entire responsibility for dealing with unemployment cannot be shouldered off on to employers and the city government. Consumers should realize that by following extreme styles in clothes,

household furnishings, etc., they are making steady production difficult to the manufacturer, and are, therefore, contributing to unemployment.

They should also realize that when industry is slack, there rests upon the individuals the obligation to purchase as much and as widely as possible against future need, so that industry will be started up and employment again furnished. By "buying now," "hiring now," "repairing now," "building now," "cleaning up now," in slack times, both business firms, householders and individuals in general can contribute in the sanest way towards the relief of unemployment. A campaign along this line, similar to the Consumers' League "shop early" campaign, would be desirable. The Consumers' League is the logical agency to undertake such a campaign.

Employers should realize that the effect of every expenditure either for labor or materials in one firm or industry tends to spread and stimulate other industries whose improved prosperity reacts on the original firm or industry.



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